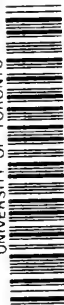


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01211593 7



**The Chester Samuel Walters  
Library**

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation









THE COMPLETE WORKS OF  
PLUTARCH

*Essays and Miscellanies*  
VOLUME ONE

THOMAS Y. CROWELL & CO.  
PUBLISHERS : : : NEW YORK

PA

4374

A1

1909

V.4



979310

Copyright, 1909  
By THOMAS Y. CROWELL & Co.



## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PUBLISHER'S NOTE . . . . .	vii
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	ix

### HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS . . . . .	1
APOTHEGMS; OR REMARKABLE SAYINGS OF KINGS AND GREAT COMMANDERS . . . . .	18
LACONIC APOTHEGMS; OR REMARKABLE SAYINGS OF THE SPARTANS . . . . .	73
THE VIRTUES OF WOMEN . . . . .	121
THE FIRST ORATION CONCERNING THE FORTUNE, OR VIRTUE, OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT . . . . .	158
THE SECOND ORATION CONCERNING THE FORTUNE, OR VIRTUE, OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT . . . . .	172
ROMAN QUESTIONS . . . . .	194
GREEK QUESTIONS . . . . .	244
THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS . . . . .	267
FIVE TRAGICAL HISTORIES OF LOVE . . . . .	285
LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS . . . . .	294
A COMPARISON OF THE THREE SORTS OF GOVERNMENT,— MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND OLIGARCHY . . . . .	332
WHETHER THE ATHENIANS WERE MORE RENOWNED FOR THEIR WARLIKE DEEDS, OR FOR THEIR LEARNING . . . . .	336
PARALLELS BETWEEN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY . . . . .	347

## THEOSOPHICAL ESSAYS.

	PAGE
ISIS AND OSIRIS . . . . .	369
THE CESSATION OF ORACLES . . . . .	427
THE PYTHIAN RESPONSES . . . . .	481
THE WORD EI, ENGRAVEN OVER APOLLO'S TEMPLE AT DELPHI	510
THE APPARENT FACE IN THE ORB OF THE MOON . . . . .	529
SUPERSTITION . . . . .	579
THE PROCREATION OF THE SOUL AS DISCOURSED IN TIMEUS . . . . .	594
A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE DEMON OF SOCRATES . . . . .	628

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

IN preparing this edition of *The Essays of Plutarch*, the different redactions of the second seventeenth-century translation of the *Morals* have been used as a basis. In the nineteenth century, in addition to a republication and revision of the whole of the earlier translation, two volumes of selected essays appeared, one of them by the famous Cambridge scholar, Shilleto. These to the number of thirty are all reprinted in the present edition. One entirely new essay is included, — the "Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer," which has never before been turned into English. The editor of the latest edition of the Greek text (Teubner) Bernadakis defends its genuineness, although it is always printed in the collection of spurious or doubtful Plutarchian writings. In any case, it is an interesting piece of work, bearing far clearer traces of Plutarch's hand than the inane essay on "Rivers," which has always been given an honorable place in the English translations among the genuine works of the author.

Archbishop Trench's "Lecture on the *Morals*," which introduces the present text, is taken from his deservedly admired volume called *Plutarch: Four Lectures*. It would be hard to find a more genial example of English scholarship. In its breadth, as well as in its form, it appeals to the general public, and is indispensable as an introduction to Plutarch's sphere of thought, his interests, and his method of handling them.

For the convenience of the reader a new arrangement has been adopted in this edition, by which essays treating of similar subjects are grouped together. A comparison of this method with earlier texts will at once reveal its far greater utility. The ordinary arrangement in the Greek text itself is desultory and deviates in its sequence from a Byzantine index of Plutarch's complete works found in

many manuscripts. But by adopting a logical order of grouping, the thought of the author in diverse fields is followed systematically, thus bringing author and reader at once into rapport.

The supervision of this edition, including the rearrangement of the material and the translation of the "Essay on Homer," has been in the hands of Doctor W. Lloyd Bevan, formerly of the University of the South, who has cleared up many obscurities and difficulties of the seventeenth-century version, by reverting to the original Greek text.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE singular merit of the *Parallel Lives*, and their immense popularity, have thrown somewhat into the background the other writings of Plutarch; and doubtless it is his *Lives* by which he mainly lives, and on which he must rest his chief claim to deserve to live. And yet, whatever preference and preëminence we may accord to them, they never can be thoroughly understood, what they aimed at and what they accomplished, justified in what they are and in what they are not, until we know something more than those *Lives* themselves tell us of the spirit which animated the writer, of the points of view, moral and religious, from which he contemplated not this man's life or the other's, but the whole life of man. Nor is it too much to affirm that of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his *Lives* and his *Essays* or *Morals*, each constitutes a complement of the other; the one half setting forth to us, and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had aimed at and accomplished in the world of action, and the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought.

The works of his to which I must now turn, which thus complete his *Lives*, and often supply a key to them, would abundantly reward a far closer study than they have commonly obtained. In Gibbon's great preliminary sketch of the Cæsarian world, references to them, as has been already noted, are few or none; while, so far as I can judge, they have not been very largely used by later English historians of the epoch to which they more immediately belong. And yet a distinguished Dutch scholar, Daniel Wyttenbach, no dull plodder, but a man of various accomplishments, in whom the scholar had by no means swallowed up the man, gave four-and-twenty years of his life to the editing of these; having laid out his work on so vast a scheme, and accom-

panying it with so large a critical apparatus, that he left the book incomplete at his death.

The circle of Plutarch's writings which pass under the common name of *Moralia* is large; though few of them are long, and many very brief indeed. They are miscellaneous in their character; being some antiquarian, some physical; but in the main ethical, and thus corresponding sufficiently well with the name which they bear. You will better understand the sphere in which they move when I have named the titles which some of them bear; as for example:—*Advantage and Profit from Enemies, How One may discern a Flatterer from a Friend, How One can praise Himself, How a Man may be Sensible of his Progress in Virtue, The Cessation of Oracles, Talkativeness, Curiosity, Superstition, False Modesty, Isis and Osiris, Conjugal Precepts*. Of the treatises which I have named, the larger number, as you will gather from their titles, are purely ethical; while in some the theological interest largely mingles with the ethical, or altogether overbears it.

It has been observed already that the age in which Plutarch lived was in some sort an age of moral reaction, one in which vigorous attempts were made, and from various quarters—these too not wholly ineffectual—to arrest the advances of a corruption that threatened to sweep away all the barriers which hitherto had kept it within bounds. We know that these attempts did only very partially succeed; we can understand how in the nature and necessity of things their ultimate failure was inevitable. The moral bankruptcy of the heathen world may have been by them deferred, but it was not averted. Not philosophy, not a resuscitation of faith in the gods of Hellas, not the bringing in and combining with this of the Oriental worships and wisdom, not the reviving and quickening of anything good which the old world possessed already, nor yet all of these together, but Christianity, newly born from above, was to regenerate and save society. Yet for all this, it would be a serious mistake to underrate and to despise these well-meant efforts; though a fault less serious, it may be, than to exalt them overmuch, or to count that they rendered, or could have rendered, superfluous the bringing in of a purer hope and a better faith.

With all its weaknesses and shortcomings, the school or lecture-room was the best and most effectual which, as a moral teaching power, the heathen world at this time could boast — the nearest approach to the Christian pulpit which it possessed. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that a very large amount of genuine and healthy work was wrought by those who laid themselves out, by the conscientious use of such helps as the best wisdom of the world at their command afforded, to serve their generation; that many were by them assisted to live their lives after a far higher and worthier fashion than else they would have attained. Saying this, I would not conceal from myself or from you all which was wanting here; as, on the part of those who spoke, the “mouth and wisdom” directly given from above; with a deficiency too exactly corresponding to this on their part who heard; while even at the very best the teacher addressed, and could hope to influence, only a select and cultured minority, endowed with leisure, and not without some tincture of learning. There was, it is true, an attempt at a more popular propaganda on the part of some among the later Cynics, who in their good and in their evil remind us so constantly of the Mendicant Orders of the middle ages; but these efforts of theirs to reach the poor and the ignorant, and to preach to them such a gospel as they had, were too few and too isolated to count for very much.

Freely admitting, then, that the sphere of these moral activities was comparatively a narrow one, yet within this sphere we find many willing to guide and teach, and more desirous to be guided and taught. I am persuaded that we very inadequately realize to ourselves the craving for what one might venture to call “spiritual direction,” borrowing this term from the later language of the Christian Church, which was felt at that time by very many, the eagerness with which the spiritual director was sought out, and the absolute obedience to his moral prescriptions which he found. Young men, desirous to order their lives according to some higher rule, others, too, of maturer age, who had the same aspiration, but who, from one cause or another, were unable to fashion or think out for themselves a satisfying rule of life, placed themselves in a relation of learners and pupils to some distinguished philosopher, attended his lectures, sought

more special help and guidance from him in private and familiar intercourse. It would be difficult anywhere to find a more tender and attractive picture of the relation in which such learner and teacher might stand to one another than that which Persius draws of his own relation to the Stoic philosopher Cornutus. Instructive too, as showing the extraordinary development which this spiritual direction, according to the lights which men possessed, had assumed, are the *Letters* of Seneca in reply to those of his youthful friend Lucilius. It is plain, from more than one of these, that the spiritual director was more embarrassed than delighted by the continual reference which was made to him for guidance in each single detail of life, and would fain have seen more mental independence, some greater self-reliance on the part of his pupil; just as in the same sense Plutarch warns young men that after all has been done for them, they must grow out of their own root, and not out of that of any other; that it must not fare with them as with men who, going to kindle a light at another man's fire, are so well pleased with the warmth and blaze, that they sit down and tarry by it, quite forgetting that it was not for this, but to kindle their own torch, they came thither.

There were other ways too, in which men sought to satisfy this same longing after some sort of wiser guidance than any which it was in their power to devise for themselves. Many a Roman nobleman entertained in his house a philosopher of his own, who would very often be at once the instructor of his children, and his own and his family's moral director and adviser. We have frequent references or allusions to these, "the domestic chaplains of heathendom," as Professor Lightfoot has happily called them, in the writings of the time. Thus Plutarch relates as the most natural thing in the world, that the younger Cato, withdrawing into the country for a little repose, should take with him books and *philosophers*. Nor were these last merely fair-weather companions. It is everywhere assumed as a matter of course that where there is sorrow or trial to be borne by one with whom the philosopher stands in any near relation, there he will be with admonishment and comfort—with his commonplaces on life and death, which, if always old, are yet also always new. "Those that are sick," says Dio Chrysostom in an



interesting passage, "send for a physician, and those that are in any adversity for a philosopher; but those in health regard not the one, and as little those in prosperity the other." Plutarch therefore is only fulfilling the duties which were expected from him, when, writing to Apollonius, who has lost a son not very long before, he takes for granted that under this loss he will have expected to hear from him or to see him; and proceeds to explain why this has not already been the case.

We must not confound these philosophers with the Sophists; this old name coming once more into use and into some sort of honor; even as those who bore this name now multiplied greatly through the whole Greek and Roman world. It is true that these Sophists, or rhetoricians, and the philosophers had much externally in common. They alike used, with very rare exceptions, though such exceptions there were, the Greek language, the lecture-room, and the lecture. They were thus exposed to many of the same temptations, above all, to vanity and to the seeking to make a show of themselves. But the Sophist proper of this time — for I do not want to open the question of what the earlier might have been — was a mere dealer in words, most often a seller of them; did not profess to be anything higher; made no pretence of desiring to improve men, but only to amuse, and if possible to astonish them, with the feats as of an intellectual acrobat. And these feats no doubt were very marvellous. In a letter of the younger Pliny, we have a very curious account of the extraordinary performances of one of these who had recently come to Rome, of the astonishment and enthusiasm which his performances excited. It may easily be supposed that men who made this unworthy traffic with the sacred gift of speech did not escape the moral penalties which are sure to avenge such abuse. Their vanity was portentous. They got themselves up for the lecture as for a show; their heads crowned with laurel or artificial flowers mingled with precious stones, their locks perfumed, their hands loaded with diamond rings, posing themselves before their audience with a careless skill, they resembled well those "peacocks" to which Dio Chrysostom compares them for their ostentation and their pride. Falling in as they did with the

inclinations of so many, who were eager to be entertained, but who did not care to be instructed or improved, they were welcomed in every city to which they came with boundless applause, of which notwithstanding it seemed impossible to them that they could ever receive enough; and we have lively descriptions of the lecturer — how, unsatisfied with all which he had obtained, and as one still greedy for more, he made, when his discourse was concluded, the circuit of his hearers, to extort from them some further tributes of admiration. “How,” he would demand, “did you find me to-day?” “Never so well.” “And that description of Pan and the Nymphs?” “Incomparable!” And then we are told how he expected — and was rarely defeated in this expectation — that a crowd of his hearers, including the principal persons in the city, should escort him through the streets to his lodging, kissing the hem of his garment as they went, and proclaiming his merits to all whom they met.

It is only fair to these spoilt children of their age to say that there was no affectation on their parts of despising money, or of living lives a whit stricter or purer than those of the rest of the world. With the philosophers it was otherwise. They both taught a higher rule of life to others, and professed to fashion their own lives by the same. As may be supposed, they became thus the mark of abundant abuse, deserved and undeserved. Besides those charges of ostentation and vanity, to which in common with the Sophists they were obvious, there were graver, and, so far as there was truth in them, far more damaging accusations which they did not escape; as that their lives and their teaching were often at very ill accord with one another; that, denouncing the love of riches, they haunted rich men’s palaces, and showed themselves ignobly eager for gifts; that, in lieu of maintaining the dignity of philosophy, they were content, like the “tame Levite” of more modern times, to endure any slights, to put up with any affronts, if only they could secure for themselves a place in some wealthy establishment. Lucian is never weary of holding them up on charges such as these to ridicule and contempt, and Juvenal, who makes still darker accusations against them, to hatred. Let it be freely granted that these charges were not always without truth. Many, no doubt, Figaro and Tartuffe in

one, wore the philosopher's mantle and the philosopher's beard, but only, as the false prophets the rough garment, to deceive; some may have made shameful abuse of the opportunities which their position, the free entrance into houses which they enjoyed, and the confidence with which they were treated, afforded. There were talkers about virtue who were by no means practisers of virtue. But allowing all this, we may be bold to affirm that neither all nor nearly all in these accusations was true; the world having then, as it has ever, an unlimited supply of calumny at command for "ideologues," for all who have the impertinence to set up a loftier standard than its own, who profess to frame their own lives, or who seek to frame the lives of others, according to a higher law.

But, setting these graver imputations aside, it is impossible to read Plutarch's admirable essay *Concerning Hearing*, without acknowledging that some of the mischiefs, which could not fail to be at work where a Sophist was displaying himself, had contrived not seldom to insinuate themselves where a philosopher was teaching; that here, too, were faults and foibles on the side of the speaker, while oftentimes the hearers were only too ready to play into, and by their manner of hearing to give to them a still larger development. Yet, admitting all this, it will be only fair to remember that something not altogether unlike this is not wholly unknown in august places than the lecture-room of the heathen philosopher, and on the part of some who have a more solemn message than ever he had to deliver; while yet, though we are fully aware of all this, we do not therefore conclude that the Christian pulpit is an imposture, and those who fill it mountebanks and cheats. It will become us to show, in judging of other men and other times, the same equity of forbearance which we claim for ourselves.

Certainly some of the demonstrations of admiration which were expected on one side, and granted on the other, were curious; as when Plutarch describes, after some bravura passage, the whole audience rising from their seats, waving their garments in the air, as did a listening crowd in the Acts (xxii. 23) under the excitement of another passion, and swearing by all the gods, and as men swear in a court of justice, that they had never heard anything to equal it; how, discarding as tame and used up,

the old manifestations of approval, such as had greeted a Socrates and a Plato — “Good,” “True,” “Well said,” — they had substituted new ones for these: “Grand,” “Divine,” “Unapproachable,” “Inspired,” with much more of the like kind. That he set himself against all such clamorous and indecent outbreaks of applause, it is needless to mention. “You may be sure,” he says, “where such find place, that the speaker is naught, and the hearers are naught; that it is not so much a sage who discourses as a player who performs. The true philosopher addresses himself to the conscience, and where the conscience is reached, there is no room nor inclination for explosions of admiration such as these.”

His own lectures, judging of them by the treatises, which, no doubt, must very nearly represent them, were no showy declamations, no fightings in the air against imaginary foes, but earnest efforts, as of a spiritual physician, to heal the hurts of men’s souls. Beginning for the most part with a subtle diagnosis of the diseased moral condition against which he desired to make war, they rarely concluded without some suggestions, testifying often a profound knowledge of the human heart, as to the best means whereby a virtuous habit might be implanted, or a vicious one might be weakened, and gradually, if not all at once, overcome.

There was much in him which manifestly fitted him for the office of such a spiritual adviser as we have just described. Thus there breathes through all his writings a profound sympathy with the young, exposed as he saw them to all and more than all the temptations which at this day beset their path, and with helps so far fewer and weaker than are now at command for the resisting of these temptations. He ever lays himself out for their help, if so be that the voices of a divine philosophy might deaden and drown in their hearts those songs of the Sirens, so sweet and yet so deadly, which were evermore seeking to lure them to their ruin. In one of the few dialogues which he has written he puts some passionate words on the duty of watching over the young, so that they shall “shoot up straight,” into his father’s mouth. Or listen to other of his words addressed to a young man just passing from boyhood into early manhood. Nobler have seldom been uttered concerning that obedience to the truth, in which,

and in which alone, true freedom consists: "The wiser sort, and such as have wit indeed, repute not the passage and change from childhood to man's estate an absolute deliverance and freedom from commandment and subjection, but an exchange only of the commander; for that their life, instead either of a mercenary hireling or some master bought with a piece of money, who was wont to govern it in their nonage and minority, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, unto which they that yield themselves obedient are alone to be reputed free and at liberty. For they alone live as they would who have learned to will that which they should: whereas, if our actions and affections both be disordinate and not ruled by reason, the liberty of our free will is small, slender, and feeble, yea, and intermingled for the most part with much repentance and remorse."

Surely what is here uttered is capable of being translated into a higher language, of being set to a higher key; has actually been so translated and set by St. Paul in the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians (ver. 1-7), and may be so translated by all who read heathen authors, not to glory over them, and mentally to trample upon them on account of the truth which they had not, and which they could not have; but to thank God, and to reverence and honor them, for the truth which they had.

At the same time, his was not the starched primness of those "grimsires" who can make no allowances, can hope for nothing good if there is the presence of any evil. The soil which will bear no crop at all, either good or bad, we may fitly despair of it; but that which brings forth a rich luxuriance of weeds — for such we may fairly hope that, duly tended and dressed, it will reward the patience of those who have waited for the precious fruit which should one day justify their patience. Passages like this in his ethical writings throw light upon others in his historical, wherein he shows himself very tolerant and disposed to judge very mildly of the outbreaks and extravagances which signalized the boyhood and youth of some who did good service in after years. Thus, in his *Life of Themistocles*, he quotes a saying of the great and shifty man upon this matter, and evidently as assenting to its truth: "In the first part of his youth, his behavior and doings were very light and inconstant, as one carried away with

a rash head, and without any order or discretion; as himself did afterwards confess by saying that a ragged colt oftentimes proves a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be."

He will have young men to marry, counting that there was no worse symptom of the age than the unwillingness of so many to charge themselves with wife and children; or again, urging on them the same duty from another point of view, he has some very noble words on the expulsive power of a great affection, and how a strong and pure love will save from low amours, and deliver from the tyranny of the meaner appetites and desires.

Apparently by no fault of his own, Plutarch stood removed from all the immediate influences of the Christian Church. This being so, it becomes the more important to inquire to which of the Schools that in his day disputed the allegiance of the more thoughtful heathen, he addicted himself; by what master did he swear? or, declining to yield himself absolutely to any one, which did he recognize as in possession of the largest fragments of the truth?

I shall offer a very brief answer to these inquiries. Plutarch was a Platonist with an Oriental tinge, and thus a forerunner of the New Platonists, who ever regarded him with the highest honor. Their proper founder indeed he more than any other deserves to be called, though clear of many of the unhealthy excesses into which, at a later date, many of them ran. But this said, I shall make no attempt to set forth to you at large his philosophy with its relations to that which preceded and that which followed it. To say the truth, would the task be an easy one. As a thinker, there was not anything properly *creative* about him; indeed, not much *constructive*. "His teaching had for the most part a direct moral object, with little tendency to speculative refinements. He cared not for the name of any sect or leader, but pleaded the cause of moral beauty in the interests of truth only." It was the easier to hold such an independent position as this, from the fact that the rigid lines of demarcation which had once separated the different philosophical systems were at the time when he wrote in great measure effaced; or, where not effaced, these frontier lines were no longer guarded with the same jealous care as of old. The Schools which still survived, for many were now extinct, had bor-

rowed so much from one another, had made so many reciprocal concessions, the later teachers had severally explained away so much which was most startling, but which also was most characteristic, in the teaching of the first founders, that it seemed idle to stand absolutely aloof from one another on the score of the antagonisms which remained. There were still, it is true, Schools militant of philosophy, but not militant as they once had been. When doctrines do not affirm themselves strongly, when they cease to be intolerant and exclusive, when they transact on important points with one another, they may disarm much opposition hereby; but their votaries must not be surprised to discover that this has been done at a very serious cost. It has not been all gain; the same concessions which have partially disarmed enemies have gone far to abate the zeal of friends. Only that which has absolute faith in itself, which dares to say, "I am, and there is none else beside me," can awaken the passion of an unquestioning devotion in others. No one of the rival Schools had any longer such a faith as this in its own teaching, felt itself so to possess the whole body of the truth as would justify it in claiming men's allegiance as exclusively due to it, or, if it had done this, was in any position to make this pretension good.

The exaggerations of the Stoics, the big statements of theirs which are no sooner closely handled than they shrink into very small dimensions indeed, and can only be maintained at all by shifting words to quite other than their natural and received meaning, are fair objects of ridicule; while other parts of their system, breathing as they do a spirit of intolerable pride, asserting of the true sage that he lives on terms of perfect equality with God, that in some sort he is above Him, seeing that God is wise by nature, while the sage has won his wisdom for himself, challenge a more earnest confutation and a sterner condemnation. Yet, for all this, the Porch of the Stoics was, in some sort, the noblest School of philosophy in the ancient world, and had never shown itself so grandly as in those evil times which, when Plutarch flourished, were just overlived. It had then been seen what this philosophy — the only philosophy which Rome ever made truly her own — could arm men to do, and, still more, to suffer. When all was base and servile elsewhere, it was the last refuge

and citadel of freedom; and being felt to be such, had not failed to earn the instinctive hatred of the tyrant and the slave. I confess, therefore, that I would willingly have seen in Plutarch some recognition of this its nobler aspect. As it is, he seems only to have an eye for its contradictions and absurdities, these the same in the main which Horace had laughed at already: as when they taught that all sins were of an equal malignity; that there was no such thing as a progressive advance from vice to virtue; that to be shut up in the brazen bull of Perillus, and to be roasting there, would not affect the happiness of a true sage. In some respects, too, his polemics against these were a fighting against shadows. It is the early extravagances of Zeno and Chrysippus which he sets himself to refute, not the Stoicism of his own day, of Epictetus and Seneca; which last in so many points had reconciled itself with common sense, and withdrawn in fact, sometimes also in word, from various advanced positions which experience had shown to be untenable.

But with the Stoics, despite of all points of difference, Plutarch, whether he will acknowledge it or not, has very much in common, and this in matters of the highest concern. Not so, however, with the Epicureans. Between him and the hauntings of the Garden there lay a chasm not to be bridged over; and we recognize in his whole controversy with these a vein of earnest indignation, as he contemplates the mean ignoble thing to which they would fain reduce the life of man, shutting it up within the brief limits of this mortal existence; emptying it of every loftier aim and hope, and presenting to it pleasure, or, more properly, avoidance of pain, as the object to the attainment of which all men's efforts should be directed. From that pessimism which saw nothing higher for man than this, Plutarch was as far as possible removed. This world for him was something better than a casino with its poor and paltry satisfactions. It was a city, inhabited in common by gods and men, an august temple into which man was introduced at his birth, and in which he was initiated into mysteries of a high and solemn gladness. Gods, such as the Epicureans taught, dwelling apart, whom it was equally impossible to please or to provoke, who answered no prayer, who punished no sin, were no gods to him. He could look with nothing but contempt



and scorn at the bribe with which the teachers of this School sought to bribe men into this practical atheism, promising to as many as accepted their doctrine deliverance from those fears of the heavenly powers which had tormented and held them in bondage for so long. As he often reminds his hearers, men could only be thus rid of their fears by at the same time renouncing their hopes; and the price was too high a one to pay. This Gospel of eternal death was not therefore such good tidings, and they but forlorn evangelists, after all. In his treatise contending *That it is not Possible to Live Pleasurably according to the Doctrine of Epicurus*, Plutarch has a lively illustration of the kind of comfort which might be drawn from their doctrine that there was no Providence, no higher hand ordering the destinies of men, that when this little life was done, there lay nothing beyond it, soul and body dissolving and perishing together.

Plutarch had no toleration for that cowardly creeping into corners, that ignoble withdrawal from all the tasks and duties of life which the followers of Epicurus vaunted as the highest wisdom of all. That "Live unknown" of Epicurus, or of one of his scholars, moved his special indignation — so much so, that he has dedicated a short essay to the refutation of this characteristic maxim of theirs. For first, if the author of this maxim truly wanted to "live unknown," why did he not hold his tongue, and keep his own counsel, instead of putting forth to the world a saying which, by the contradiction it would on one side inevitably arouse, and the applause with which it would be greeted on another, was sure to draw the eyes of many to its author, and thus to prevent him from living his own life according to his own rule? But this precept of theirs, "Live unknown," demanded, even as it received from him, a more serious refutation, directly opposed as it was to all his profoundest moral convictions. He can speak in language not very remote from that of St. Paul, and under imagery which very closely resembles that of St. Paul, of life as a contest, of man as the champion or athlete who, having contended, shall receive according to his deserts; and when he styles those who have done well by the honorable title of "bearers away of victory," we are further reminded of the language of another apostle, for whom the life of a Christian is an overcoming of the

world, and he who remains faithful to the end a conqueror or overcomer. On the other hand, the meanness of the life shut up in itself, his life who has wilfully cut himself off from all opportunities of serving his fellow-men, and not the meanness only, but the practical defeat and missing which it involves of that very pleasure for the sake of which it had been chosen, has impressed him profoundly.

Plutarch was the more intolerant of this voluntary abdication of all active share in the world's business, entertaining the strong conviction which he did — a conviction, indeed, which seemed inborn to every Greek — of the necessity of public life for the harmonious development of the whole circle of the mental and moral faculties; so that, whatever might be the education of the child, this exercise of public functions was the proper education of the man. Out of a sense of this, as is sufficiently known, he who was not clothed, or never had been clothed, with a public office was an "idiot"; the word already in the Greek having obtained some tinge of that unfavorable meaning which it has since and in other languages more fully made its own.

Yet for all this, he could not shut his eyes to the fact that in the Cæsarian world, as in his time it existed, there was no room for this public life, save in its humblest proportions; that a small municipal activity was all which was then possible. There is something sad, with a touch of the ridiculous, in the elaborate outline which, at the desire of a pupil inspired with an honorable ambition to serve his native city, he draws of what the aims and duties of a statesman should be, by what studies and what self-discipline he should prepare himself for the high and solemn functions which he hopes to exercise one day. Not that with all this he really indulges in any illusions. He is too wise to believe, or to endeavor to make others believe, that public life, in any such sense as Pericles or Demosthenes understood or practised it, was any longer possible. And thus he does not bring his advice to his young friend to a close without having warned him more than once of the very narrow limits within which, at the very best, his liberty of action will be restricted, the speedy and inevitable check, the defeat, in any case ridiculous, and not impossibly dangerous, which the attempt at a bolder initiative would involve. "You will have," he says, "no

wars to wage, no tyrants to put down, no alliances to conclude. The utmost which you can hope for is to suppress some petty abuse, to make war on some evil custom, to revive some charitable foundation which has fallen into decay, to repair an aqueduct, to rebuild a temple, to adjust some local tax, to preside at a sacrifice, or to remove a misunderstanding with some neighboring city." But these and such like duties, small as they were, he yet counsels Mnesimachus should be done by a good citizen with his might; and that local independence which still survived, slight as it was, cherished and made much of, and not further abridged by any action of his.

I have not undertaken the analysis of any one of Plutarch's moral treatises, and I must despair, within the brief limits to which I have restricted myself, of attempting such an analysis as should be exhaustive even of the very briefest among these; unless, indeed, at the cost of shutting myself out from much else which I desired to say. It will, I believe, be a better economy of our time, if I pass under review a very few of the most noteworthy of these treatises, and briefly call your attention to some salient points which they offer. Let us then first deal with two which the moralist himself has linked closely together, on the ground that the faults which they severally note have intimate connection, though such as might easily be missed, with one another.

The first of these, *Talkativeness*, might be regarded as a long, and yet not a very long, commentary on the words of the Psalmist, "A man full of words shall not prosper on the earth." Very amusing is the indignation with which he denounces here the man who has not a door, and one which, when need requires, he can keep shut, to his mouth, — a man ἀθυρόστομος, as elsewhere he calls him. Some faults, he observes, are ridiculous, some odious, some dangerous; but this is all three in one: which then he proceeds by various examples — for such are never wanting to him — to prove. "We think ill of traitors, who for a great reward, or, it may be, under strong torments, reveal secrets which have been confided to them; but this chatterer is one who reveals them under no temptation, no compulsion at all." And then, urging how this is a vice which infects the whole life of a man, he proceeds:

"The drunkard babbles at his wine; but the prattler doth it always and in every place, in the market, in the theatre, walking, sitting, by day, by night. Does he wait on the sick? He is worse than the disease. Sailing with you, he is more nauseous than the seasickness itself; praising you, he is more distasteful than another who should blame. And, worst of all, his malady is incurable, or well-nigh incurable. He might be healed by wholesome words; but, all tongue and no ear as he is, he never listens; in his self-chosen deafness he hears nothing."

With a true insight into the human heart Plutarch closely connects this fault with another. *Curiosity* is a better rendering perhaps of the original word than *Meddlesomeness*, which one might at first be tempted to prefer; seeing that in the later uses of the Greek word for which we are seeking an equivalent, the "much-doing" has fallen into the background, and the "much-noting" or "much-spying" has become its prominent notion. The two, indeed, are linked closely together; since he who would chatter much can only find the materials for his ceaseless babble by much prying into the affairs of other people. How much of this prying, Plutarch exclaims, is there everywhere! Of how many matters we are perfectly content to remain ignorant, taking no means to know them; meanwhile, we can tell of our neighbor's grandfather that he was no better than a Syrian slave; of another that he owes three talents, and that, moreover, the interest is far in arrear. And here he brings out with a very earnest emphasis, making indeed this the chief subject of the treatise, the sinful root out of which this curiosity springs; the evil moral conditions to which it ministers; how this busybody, this "polypragmon" — for Holland has attempted to naturalize the word — with all his eagerness to know, cares only to know such things as lower the character, abate the felicity, or in one way or other tend to the depreciation and disparagement of others. Recount to him the prosperities of his fellow-men, report to him of fair and fortunate events, things comely and of good report, he can hardly find patience to hear you out; but tell of discord which has sprung up among brethren, of a wife that has proved unfaithful to her husband, of a maiden who has been found to be no maiden, he is all ear. Being thus minded, his haunt and home is naturally the city, and

not the country, which "for the most part bringeth forth no great and tragical events." If for once or twice he has made an excursion thither, and been absent for three or four hours, he is full of eager anxiety to know what has befallen in his absence, arrests and cross-examines the first acquaintance whom he meets on his return, can hardly be persuaded that there is nothing new, that in all this time no accident has happened, no scandal come to light.

As a physician of the soul — and it is his ambition to be nothing less than this — Plutarch does not conclude without some counsels as to the means by which this curiosity may be checked, and in the end overcome. And, first, let it never be forgotten how full of danger it is for those who give allowance to it. He who has ferreted out the secrets of other men's lives may be feared, but he will also be hated; and then he recounts the excellent story of Philippides the comic poet; of whom king Lysimachus, being in an effusive and generous mood, one day demanded, "What of mine shall I impart to you?" and to whom the wary poet made answer, "Anything, O king, but your secrets." But more than this, let this curiosity be seen for what it truly is; not a harmless infirmity at the worst, but a disease of the mind, not clear from envy and maliciousness, a vice, seeing that it mainly occupies itself, and finds pleasure in occupying itself, with the faults, imperfections, and infelicities of others; a disease too which is the symptom of other and of worse diseases.

If then, he says, you wish to overcome this fault, which may so easily grow into a vice, exercise yourself in all which is most opposite to it. Be willingly ignorant of things which in themselves it would be no harm to learn. You are passing through a street of tombs; be content to leave the epitaphs, and the remarks on these by previous travellers, unread. There are evidently high words passing between two of your acquaintance in the market-place; resist the temptation to draw near in the hope of gathering what the quarrel is about. Make a covenant with your eyes and with your ears, against seeing or hearing vanity; for, as he goes on to urge, and a Christian moralist could not have put it better, "in mine opinion it is not meet that our senses should gad and wander abroad like a wild and untaught girl; but when Reason

hath sent it forth to some business, after it hath done the errand about which it was set, to return speedily again unto her mistress the soul, and make report how she hath sped and what she hath done; and then afterwards to stay at home discreetly, like a modest waiting-maiden, giving attendance upon Reason, and ready always at her command."

If letters are brought you, be not as some, who run eagerly to meet the messenger, who, in their impatience, cannot deliberately unloose, but tear with their teeth the threads which tie them; and then he concludes: "I remember upon a time, when I declaimed at Rome, that orator Rusticus, whom afterwards Domitian put to death for envy that he bare to his glory, happened to be there to hear me. Now, in the midst of my lecture, there came into the place a soldier with letters from the Emperor, which he delivered to Rusticus; whereupon there was great silence in the school, and I myself made some pause whiles he might read the letter; but he would not read it then, nor so much as break it open, before I had made an end of my discourse and dismissed the auditory; for which all the company there present highly praised and admired the gravity of the man."

It will be perceived from these specimens which I have adduced that his suggestions in the way of cure have the merit of being practical and practicable; and this merit, I may say, they always possess. They are practical, for they bear directly on the matter in hand, and must have commended themselves to those to whom they were addressed, as well adapted to bring about the results desired. They are practicable, for it cannot be affirmed that they make too difficult demands on men, that they are not fairly within the reach of all who are seeking in earnest to shun the evil, or to make the good proposed their own.

Further, too, it is evident from admonishments such as these, that Plutarch laid much stress on the exercising of ourselves in the resisting of small temptations, if we wish to prove able to stand when greater ones arrive; by slight self-denials voluntarily imposed, disciplining ourselves for the same when they should be required of us on a larger scale. The same conviction utters itself in other of his writings, as in his admirable little treatise on *False*

*Modesty*, such he means as, for example, leads us to shrink from saying, No, when truth and honor and religion demand this negative from us. In this little essay he urges excellently well the importance of truthfulness in speech and act, where the matter in hand makes no difficult demand upon us, that so we may prepare and arm ourselves for harder exercises of the same.

Another treatise, moving purely in an ethical region, is entitled, *The Restraint of Anger*. It is interesting as dwelling so wisely and well on the wisdom of not demanding too much from others, but rather considering ourselves and our own faultiness — a consideration which may well act as a constant check on the unreasonable claims which we are evermore tempted to make on others, and the indignation which we are too easily tempted to feel, when these claims are not satisfied to the full.

I am unwilling to interrupt my discourse by seeking to trace at any length the uses to which these and other ethical writings of Plutarch have been turned by those who have come after him. Only I will briefly observe that they have proved, as may easily be supposed, a rich storehouse, from which Christian writers in all ages have largely and freely drawn, not always remembering to acknowledge the source from which their wealth has been derived. Thus Basil the Great has a homily addressed by way of warning to those who borrow money at usurious interest, not needing it except for purposes of ostentation, luxury, and excess. In this homily the eloquent Greek father treads closely in the footsteps of our moralist, who has written an earnest little treatise on the same argument; though, indeed, he brings forward enough of his own, both in the matter and form of his discourse, to vindicate this from the charge of servile imitation, which has lately been brought against it. Another homily or treatise of the great Cappadocian bishop, addressed to young men, and having for its argument, the gain which may be gotten from a prudent study of heathen authors, has derived many hints from a treatise of Plutarch which deals with a very similar subject, and has for its theme, how a young man may draw profit and not harm from the writings of the poets. And in all ages the moral writings of Plutarch have been a quarry in which moralists and divines have freely wrought; but one which, for all this, is far from

wrought out. "I can hardly," writes Montaigne, "do without Plutarch; he is so universal and so full, that upon all occasions, and what extravagant subject soever you take in hand, he will still intrude himself into your business, and holds out to you a liberal and not to be exhausted hand of riches and embellishments." If I do not mistake, Lily in his *Euphues* has made more use of Plutarch than he has cared to own, if indeed he has owned his obligation at all. The index to the *Works* of Jeremy Taylor (Eden's edition) gives no less than two hundred and fifty-six allusions or direct references made by our English divine to the writings of our moralist, many others having, no doubt, escaped the notice of the editor; while in our own day the Bishop of Orleans, in his admirable *Letters on the Education of Girls*, has more than once respectfully referred to the writings of Plutarch as containing hints on this subject which are valuable for all times. But this of the uses to which his moral writings have been put, it would be impossible for me to follow further, and I must return.

His essay which proposes to itself the following question, *How One may discern a Flatterer from a Friend*, deals with a subject which was a very favorite one, which had almost grown into a commonplace, among the ethical writers of antiquity; for whom friendship was more, and love was less, than they severally are for us in the modern Christian world. This essay, one of the longest and most elaborate which Plutarch has bequeathed to us, affords very curious evidence of the high perfection which the art of flattery or assentation had in his time reached; the infinite variety of unlooked-for shapes which the flatterer, or spurious imitator of the friend, knew how to assume; the unexpected quarters from which he made his approaches, so as often to deceive those who counted themselves the most completely armed against him; how, for instance, knowing that freedom of speech is an element, nay of the essence of a true friendship, he does not shrink from something which affects to be this, and bears some external resemblance to this; though, indeed, it is only itself a subtler flattery all the while. It was an art in which, as Juvenal assures us, the Greek reigned supreme (*adulandi gens prudentissima*); his cleverness, his versatility, the total absence in too many cases upon his part



of all self-respect, giving him advantages which made it hopeless for the duller Roman, who still retained some sparks of this, with any prospect of success to contend against him. Leaving this treatise almost untouched, since an adequate analysis of it would consume all my time, I yet cannot leave it without citing the subtle observation with which, at its opening, he accounts for the success of the flatterer, and warns of the danger in which men lie of falling a prey to him; namely that, blinded as they are as to their true character by self-love, every man is his own first and chiefest flatterer, prepared therefore to hear and welcome the flatterer from the outside, who only comes confirming the sentence of the flatterer within. But the whole essay is among the finest, displaying too the subtlest heart-knowledge, of any which our author has left us.

Octave Gréard, who has written a volume of some merit *On the Morality of Plutarch*, more than once implies that his ethical writings are mainly occupied in inculcating the minor morals and smaller virtues, while the vices which he denounces scarcely go beyond the foibles of the *petite ville*, such as he may have had before his own eyes in his own little Chæronea. The charge is not a just one. It might perhaps have some show of justice in it, though, to my mind, not the reality, if these writings dealt only with such matters as we have just been treating. But they attempt, and often accomplish, much more than this. They may not offer always satisfactory solutions of the great problems of human life; for, indeed, how should they, when revealed religion itself on so many of these bids us to wait and to be content with the assurance that what we know not now, we shall know hereafter? but he does not shrink from looking these problems in the face; and neither the heights, which one who would fain do this will need to scale, nor the depths which must be fathomed, remain altogether unattempted by him.

Plutarch's little treatise *On Superstition* is a very favorite one with as many as care about these writings of his at all; and justly: "liber vere Plutarcheus," as Wyttensbach calls it, though ending so abruptly as to leave upon one the impression that it is rather the fragment of a book than one complete. This "superstition" he treats in the fashion of the Peripatetics, as one of two extremes,

atheism being the other; men not seldom falling into the one while they seek to flee from the other. Between these extremes as the golden mean, alike removed from both, piety, or the right reverence of the gods, resides. It was a subject which called for very careful handling, lest in getting rid of what was mischievous, there might also be a putting away of that which it would be a most serious calamity to lose. No man was more conscious of the need of caution here, of the danger which waited on any rude and rough dealing with faults which were yet akin in part to that which was not faulty, but good and well worthy to be retained. He more than once compares it to the demolishing of houses which abut on temples — a process demanding the exercise of a most reverent heed, lest in removing what is man's, what is ruinous and ought to disappear, there be drawn after this, and involved in the same ruin, what is God's, and ought to stand. Whether he escapes altogether the danger which he so clearly sees, will best be determined when we have made a little closer acquaintance with this most interesting essay, to which I return.

Of the two extremes, superstition and atheism, the former, as Plutarch on this occasion argues — for elsewhere he has somewhat modified this statement — is worse. The atheist, indeed, does not believe that there are gods; while the superstitious is persuaded that there are such, but that they are capricious, cruel, and revengeful; which is a far worse affront. "I had much rather," he urges, "that men should say, There is no such man as Plutarch, than that they should say, Plutarch is a man inconstant, capricious, easily offended, seeking on the least and lightest provocation to do the utmost harm he can to those who have offended him."

Many nobler utterances this treatise contains on the duty of thinking right things of the heavenly powers, and things honorable to them, than which no service is more acceptable in their sight; and first and chiefly, that they are friends to men, saviours and not destroyers; whose nearness, therefore, brings with it not hurt and harm, but help and salvation. But while we thankfully recognize this, it is impossible to affirm that all the truth is with him, and that there is not something to be said for these poor superstitions. Despite of all their exaggerations,

they too were witnessing, however blindly, for truths in their kind quite as important as those glorious ones which Plutarch was so strong to maintain. They, with their consciousness of disturbed relations between themselves and the Highest, with their sense that there needed something to be done to restore these disturbed relations — and who thus, when a child was snatched away, or some other misfortune befell them, traced up this, not to chance, not to the blind walk of mortal accident, but went back upon their past lives, on all of duty which they had omitted, of sin which they had committed, who thereupon clothed themselves in sackcloth, wallowed in ashes, heard angry voices in the thunder, counted all nature to be armed for their hurt — were not so wholly astray as Plutarch counted them to be. There were obscurely working in their minds truths to which he failed to do justice. They may often have erred, condemning themselves for what were petty faults or no faults at all, while they passed by the more real and graver transgressions of their lives. So, too, when they devised devices of expiation for themselves, of these some may have been childish follies, some hideous mistakes. But there was a truth behind them all. To say to one thus refusing comfort, and exclaiming to those who fain would bring it, “Let me alone, wicked and profane creature that I am, accursed, hated of all the gods, demigods, and saints in heaven,” — to tell such a one that the heavenly powers are gentle, well-willers to man, saviours and not destroyers, this is well: but it is not the whole message which the wounded and sore-stricken one needs. There is something which Plutarch could not tell him, and no fault therefore can be found with his silence; but yet which needs to be told; of One, that is, who already when Plutarch wrote, had borne, and borne away, the sins of the world, although the tidings of this finished work had not reached his ears nor theirs for whom he wrote.

There is another treatise in a still higher strain, which I would willingly bring to your knowledge, *Concerning those whom God is slow to Punish*. The Latin title by which it is better known, *De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ*, perhaps explains more clearly its character and intention. It may be regarded as Plutarch's theodicee, his answer to the question, “Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacher-

ously?" It is his "Fret not thyself because of the evil doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity;" his justification of the ways of God in a matter which has perplexed so many, in so many ages and in so many lands; which sorely perplexed Job, and for which the friends of Job could find only unsatisfying solutions, and such as the God of truth disallowed (Job xli. 8); which perplexed the Psalmist, so that he could find no answer at all, until he went into the sanctuary of God; which perplexed the heathen no less, all, that is, among the heathen, to whom the righteousness of God was dear, all who yearned to believe that there was a divine government of the world, and who yet found it hard to reconcile this faith with so much which they saw everywhere around them of the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the good. Plutarch perceived clearly that for a completely satisfying vindication of the divine righteousness, there needed to bring in another and a higher world, as the complement of this; which should redress all that had been left unredressed in this present; and the dialogue (for the discussion is thrown into this form) closes with a report of the account given by a *revenant* of all which he had seen in that world of retributions from which he had been permitted to return. This, of which the hint has been plainly taken from the vision of Er the Pamphylian in the *Republic* of Plato, is not altogether unworthy to stand beside it. But throwing thus a part, Plutarch is careful not to throw the whole weight of the argument for this righteous government of the earth on a world beyond the scope of our vision. Men might find it hard to believe in a God of judgment, if He did not even here and now give signs and manifest tokens of his presence, repaying men and nations to their face, and extorting, in this present time, and from the most unwilling a confession, "Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth." And such signs and tokens he is bold to affirm there are; for in the first place if, in this present world, judgments seem to tarry, and in some sense do tarry long, yet in another sense they often do not tarry at all, the punishment being twin-born with the sin, both springing together from the same bitter root: for, as he grandly says, "wickedness frameth of herself the engines of her own torment, as being a wonderful artisan of a miserable life," — all

which he speaks on this matter running worthily parallel with what Juvenal has uttered upon the same theme.

And, moreover, this tarrying of the divine judgments involves no chance of ultimate impunity for the wrongdoer. The fish which has swallowed the bait, and with the bait the hook, is already taken, though it be not yet drawn to land, nay, though it be still sporting in the waters, unconscious of its certain doom. A malefactor under sentence in his prison has not escaped his doom, the bitterness of death is not passed for him, because he may not be executed to-day or to-morrow. The world is such a prison-house for wicked men, and one out of which there is no chance of their escaping. "Now if in the meanwhile," he goes on to say, "they sit at feasts, send presents, wear crowns, disport themselves in divers manners, what is all this but as the games at dice, or other plays, with which condemned malefactors pass away the time, and amuse themselves, while as yet the deathsman is not actually at the door?" God can afford to wait. He is a creditor who has no bad debts. In every case it is He who speaks the last word.

Then, too, as our moralist proceeds to urge, there are judgments which, failing to light on one generation, do yet light on a succeeding; for he is very profoundly impressed with the solidarity — it is in vain to fight against this word — of families and of nations; and he proceeds to justify this dealing of God with men in words which would have gone far to satisfy St. Augustine, and to meet the demands of his theology; for indeed they need only to be pushed a little further, and they would declare the moral solidarity of the whole human race, and the deep ground of reality on which this reposes, and which makes it possible for the head of a race to diffuse a taint through the whole race whereof he is the source and spring.

This truth, let me note in passing, he contemplates here, not on its sadder side only, but in words which do not exclude its more blessed aspect as well. And this more blessed aspect it has; for if there be one who, like the first Adam, diffuses death through the whole race and progeny which trace their natural descent from him, so also there may be another Head, who is the author, not of death, but of life to all.

Such are in the main Plutarch's explanations of the

awful silences of Heaven, the mysterious tarryings of the divine judgments, the manifold occasions on which they seem to miscarry altogether. No doubt they do linger — *Habet Deus suas horas — et moras*; he does not deny it, but he counts that he has answer and explanation sufficient of these delays.

I will note here, and as nearly connected with what has just gone before, that there is no truth which has more deeply impressed itself on Plutarch's mind, none which he would more earnestly impress on others than this, namely, that the springs and fountains of all true satisfaction for the soul of man are from within; that this satisfaction is not to be found in our surroundings, however fair and fortunate these may be; that it is we who must first impart to these things which encompass us the grace and charm, which afterwards enables them to contribute to our happiness; just as, to use his own familiar and felicitous illustration, it is we who make our garments warm, and not our garments, which in themselves have no heat, that make us warm.

And not less firm for him stands the counterpart of this, namely, that wickedness of itself suffices to make men miserable, — he has indeed a brief essay bearing this very title, — that men breed for themselves those vultures of the mind which afterwards gnaw them inwardly, the true fountains of bitterness being those which men open in their own hearts, not those which meet them on their outward path; so that “while with virtue any sort of life is pleasant and void of sorrow, vice causeth those things which otherwise seemed great, honorable, and magnificent, to be odious, loathsome, and unwelcome to those that have them.”

The oracles, as voices and utterances of a god directly speaking to men, interested Plutarch profoundly; and he often treats of them, and from divers points of view; as, for instance, why the answers, which were once clothed in metre, were now given only in prose, dedicating an entire treatise to this subject. In this he has much that is instructive on the general relations between verse and prose in the literature of a people, and shows that in the inevitable order of things verse has preceded prose, and only at a later day “the manner of men's speech and order of writing came down, as one would say, from the stately

chariot of versification to prose, and went afoot." Or again he seeks an explanation of the fact that so many of the most famous oracles had ceased to give answers at all; dedicating to this another and far more elaborate essay, being as that silence was a fact which touched a devout heathen to the quick. The question indeed was one to the right answer of which, that answer being that the living God was famishing all the gods of the earth, that there was no place any longer for the great Pan, a Greater having come, it was impossible that Plutarch could attain; and thus he has only such explanations to suggest as that in the general depopulation of Greece, the chief seat of these oracles, those who desired answers from them were now much fewer than they once had been, and that the gods, who cared not to waste their gifts, leaving a sufficiency of these oracular seats, had withdrawn their presence from the rest.

Less satisfying still is another explanation which he offers — to wit, that the prophetic exhalation ascending out of the earth, and through the inhaling of which the prophetess was brought into that ecstatic state in which she gave her answers, was now through the lapse of years in many places exhausted. Such an explanation as this, as will at once be perceived, threatened to draw the oracles out of the region of the supernatural altogether, and to leave them a nature-process, and nothing more. Plutarch of course sees the danger, and is careful to meet it, but only, it must be owned, with partial success.

Some other points which he moves in relation to the oracles have a far more present interest for us; and remarkably enough anticipate and reproduce questions which we cannot put away from us in dealing with far livelier oracles than ever Plutarch knew. Certainly it is not a little curious to find the whole question of inspiration, of the human and divine elements which meet in this, of what are the several limits of each, and what the mutual action and reaction of each upon the other, carefully discussed and defined on more than one occasion by him. It is not a little interesting to find the same difficulties urged, and the same solutions of these difficulties proposed, as those with which at this day we are familiar. Thus an Epicurean argues of the oracles of Delphi that they cannot be utterances of a god, on the ground of the

faulty construction of many of the verses in which these oracles are delivered; being such, he urges, as never could have proceeded from Apollo, the god of music and of song. To this Plutarch, or one who evidently expresses his sentiments, replies very much as at this day it is replied, that the enthusiasm, though most truly a divine afflatus and influence, yet having human souls for the sphere of its operation, must necessarily derive much of the form and fashion in which it communicates itself to us from these, that the agitation of the spirit is divine, but that much after this is human, and may be referred to the varying conditions of different souls, or of the same soul at different times.

I have already cited passages not a few from the writings of Plutarch, which attest the natural piety of the man. Before we bring all to an end, I would fain adduce one or two more of the same character. Thus, on the duty of thankfulness, and the manifold reasons which we have for this, he has many words well worthy to be laid to heart by us all; as, for instance, these on those common everyday mercies of life, whose very commonness, which ought to enhance our gratitude, often causes that they draw forth from us no gratitude at all. See his essay on *Tranquillity*.

He looks on to a higher service still to be offered then when the soul shall be delivered from that burden of the flesh which now oppresses it; and in view of this ventures to take upon his lips words not unlike those of the Apostle Paul, when he exclaimed, "To me to die is gain." We shall be reminded too in the passage which I am about to quote of other sayings of the same Apostle bearing on the same glorious hope of the open vision of God, as contrasted with the seeing through a glass darkly of the present time: "And forasmuch as never any of them who are enamoured of learning could satisfy to the full his desire as touching the knowledge of the truth, for indeed they see as it were through a dark cloud and a thick mist by the organs and instruments of this body, therefore having an eye and regard always upward, and endeavoring to fly forth of this body, as a bird that mounteth up aloft that she may get into another lightsome place of greater capacity, they labor to make their soul light, and to discharge her of all gross passions and earthly affections. And verily for my part I esteem death a good thing, so



perfect and consummate in regard of the soul, which then shall live a life indeed, that I suppose the life here is not a subsistent and assured thing of itself, but resembleth rather the vain illusions of some dream."

But if his desires reached thus far and thus high, it was by the path of humility, of that true self-knowledge which leads us into ever lowlier thoughts of ourselves that he hoped to attain to their fulfilment. He has some very grand things to say on growth in this true self-knowledge.

I shall bring a task which has been a pleasant one to a close, with a very few remarks which have often suggested themselves to me as I have occupied myself with the ethical writings of Plutarch. It may, I think, very fairly be a question whether we do not exaggerate the moral corruption of the age to which he belongs, as compared with that of other ages in the world's history. Much which we are summoned to regard as monstrous excess of luxury is going on daily before our eyes at this present time, and excites no remark at all. Friedländer indeed loves to show that modern luxury, such as now passes altogether unproved, is very much in advance of what we read, and are duly horrified while we read, of the luxury of ancient Rome. Doubtless there was in his time, as there is always, a world lying in the Wicked One, monstrous outbreaks of all shapes of evil; but it may very possibly have been that these only seemed, and now seem to us, more monstrous than any similar outbreaks which had gone before, because acted on a wider and more conspicuous stage; because Rome, gathering to herself the riches and resources of the whole civilized world, enabled those who wielded those resources to indulge in more frantic excesses of self-indulgence, to sin upon a more Titanic scale than had been within the power of any that went before. It is at all events worth considering whether we do not sometimes accept as the rule, deeds and practices which were only the exceptions, and which perhaps attest themselves as such by the indignation which, in their own day, they aroused, by the vehemence with which they were denounced.

Nor must it be forgotten that we derive our impressions of the moral aspects of the Græco-Roman world in the first century after Christ mainly from three authors,

Suetonius, Juvenal, and Tacitus. Of these three, it has been said, the first is a malignant anecdote-monger; the second a professed satirist, and if not a satirist, nothing; while the third holds a brief for the old Roman aristocracy, and is bound to show what a hateful thing in itself, and what a mother of all things hateful, Imperialism was. This of course is not a fair statement of the case; while yet there is a certain amount of truth in it; and in studying these times it is good not to forget that we see much, which no doubt was ugly enough in itself, through a medium which very probably presents it to us even uglier still.

The age by the confession of all was one in which there were at least some efforts made, and those not wholly ineffectual, to arrest the progress of the world's corruption, the terrible swiftness with which it had for some time past been travelling to its doom. Certainly the sum-total impression which Plutarch's own moral writings leave upon the mind is not that of a society so poisoned and infected through and through with an evil leaven, that there was no hope of expelling any part of the infection, or of mingling a nobler leaven in the lump. He nowhere speaks as one crying in the wilderness, but rather as one confident that he will find many hearts, a circle of sympathetic hearers, to respond to his appeals, even as we have evidence sufficient that this at least he did.

It may be urged, indeed, that his native kindliness, that benignant interpretation of things which I have already noticed as objected to him, his readiness to believe the best of every man, reaching, as he himself admits, to a credulity on his part, hindered him from taking the full measure of the sin round him and about him; and no doubt it is true that the fierce indignation which put a lash into the hands of Juvenal, and consumed the heart of Tacitus, was wanting in him.

There are moralists who can denounce *sins*, but have no eye for *sin*. That he had an eye for both, and saw the important distinction between them, is sufficiently evident from such an utterance as the following: "And to say truth, herein are we mightily deceived, that we think men are become unjust then only, and not before, when they do injury; or dissolute, when they play some insolent and loose part; cowardly-minded, when they run out of the

field; as if a man should have the conceit, that the sting in a scorpion was then bred, and not before, when he gave the first prick; or the poison in vipers was engendered then only, when they bit or stung; which surely were great simplicity and mere childishness: for a wicked person becometh not then such an one, even when he appeareth so, and not before; but he hath the rudiments and beginnings of vice and naughtiness imprinted in himself; but he showeth and useth the same, when he hath means, fit occasion, good opportunity, and might answerable to his mind."

Still more remarkable are some other words of his, words far in advance of all which a Pelagian would admit, words, indeed, in which the listening Christian ear can detect the voice of one who is not very far from the confession, not of sin only as superinduced and learned, but also of sin original and innate, of "radical evil." "If thou wilt anatomize and open thyself, thou shalt find within a store-house and treasure of many evils and maladies, and those of divers and sundry sorts, not entering and running in from abroad, but having their original sources springing out of the ground and home-bred, the which vice, abundant, rich, and plenteous in passions, putteth forth." Such statements as these must have their weight; and in forming our estimate from Plutarch's own writings of the moral conditions of that world in which he lived and wrought, let every needful allowance be made for his disposition to see all things and persons in the most favorable light; yet certainly it cannot be affirmed of one who could express himself in language like that which you have just heard, that as a physician of souls he only faintly apprehended the malignity of the hurts which he addressed himself to heal; that he saw only men's faults and foibles, when he should have seen their sins, their vices, and their crimes. The remedies he proposed may have been often insufficient; and in some sense, coming so short as they did of the one remedy which God had provided, they must have been insufficient. The deep hurt of the heathen world was not healed. The old society did not renew its youth. But that just about this time voices were lifted up in behalf of righteousness and truth, and these out of the midst of the heathen world itself, such as had not before been heard, and that they

were not raised altogether in vain, all capable of judging are agreed. What exact share in so excellent a work the Sage of Chæronea bore it is impossible to determine, but some considerable share he assuredly had. And here we part with him, glad and thankful to know, in the midst of that sad perplexity with which oftentimes we contemplate the world before Christ, or out of Christ, that men such as this have been possible in it; glad to believe, and surely this is no amiable delusion, that their work and witness, with all its weaknesses and shortcomings, was not in their own time wholly in vain; and that even in times long after, and under dispensations far clearer, the value of it has not altogether disappeared.

RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH.

# PLUTARCH'S ESSAYS.

## HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

### THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

IT was a singular instance of the wisdom of this nation, in that they took the greatest care they could, by an early sober education, to instil into their youth the principles of virtue and good manners, that so, by a constant succession of prudent and valiant men, they might the better provide for the honor and security of their state, and lay in the minds of every one a solid and good foundation of love and friendship, of prudence and knowledge, of temperance and frugality, of courage and resolution. And therefore their great lawgiver thought it necessary for the ends of government to institute several distinct societies and conventions of the people; amongst which was that of their solemn and public living together at one table, where their custom was to admit their youth into the conversation of their wise and elderly men, that so by daily eating and drinking with them they might insensibly, as it were, be trained up to a right knowledge of themselves, to a just submission to their superiors, and to the learning of whatever might conduce to the reputation of their laws and the interest of their country. For here they were taught all the wholesome rules of discipline, and daily instructed how to demean themselves from the example and practice of their great ones; and though they did not at this public meeting confine themselves to set and grave discourses concerning the civil government, but allowed themselves a larger freedom, by mingling sometimes with their politics the easy and familiar entertainments of mirth and satire, yet this was ever done with the greatest modesty and discretion,

not so much to expose the person of any one, as to reprove the fault he had committed. Whatever was transacted at these stated and common feasts was to be locked up in every one's breast with the greatest silence and secrecy, insomuch as the eldest among them at these assemblies, pointing to the door, acquainted him who entered the room that nothing of what was done or spoken there was to be talked of afterwards.

At all these public meetings they used a great deal of moderation, they being designed only for schools of temperance and modesty, not for luxury and indecency; their chief dish and only delicacy being a sort of pottage (called by them their black broth, and made of some little pieces of flesh, with a small quantity of blood, salt, and vinegar), and this the more ancient among them generally preferred to any sort of meat whatsoever, as the more pleasing entertainment and of a more substantial nourishment. The younger sort contented themselves with flesh and other ordinary provisions, without tasting of this dish, which was reserved only for the old men. It is reported of Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant, that having heard of the great fame and commendation of this broth, he hired a certain cook of Lacedæmon, who was thoroughly skilled in the make and composition of it, to furnish his table every day with so great and curious a dainty; and that he might have it in the greatest perfection, enjoined him to spare no cost in the making it agreeable and pleasant to his palate. But it seems the end answered not the pains he took in it; for after all his care and niceness, the king, as soon as he had tasted of it, found it both fulsome and nauseous to his stomach, and spitting it out with great distaste, as if he had taken down a vomit, sufficiently expressed his disapprobation of it. But the cook, not discouraged at this dislike of his master, told the tyrant that he humbly conceived the reason of this disagreeableness to him was not in the pottage, but rather in himself, who had not prepared his body for such food according to the Laconic mode and custom. For hard labors and long exercises and moderate abstinence (the best preparatives to a good and healthy appetite) and frequent bathings in the river Eurotas were the only necessities for a right relish and understanding of the excellency of this entertainment.

'Tis true, their constant diet was very mean and

sparing; not what might pamper their bodies or make their minds soft and delicate, but such only as would barely serve to supply the common necessities of nature. This they accustomed themselves to, that so they might become sober and governable, active and bold in the defence of their country; they accounting only such men serviceable to the state, who could best endure the extremes of hunger and cold, and with cheerfulness and vigor run through the fatigues of labor and the difficulties of hardship. Those who could fast longest after a slender meal, and with the least provision satisfy their appetites, were esteemed the most frugal and temperate, and most sprightly and healthful, the most comely and well proportioned; nature, through such a temperance and moderation of diet, not suffering the constitution to run out into an unwieldy bulk or greatness of body (the usual consequence of full tables and too much ease), but rather rendering it thereby nervous and sinewy, of a just and equal growth, and consolidating and knitting together all the several parts and members of it. A very little drink did serve their turn, who never drank but when an extreme thirst provoked them to it; for at all their common entertainments they studied the greatest measures of sobriety, and took care they should be deprived of all kinds of computations whatsoever. And at night, when they returned home, they went cheerfully to their sleep, without the assistance of any light to direct them to their lodging; that being prohibited them as an indecent thing, the better to accustom them to travel in the dark, without any sense of fear or apprehensions of danger.

They never applied their minds to any kind of learning, further than what was necessary for use and service; nature indeed having made them more fit for the purposes of war than for the improvements of knowledge. And therefore for speculative sciences and philosophic studies, they looked upon them as foreign to their business and unserviceable to their ends of living, and for this reason they would not tolerate them amongst them, nor suffer the professors of them to live within their government. They banished them their cities, as they did all sorts of strangers, esteeming them as things that did debase the true worth and excellency of virtue, which they made to consist only in manly actions and generous exercises, and not in vain

disputations and empty notions. So that the whole of what their youth was instructed in was to learn obedience to the laws and injunctions of their governors, to endure with patience the greatest labors, and where they could not conquer, to die valiantly in the field. For this reason likewise it was, that all mechanic arts and trades, all vain and insignificant employments, such as regarded only curiosity or pleasure, were strictly prohibited them, as things that would make them degenerate into idleness and covetousness, would render them vain and effeminate, useless to themselves, and unserviceable to the state; and on this account it was that they would never suffer any scenes or interludes, whether of comedy or tragedy, to be set up among them, lest there should be any encouragement given to speak or act anything that might savor of contempt or contumely against their laws and government, it being customary for the stage to assume an indecent liberty of taxing the one with faults and the other with imperfections.

As to their apparel, they were as thinly clad as they were dieted, never exceeding one garment, which they wore for the space of a whole year. And this they did, the better to inure them to hardship and to bear up against all the injuries of the weather, that so the extremities of heat and cold should have no influence at all upon their constitution. They were as regardless of their selves as they were negligent of their clothes, denying themselves (unless it were at some stated time of the year) the use of ointments and bathings to keep them clean and sweet, as too expensive and signs of a too soft and delicate temper of body.

Their youth, as they were instructed and ate in public together, so at night slept in distinct companies in one common chamber, and on no other beds than what were made of reeds, which they had gathered out of the river Eurotas, near the banks of which they grew. This was the only accommodation they had in the summer, but in winter they mingled with the reeds a certain soft and downy thistle, having much more of heat and warmth in it than the other.

It was freely allowed them to place an ardent affection upon those whose excellent endowments recommended them to the love and consideration of any one;



but then this was always done with the greatest innocency and modesty, and every way becoming the strictest rules and measures of virtue, it being accounted a base and dishonorable passion in any one to love the body and not the mind, as those did who in their young men preferred the beauty of the one before the excellency of the other. Chaste thoughts and modest discourses were the usual entertainments of their loves; and if any one was accused at any time either of wanton actions or impure discourse, it was esteemed by all so infamous a thing, that the stains it left upon his reputation could never be wiped out during his whole life.

So strict and severe was the education of their youth, that whenever they were met with in the streets by grave and elderly persons, they underwent a close examination; it being their custom to inquire of them upon what business and whither they were going, and if they did not give them a direct and true answer to the question demanded of them, but shamed them with some idle story or false pretence, they never escaped without a rigorous censure and sharp correction. And this they did to prevent their youth from stealing abroad upon any idle or bad design, that so, through the uneasy fears of meeting these grave examiners, and the impossibility of escaping punishment upon their false account and representations of things, they might be kept within due compass, and do nothing that might intrench upon truth or offend against the rules of virtue. Nor was it expected only from their superiors to censure and admonish them upon any miscarriage or indecency whatsoever, but it was strictly required of them under a severe penalty; for he who did not reprove a fault that was committed in his presence and showed not his just resentments of it by a verbal correction, was adjudged equally culpable with the guilty, and obnoxious to the same punishment. For they could not imagine that person had a serious regard for the honor of their laws and the reputation of their government, who could carelessly pass by any immorality and patiently see the least corruption of good manners in their youth; by which means they took away all occasions of fondness, partiality, and indulgence in the aged, and all presumption, irreverence, and disobedience, and especially all impatience of reproof, in the younger sort. For not to endure the reprehension of their

superiors in such cases was highly disgraceful to them, and ever interpreted as an open renunciation of their authority, and a downright opposing of the justice of their proceedings.

Besides, when any was surprised in the commission of some notorious offence, he was presently sentenced to walk round a certain altar in the city, and publicly to shame himself by singing an ingenious satire, composed by himself, upon the crime and folly he had been guilty of, that so the punishment might be inflicted by the same hand which had contracted the guilt.

Their children were brought up in a strict obedience to their parents, and taught from their infancy to pay a profound reverence to all their dictates and commands. And no less were they enjoined to show an awful regard and observance to all their superiors in age and authority, so as to rise up before the hoary head, and to honor the face of the old man, to give him the way when they met him in the streets, and to stand still and remain silent till he was passed by; insomuch as it was indulged them, as a peculiar privilege due to their age and wisdom, not only to have a paternal authority over their own children, servants, and estates, but over their neighbors too, as if they were a part of their own family and property; that so in general there might be a mutual care, and an united interest, zealously carried on betwixt them for the private good of every one in particular, as well as for the public good of the communities they lived in. By this means they never wanted faithful counsellors to assist with good advice in all their concerns, nor hearty friends to prosecute each other's interest as it were their own; by this means they never wanted careful tutors and guardians for their youth, who were always at hand to admonish and instruct them in the solid principles of virtue.

No one durst show himself refractory to their instructions, nor at the least murmur at their reprehensions; insomuch that, whenever any of their youth had been punished by them for some ill that had been done, and a complaint thereupon made by them to their parents of the severity they had suffered, hoping for some little relief from their indulgence and affection, it was accounted highly dishonorable in them not to add to their punishment by a fresh correction for the folly and injustice of their com-

plaint. For by the common interest of discipline, and that great care that every one was obliged to take in the education of their youth, they had a firm trust and assurance in one another, that they never would enjoin their children the performance of anything that was in the least unnecessary or unbecoming them.

Though it might seem very strange and unaccountable in this wise nation, that anything which had the least semblance of baseness or dishonesty should be universally approved, commended, and encouraged by their laws, yet so it was in the case of theft, whereby their young children were allowed to steal certain things, as particularly the fruit of their orchards or their messes at their feasts. But then this was not done to encourage them to the desires of avarice and injustice, but to sharpen their wits, and to make them crafty and subtle, and to train them up in all sorts of wiles and cunning, watchfulness and circumspection, whereby they were rendered more apt to serve them in their wars, which was upon the matter the whole profession of this commonwealth. And if at any time they were taken in the act of stealing, they were most certainly punished with rods and the penance of fasting; not because they esteemed the stealth criminal, but because they wanted skill and cunning in the management and concealing of it.

They spent a great part of their studies in poetry and music, which raised their minds above the ordinary level, and by a kind of artificial enthusiasm inspired them with generous heats and resolutions for action. Their compositions, consisting only of very grave and moral subjects, were easy and natural, in a plain dress, and without any paint or ornament, containing nothing else but the just commendations of those great personages whose singular wisdom and virtue had made their lives famous and exemplary, and whose courage in defence of their country had made their deaths honorable and happy. Nor were the valiant and virtuous only the subject of these songs; but the better to make men sensible of what rewards and honors are due to the memory of such, they made invectives in them upon those who were signally vicious and cowards, as men who died with as much contempt as they had lived with infamy. They generally concluded their poem with a solemn profession of what

they would be, boasting of their progress in virtue, agreeable to the abilities of their nature and the expectations of their age.

At all their public festivals these songs were a great part of their entertainment, where there were three companies of singers, representing the three several ages of nature. The old men made up the first chorus, whose business was to present what they had been after this manner: —

That active courage youthful blood contains  
Did once with equal vigor warm our veins.

To which the chorus, consisting of young men only, thus answers: —

Valiant and bold we are, let who will try:  
Who dares accept our challenge soon shall die.

The third, which were of young children, replied to them in this manner: —

Those seeds which Nature in our breast did sow  
Shall soon to generous fruits of virtue grow;  
Then all those valiant deeds which you relate  
We will excel, and scorn to imitate.

They made use of a peculiar measure in their songs, when their armies were in their march towards an enemy, which being sung in a full choir to their flutes seemed proper to excite in them a generous courage and contempt of death. Lycurgus was the first who brought this warlike music into the field, that so he might moderate and soften the rage and fury of their minds in an engagement by solemn musical measures, and that their valor (which should be no boisterous and unruly thing) might always be under the government of their reason, and not of passion. To this end it was always their custom before the fight to sacrifice to the Muses, that they might behave themselves with as much good conduct as with courage, and do such actions as were worthy of memory, and which might challenge the applauses and commendations of every one.

And indeed so great an esteem and veneration had they for the gravity and simplicity of their ancient music,

that no one was allowed to recede in the least from the established rules and measures of it, insomuch as the Ephori, upon complaint made to them, laid a severe mulct upon Terpander (a musician of great note and eminency for his incomparable skill and excellency in playing upon the harp, and who, as he had ever professed a great veneration for antiquity, so ever testified by his eulogiums and commendations the esteem he always had of virtuous and heroic actions), depriving him of his harp, and (as a peculiar punishment) exposing it to the censure of the people, by fixing it upon a nail, because he had added one string more to his instrument than was the usual and stated number, though done with no other design and advantage than to vary the sound, and to make it more useful and pleasant. That music was ever accounted among them the best, which was most grave, simple, and natural. And for this reason too, when Timotheus in their Carnean feasts, which were instituted in honor of Apollo, contended for a preference in his art, one of the Ephori took a knife in his hand, and cut the strings of his harp, for having exceeded the number of seven in it. So severely tenacious were they of their ancient customs and practices, that they would not suffer the least innovation, though in things that were indifferent and of no great importance, lest an indulgence in one thing might have introduced another, till at length by gradual and insensible alterations the whole body of their laws might be disregarded and contemned, and so the main pillar which did support the fabric of their government be weakened and undermined.

Lycurgus took away that superstition, which formerly indeed had been the practice among them, concerning their sepulchre and funeral solemnities, by permitting them to bury the remains of their departed friends within the city, that so they might the better secure them from the rude and barbarous violence of an enemy, and to erect their monuments for them in separated places joining to their temples; that, having their graves and tombs always before their eyes, they might not only remember but imitate the worthy actions they had done, and so lessen the fears and apprehensions of death with the consideration of those honors they paid their memories when they put off their mortalities. He took away

those pollutions which they formerly looked upon as arising from their dead bodies, and prohibited all costly and sumptuous expenses at their funerals, it being very improper for those who while alive generally abstained from whatever was vain and curious to be carried to the grave with any pomp and magnificence. Therefore without the use of drugs and ointments, without any rich odors and perfumes, without any art or curiosity, save only the little ornament of a red vestment and a few olive-leaves, they carried him to the place of burying, where he was, without any formal sorrows and public lamentations, honorably and securely laid up in a decent and convenient sepulchre. And here it was lawful for any one who would be at the trouble to erect a monument for the person deceased, but not to engrave the least inscription on it; this being the peculiar reward of such only who had signalized themselves in war, and died gallantly in defence of their country.

It was not allowed any of them to travel into foreign countries, lest their conversation should be tinged with the customs of those places, and they at their return introduce amongst them new modes and incorrect ways of living, to the corruption of good manners and the prejudice of their own laws and usage; for which reason they expelled all strangers from Sparta, lest they might insinuate their vices and their folly into the affections of the people, and leave in the minds of their citizens the bad principles of softness and luxury, ease and covetousness.

Nothing could sooner forfeit the right and privilege of a citizen, than refusing their children that public education which their laws and country demanded of them. For as none of them were on any account exempt from obedience to their laws, so, if any one out of an extraordinary tenderness and indulgence would not suffer his sons to be brought up according to their strict discipline and institutions, he was straightways disfranchised. For they could not think that person could ever prove serviceable to their government, who had not been educated with the same care and severity with his fellow-subjects. And it was no less a shame and reproach to the parents themselves, who could be of such mean and abject spirits as to prefer the love of their children to the love of their country, and

the satisfaction of a fond and imprudent passion to the honor and security of their state.

Nay further, as there was a community of children, so there was of their goods and estates, it being free for them in case of necessity to make use of their neighbor's servants, as if they were their own; and not only so, but of their horses and dogs too, unless the owners stood in need of them themselves, whenever they designed the diversion of hunting, an exercise peculiar to this nation, and to which they were accustomed from their youth. And if upon any extraordinary occasion any one was pressed with the want of what his neighbors were possessed of, he went freely to them and borrowed, as though he had been the right owner of their storehouses; and being supplied answerably to his necessities, he carefully sealed them up again and left them secure.

In all their warlike expeditions they generally clothed themselves with a garment of a purple color, as best becoming the profession of soldiers, and carrying in them a signification of that blood they were resolved to shed in the service of their country. It was of use likewise, not only to cast a greater terror into their adversaries and to secure from their discovery the wounds they should receive, but likewise for distinction's sake, that in the heat and fury of the battle they might discriminate each other from the enemy. They always fought with consideration and cunning, craft being many times of more advantage to them than downright blows; for it is not the multitude of men, nor the strongest arm and the sharpest sword, that make men masters of the field.

Whenever a victory was gained through a well-concocted stratagem, and thereby with little loss of men and blood, they always sacrificed an ox to Mars; but when the success was purely owing to their valor and prowess, they only offered up a cock to him; it being in their estimation more honorable for their generals and commanders to overcome their enemies by policy and subtlety than by mere strength and courage.

One great part of their religion lay in their solemn prayers and devotion, which they daily offered up to their gods, heartily requesting of them to enable them to bear all kinds of injuries with a generous and unshaken

mind, and to reward them with honor and prosperity, according to their performances of piety and virtue.

Besides, it was a great part of that honor they paid their gods, of whatever sex they were, to adorn them with military weapons and armor, partly out of superstition and an extraordinary reverence they had for the virtue of fortitude, which they preferred to all others, and which they looked upon as an immediate gift of the gods, as being the greatest lovers and patrons of those who were endued with it; and partly to encourage every one to address his devotions to them for it; insomuch as Venus herself, who in other nations was generally represented naked, had her armor too, as well as her particular altars and worshippers.

Whenever they took any business of moment in hand, they generally invoked Fortune in a set form of words for their success; it being no better in their esteem than profaneness and irreverence to their gods to invoke them upon slight and trivial emergencies.

No discovery of what is bad and vicious comes with greater evidence to the spirits and apprehensions of children, who are unable to bear the force of reason, than that which is offered to them by way of example. Therefore the Spartan discipline did endeavor to preserve their youth (on whom philosophical discourses would have made but small impression) from all kinds of intemperance and excess of wine, by presenting before them all the indecencies of their drunken Helots, persons indeed who were their slaves, and employed not only in all kinds of servile offices, but especially in tilling of their fields and manuring of their ground, which was let out to them at reasonable rates, they paying in every year their returns of rent, according to what was anciently established and ordained amongst them at the first general division of their lands. And if any did exact greater payments from them, it was esteemed an execrable thing amongst them; they being desirous that the Helots might reap gain and profit from their labors, and thereupon be obliged faithfully to serve their masters as well as their own interest with greater cheerfulness and industry. And therefore their lords never required more of them than what bare custom and contracts exacted of them.

They adjudged it necessary for the preservation of that



gravity and seriousness of manners which was required of their youth for the attainments of wisdom and virtue, never to admit of any light and wanton, any ludicrous or effeminate poetry; which made them allow of no poets among them but such only who for their grave and virtuous compositions were approved by the public magistrate; that being hereby under some restraint, they might neither act nor write anything to the prejudice of good manners, or to the dishonor of their laws and government.

And therefore it was, that when they heard of Archilochus's arrival at Sparta (though a Lacedæmonian, and of an excellent wit), yet they presently commanded him to depart the city, having understood how that in a poem of his he had affirmed it was greater wisdom for a man to throw his arms away and secure himself by flight, than to stand to his own defence with the hazard of his life, or therein to die valiantly in the field. His words were after this manner: —

Let who will boast their courage in the field,  
I find but little safety from my shield.  
Nature's not Honor's laws we must obey;  
This made me cast my useless shield away,  
And by a prudent flight and cunning save  
A life, which valor could not, from the grave.  
A better buckler I can soon regain,  
But who can get another life again?

It was a received opinion amongst many nations, that some of their Gods were propitious only to their men, and others only to their women, which made them sometimes prohibit the one and sometimes the other from being present at their sacred rites and solemnities. But the Lacedæmonians took away this piece of superstition by not excluding either sex from their temples and religious services; but, as they were always bred up to the same civil exercises, so they were to the same common performances of their holy mysteries, so that by an early knowledge of each other there might be a real love and friendship established betwixt them, which ever stood most firm upon the basis of religion.

Their virtuous man, as he was to do no wrong, so likewise was not to suffer any without a due sense and modest resentment of it; and therefore the Ephori laid a

mulet upon Sciraphidas, because he could so tamely receive the many injuries and affronts that were offered him,—concluding that he who was so insensible of his own interest as not to stand up in a bold and honest vindication of himself from the wrongs and injustice that may be done to his good name and honor, would without all doubt be as dull and listless, when an opportunity should invite him to it, in appearing for the defence of the fame and reputation of his country.

Action and not speaking was the study and commendation of a Spartan, and therefore polite discourses and long harangues were not with them the character of a wise or learned man, their speech being always grave and sententious, without any ornament or tedious argumentation. They trained themselves to brevity, and upon every subject to express themselves in the finest words, with as much satire and smartness as possible; insomuch as they had a law among them for the instruction of their youth, by which they were enjoined to practise a close and compendious style in all their orations; which made them banish one Cephisophon, a talkative rhetorician, for boasting publicly that he could upon any subject whatsoever entertain his auditory for a whole day together; alleging this as a sufficient reason for their justification, that it was the part of a good orator to adjust his discourse according to the weight and dignity of the matter he was to treat of.

There was indeed a strange and unnatural custom amongst them, annually observed at the celebration of the bloody rites of Diana Orthia, where there was a certain number of children, not only of the vulgar sort but of the gentry and nobility, who were whipped almost to death with rods before the altar of the goddess; their parents and relations standing by, and all the while exhorting them to patience and constancy in suffering. Although this ceremony endured for the space of a whole day, yet they underwent this barbarous rite with such a prodigious cheerfulness and resolution of mind as never could be expected from the softness and tenderness of their age. They did not so much as express one little sigh or groan during the whole solemnity, but out of a certain emulation and desire of glory there was a great contention among them, who should excel his companions in the constancy of enduring the length and sharpness of their pains; and he who held

out the longest was ever the most esteemed and valued person amongst them, and the glory and reputation wherewith they rewarded his sufferings rendered his after life much more eminent and illustrious.

They had a very slight regard to maritime affairs, on the account of an ancient law amongst them, whereby they were prohibited from applying of themselves to the becoming of good seamen or engaging themselves in any sea-fight. Afterwards indeed, through the necessity of affairs and the security of their country, they judged it convenient, when they were invaded by the Athenians and other nations, to furnish themselves with a navy; by which it was that Lysander, who was then the general in that expedition, obtained a great victory over the Athenians, and thereby for a considerable time secured the sovereignty of the seas to themselves. But finding afterwards this grievance arising from it, that there was a very sensible corruption of good manners and decay of discipline amongst them, from the conversation of their rude and debauched mariners, they were obliged to lay this profession wholly aside, and by a revival of this law endeavor to retrieve their ancient sobriety, and; by turning the bent and inclinations of the people into their old channel again, to make them tractable and obedient, modest and virtuous. Though indeed they did not long hold to their resolution herein, any more than they were wont to do in other matters of moment, which could not but be variable, according to the circumstances of affairs and the necessities of their government. For though great riches and large possessions were things they hated to death, it being a capital crime and punishment to have any gold or silver in their houses, or to amass up together heaps of money (which was generally made with them of iron or leather), — for which reason several had been put to death, according to that law which banished covetousness out of the city, on the account of an answer of their oracle to Alcarnenes and Theopompus, two of their Spartan kings,

That the love of money should be the ruin of Sparta, —

yet notwithstanding the severe penalty annexed to the heaping up much wealth, and the example of those who had suffered for it, Lysander was highly honored and re-

warded for bringing in a great quantity of gold and silver to Lacedæmon, after the victory he had gained over the Athenians, and the taking of the city of Athens itself, wherein an inestimable treasure was found. So that what had been a capital crime in others was a meritorious act in him. It is true indeed that as long as the Spartas did adhere closely to the observation of the laws and rules of Lycurgus, and keep their oath religiously to be true to their own government, they outstripped all the other cities of Greece for prudence and valor, and for the space of five hundred years became famous everywhere for the excellency of their laws and the wisdom of their polity. But when the honor of these laws began to lessen and their citizens grew luxurious and exorbitant, when covetousness and too much liberty had softened their minds and almost destroyed the wholesome constitution of their state, their former greatness and power began by little and little to decay and dwindle in the estimation of men. And as by reason of these vices and ill customs they proved unserviceable to themselves, so likewise they became less formidable to others; insomuch as their several allies and confederates, who had with them jointly carried on their common good and interest, were wholly alienated from them. But although their affairs were in such a languishing posture, when Philip of Macedon, after his great victory at Chæronea, was by the Grecians declared their general both by land and sea, as likewise his son Alexander after the conquest of the Thebans; yet the Lacedæmonians, though their city had no other walls for their security, but only their own courage, though by reason of their frequent wars they were reduced to low measures and small numbers of men, and thereby become so weak as to be an easy prey to any powerful enemy, yet retaining amongst them some reverence for those few remains of Lycurgus's institution and government, they could not be brought to assist these two, or any other of their Macedonian kings in their wars and expeditions; neither could they be prevailed with to assist at their common assemblies and councils with them, nor pay any tribute or contributions to them. But when all those laws and customs (which are the main pillars that support a state) enacted by Lycurgus, and so highly approved of by the government, were now universally despised and unobserved, they

immediately became a prey to the ambition and usurpation, to the cruelty and tyranny of their fellow-citizens; and having no regard at all to their ancient virtues and constitution, they utterly lost their ancient glory and reputation, and by degrees, as well as weaker nations, did in a very little time everywhere degenerate into poverty, contempt, and servitude; being at present subject to the Romans, like all the other cities of Greece.

## APOTHEGMS; OR REMARKABLE SAYINGS OF KINGS AND GREAT COMMANDERS.

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN THE EMPEROR WISHETH PROSPERITY.

ARTAXERXES, King of Persia, O Cæsar Trajan, greatest of princes, esteemed it no less royal and bountiful kindly and cheerfully to accept small, than to make great presents; and when he was in a progress, and a common country laborer, having nothing else, took up water with both his hands out of the river and presented it to him, he smiled and received it pleasantly, measuring the kindness not by the value of the gift, but by the affection of the giver. And Lycurgus ordained in Sparta very cheap sacrifices, that they might always worship the gods readily and easily with such things as were at hand. Upon the same account, when I bring a mean and slender present of the common first-fruits of philosophy, accept also (I beseech you) with my good affection these brief memorials, if they may contribute anything to the knowledge of the manners and dispositions of great men, which are more apparent in their words than in their actions. My former treatise contains the lives of the most eminent princes, lawgivers, and generals, both Romans and Grecians; but many of their actions admit a mixture of fortune, whereas such speeches and answers as happened amidst their employments, passions, and events afford us (as in a looking-glass) a clear discovery of each particular temper and disposition. Accordingly Siramnes the Persian, to such as wondered that he usually spoke like a wise man and yet was unsuccessful in his designs, replied: I myself am master of my words, but the king and fortune have power over my actions. In the former treatise speeches and actions are mingled together, and require a reader that is at leisure; but in this the speeches, being as it were the seeds and the substance of those lives, are placed by themselves, and will not (I think) be tedious to you, since they will give you in a few words a review of many memorable persons.

**CYRUS.** The Persians affect such as are hawk-nosed and think them most beautiful, because Cyrus, the most beloved of their kings, had a nose of that kind. Cyrus said that those that would not do good for themselves ought to be compelled to do good for others; and that nobody ought to govern, unless he was better than those he governed. When the Persians were desirous to exchange their hills and rocks for a plain and soft country, he would not suffer them, saying that both the seeds of plants and the lives of men resemble the soil they inhabit.

**DARIUS.** Darius the father of Xerxes was wont to praise himself, saying that he became even more prudent in battles and dangers. When he laid a tax upon his subjects, he summoned his lieutenants, and asked them whether the tax was burthensome or not? When they told him it was moderate, he commanded them to pay half as much as was at first demanded. As he was opening a pomegranate, one asked him what it was of which he would wish for a number equal to the seeds thereof. He said, Of men such as Zopyrus,— who was a loyal person and his friend. This Zopyrus, after he had maimed himself by cutting off his nose and ears, beguiled the Babyionians; and being trusted by them, he betrayed the city to Darius, who often said that he would not have had Zopyrus maimed to gain a hundred Babylons.

**SEMIAMIS.** Semiramis built a monument for herself, with this inscription: Whatever king wants treasure, if he open this tomb, he may be satisfied. Darius therefore opening it found no treasure, but another inscription of this import: If thou wert not a wicked person and of insatiable covetousness, thou wouldst not disturb the mansions of the dead.

**XERXES.** Arimenes came out of Bactria as a rival for the kingdom with his brother Xerxes, the son of Darius. Xerxes sent presents to him, commanding those that brought them to say: With these your brother Xerxes now honors you; and if he chance to be proclaimed king, you shall be the next person to himself in the kingdom. When Xerxes was declared king, Arimenes immediately did him homage and placed the crown upon his head; and Xerxes gave him the next place to himself. Being offended with the Babyionians, who rebelled, and having overcome them, he forbade them weapons, but commanded they

should practise singing and playing on the flute, keep brothel-houses and taverns, and wear large coats. He refused to eat Attic figs that were brought to be sold, until he had conquered the country that produced them. When he caught some Grecian scouts in his camp, he did them no harm, but having allowed them to view his army as much as they pleased, he let them go.

ARTAXERXES. Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, surnamed Longimanus (or *Long-hand*) because he had one hand longer than the other, said, it was more kingly to add than to take away. He first gave leave to those that hunted with him, if they would and saw occasion, to throw their darts before him. He also first ordained that punishment for his nobles who had offended, that they should be stripped and their garments scourged instead of their bodies; and whereas their hair should have been plucked out, that the same operation should be done to their turbans. When Satibarzanes, his chamberlain, petitioned him in an unjust matter, and he understood he did it to gain thirty thousand pieces of money, he ordered his treasurer to bring the said sum, and gave them to him, saying: O Satibarzanes! take it; for when I have given you this, I shall not be poorer, but I had been more unjust if I had granted your petition.

CYRUS THE YOUNGER. Cyrus the Younger, when he was urging the Lacedæmonians to side with him in the war, said that he had a stronger heart than his brother, and could drink more wine unmixed than he, and bear it better; that his brother, when he hunted, could scarce sit his horse, or when ill news arrived, his throne. He exhorted them to send him men, engaging to give horses to footmen, chariots to horsemen, villages to those that had farms, and those that possessed villages he would make lords of cities; and that he would give them gold and silver, not by tale but by weight.

ARTAXERXES MNEMON. Artaxerxes, the brother of Cyrus the Younger, called Mnemon, did not only give very free and patient access to any that would speak with him, but commanded the queen his wife to draw the curtains of her chariot, that petitioners might have the same access to her also. When a poor man presented him with a very fair and great apple, By the Sun, said he, 'tis my opinion, if this person were intrusted with a small city, he would



make it great. In his flight, when his carriages were plundered, and he was forced to eat dry figs and barley-bread, Of how great pleasure, said he, have I hitherto lived ignorant!

PARYSATHIS. Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, advised him that would discourse freely with the king, to use words of fine linen.

ORONTES. Orontes, the son-in-law of King Artaxerxes, falling into disgrace and being condemned, said: As arithmeticians count sometimes myriads on their fingers, sometimes units only; in like manner the favorites of kings sometimes can do everything with them, sometimes little or nothing.

MEMNON. Memnon, one of King Darius's generals against Alexander, when a mercenary soldier excessively and impudently reviled Alexander, struck him with his spear, adding, I pay you to fight against Alexander, not to reproach him.

EGYPTIAN KINGS. The Egyptian kings, according unto their law, used to make their judges swear that they should not obey the king when he commanded them to give an unjust sentence.

POLTYS. Poltys, King of Thrace, in the Trojan war, being solicited both by the Trojan and Grecian ambassadors, advised Alexander to restore Helen, promising to give him two beautiful women for her.

TERES. Teres, the father of Sitalces, said, when he was out of the army and had nothing to do, he thought there was no difference between him and his grooms.

COTYS. Cotys, when one gave him a leopard, gave him a lion for it. He was naturally prone to anger, and severely punished the mistakes of his servants. When a stranger brought him some earthen vessels, thin and brittle, but delicately shaped and admirably adorned with sculptures, he requited the stranger for them, and then brake them all in pieces, Lest (said he) my passion should provoke me to punish excessively those that brake them.

IDATHYRSUS. Idathyrus, King of Scythia, when Darius invaded him, solicited the Ionian tyrants that they would assert their liberty by breaking down the bridge that was made over the Danube: which they refusing to do because they had sworn fealty to Darius, he called them good, honest, lazy slaves.

ATEAS. Ateas wrote to Philip: You reign over the Macedonians, men that have learned fighting; and I over the Scythians, which can fight with hunger and thirst. As he was rubbing his horse, turning to the ambassadors of Philip, he asked whether Philip did so or not. He captured Ismenias, an excellent piper, and commanded him to play; and when others admired him, he swore it was more pleasant to hear a horse neigh.

SCILURUS. Scilurus on his death-bed, being about to leave fourscore sons surviving, offered a bundle of darts to each of them, and bade them break them. When all refused, drawing out one by one, he easily broke them; so teaching them that, if they held together, they would continue strong, but if they fell out and were divided, they would become weak.

GELO. Gelo the tyrant, after he had overcome the Carthaginians at Himera, made peace with them, and among other articles compelled them to subscribe this,— that they should no more sacrifice their children to Saturn. He often marched the Syracusans out to plant their fields, as if it had been to war, that the country might be improved by husbandry, and they might not be corrupted by idleness. When he demanded a sum of money of the citizens, and thereupon a tumult was raised, he told them he would but borrow it; and after the war was ended, he restored it to them again. At a feast, when a harp was offered, and others one after another tuned it and played upon it, he sent for his horse, and with an easy agility leaped upon him.

HIERO. Hiero, who succeeded Gelo in the tyranny, said he was not disturbed by any that freely spoke against him. He judged that those that revealed a secret did an injury to those to whom they revealed it; for we hate not only those who tell, but them also that hear what we would not have disclosed. One upbraided him with his stinking breath, and he blamed his wife that never told him of it; but she said, I thought all men smelt so. To Xenophanes the Colophonian, who said he had much ado to maintain two servants, he replied: But Homer, whom you disparage, maintains above ten thousand, although he is dead. He fined Epicharmus the comedian, for speaking unseemly when his wife was by.

DIONYSIUS. Dionysius the Elder, when the public ora-

tors cast lots to decide in what order they should speak, drew as his lot the letter M. And when one said to him, *Μωρολογεῖς*, You will make a foolish speech, O Dionysius, You are mistaken, said he, *Μοναρχήσω*, I shall be a monarch. And as soon as his speech was ended, the Syracusans chose him general. In the beginning of his tyranny, the citizens rebelled and besieged him; and his friends advised him to resign the government, rather than to be taken and slain by them. But he, seeing a cook butcher an ox and the ox immediately fall down dead, said to his companions: Is it not a hateful thing, that for fear of so short a death we should resign so great a government? When his son, whom he looked to make his successor in the government, had been discovered debauching a freeman's wife, he asked him in anger, When did you ever know me guilty of such a crime? But you, sir, replied the son, had not a tyrant for your father. Nor will you, said he, have a tyrant for your son, unless you mend your manners. And another time, going into his son's house and seeing there abundance of silver and gold plate, he cried out: Thou art not capable of being a tyrant, who hast made never a friend with all the plate I have given thee. When he exacted money of the Syracusans, and they lamenting and beseeching him pretended they had none, he still exacted more, twice or thrice renewing his demands, until he heard them laugh and jeer at him as they went to and fro in the market-place, and then he gave over. Now, said he, since they contemn me, it is a sign they have nothing left. When his mother, being ancient, requested him to find a husband for her, I can, said he, overpower the laws of the city, but I cannot force the laws of Nature. Although he punished other malefactors severely, he favored such as stole clothes, that the Syracusans might forbear feasting and drunken clubs. A certain person told him privately, he could show him a way how he might know beforehand such as conspired against him. Let us know, said he, going aside. Give me, said the person, a talent, that every one may think that I have taught you the signs and tokens of plotters; and he gave it him, pretending he had learned them, much admiring the subtilty of the man. Being asked whether he was at leisure, he replied: God forbid that it should ever befall me. Hearing that two young men very much reviled him and his tyranny in their cups, he invited both

of them to supper; and perceiving that one of them prattled freely and foolishly, but the other drank warily and sparing, he dismissed the first as a drunken fellow whose treason lay no deeper than his wine, and put the other to death as a disaffected and resolved traitor. Some blaming him for rewarding and preferring a wicked man, and one hated by the citizens; I would have, said he, somebody hated more than myself. When he gave presents to the ambassadors of Corinth, and they refused them because their law forbade them to receive gifts from a prince to whom they were sent in embassy, he said they did very ill to destroy the only advantage of tyranny, and to declare that it was dangerous to receive a kindness from a tyrant. Hearing that a citizen had buried a quantity of gold in his house, he sent for it; and when the party removed to another city, and bought a farm with part of his treasure which he had concealed, Dionysius sent for him and directed him take back the rest, since he had now begun to employ his money, and was no longer making a useful thing useless.

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER said that he maintained many Sophists; not that he admired them, but that he might be admired for their sake. When Polyxenus the logician told him he had baffled him; Yes, said he, in words, but I have caught you in deeds; for you, leaving your own fortune, attend me and mine. When he was deposed from his tyranny, and one asked him what he got by Plato and philosophy, he answered, That I may bear so great a change of fortune patiently. Being asked how it came to pass that his father, a private and poor man, obtained the government of Syracuse, and he already possessed of it, and the son of a tyrant, lost it, — My father, said he, entered upon affairs when the democracy was hated, but I, when tyranny was become odious. To another that asked him the same question, he replied: My father bequeathed to me his government, but not his fortune.

AGATHOCLES was the son of a potter. When he became lord and was proclaimed king of Sicily, he was wont to place earthen and golden vessels together, and show them to young men, telling them, Those I made first, but now I make these by my valor and industry. As he was besieging a city, some from the walls reviled him, saying, Do you hear, potter, where will you have money to pay your

soldiers? — he gently answered, I'll tell you, if I take this city. And having taken it by storm, he sold the prisoners, telling them, If you reproach me again, I will complain to your masters. Some inhabitants of Ithaca complained of his mariners, that making a descent on the island they had taken away some cattle; But your king, said he, came to Sicily, and did not only take away sheep, but put out the shepherd's eyes, and went his way.

DION. Dion, that deposed Dionysius from the tyranny, when he heard Callippus, whom of all his friends and attendants he trusted most, conspired against him, refused to question him for it, saying: It is better for him to die than to live, who must be weary not only of his enemies, but of his friends too.

ARCHELAUS. Archelaus, when one of his companions (and none of the best) begged a golden cup of him, bade the boy give it Euripides; and when the man wondered at him, You, said he, are worthy to ask, but he is worthy to receive it without asking. A prating barber asked him how he would be trimmed. He answered, In silence. When Euripides at a banquet embraced fair Agatho and kissed him, although he was no longer a youth, he said, turning to his friends: Do not wonder at it, for the beauty of such as are handsome lasts after autumn.

Timotheus the harper, receiving of him a reward less than his expectation, twitted him for it not obscurely; and once singing the short verse of the chorus, You commend earth-born silver, directed it to him. And Archelaus answered him again singing, But you beg it. When one sprinkled water upon him, and his friends would have had him punish the man, You are mistaken, said he, he did not sprinkle me, but some other person whom he took me to be.

PHILIP. Theophrastus says that Philip, the father of Alexander, was not only greater in his port and success, but also freer from luxury than other kings of his time. He said the Athenians were happy, if they could find every year ten fit to be chosen generals, since in many years he could find but one fit to be a general, and that was Parmenio. When he had news brought him of divers and eminent successes in one day, O Fortune, said he, for all these so great kindnesses do me some small mischief. After he had conquered Greece, some advised him to place garrisons in the cities. No, said he, I had rather be called

merciful a great while, than lord a little while. His friends advised him to banish a railer his court. I will not do it, said he, lest he should go about and rail in many places. Smicythus accused Nicanor for one that commonly spoke evil of King Philip; and his friends advised him to send for him and punish him. Truly, said he, Nicanor is not the worst of the Macedonians; we ought therefore to consider whether we have given him any cause or not. When he understood therefore that Nicanor, being slighted by the king, was much afflicted with poverty, he ordered a boon should be given him. And when Smicythus reported that Nicanor was continually abounding in the king's praises, You see then, said he, that whether we will be well or ill spoken of is in our own power. He said he was beholden to the Athenian orators, who by reproaching him made him better both in speech and behavior; for I will endeavor, said he, both by my words and actions to prove them liars. Such Athenians as he took prisoners in the fight at Chæronea he dismissed without ransom. When they also demanded their garments and quilts, and on that account accused the Macedonians, Philip laughed and said, Do ye not think these Athenians suppose we beat them at cockal? In a fight he broke his collar-bone, and the surgeon that had him in cure requested him daily for his reward. Take what you will, said he, for you have the key. There were two brothers called Both and Either; perceiving Either was a good understanding busy fellow and Both a silly fellow and good for little, he said: Either is Both, and Both is neither. To some that advised him to deal severely with the Athenians he said: You talk absurdly, who would persuade a man that suffers all things for the sake of glory, to overthrow the theatre of glory. Being arbitrator betwixt two wicked persons, he commanded one to fly out of Macedonia and the other to pursue him. Being about to pitch his camp in a likely place, and hearing there was no hay to be had for the cattle, What a life, said he, is ours, since we must live according to the convenience of asses! Designing to take a strong fort, which the scouts told him was exceeding difficult and impregnable, he asked whether it was so difficult that an ass could not come at it laden with gold. Lasthenes the Olynthian and his friends being aggrieved, and complaining that some of Philip's retinue

called them traitors, These Macedonians, said he, are a rude and clownish people, that call a spade a spade. He exhorted his son to behave himself courteously toward the Macedonians, and to secure influence with the people, by being affable and gracious during the reign of another. He advised him also to make friends of men of interest in the cities, both good and bad, that afterwards he might make use of these, and suppress those. To Philo the Theban, who had been his host and given him entertainment while he remained a hostage at Thebes, and afterwards refused to accept any present from him, he said: Do not take from me the title of invincible, by making me inferior to you in kindness and bounty. Having taken many prisoners, he was selling them, sitting in an unseemly posture, with his tunic gathered up; when one of the captives to be sold cried out, Spare me, Philip, for our fathers were friends. When Philip asked him, Prithee, how or from whence? Let me come nearer, said he, and I'll tell you. When he was come up to him, he said: Let down your cloak a little lower, for you sit indecently. Whereupon said Philip: Let him go, in truth he wisheth me well and is my friend, though I did not know him. Being invited to supper, he carried many he took up by the way along with him; and perceiving his host troubled (for his provision was not sufficient), he sent to each of his friends, and bade them reserve a place for the cake. They, believing and expecting it, ate little, and so the supper was enough for all. It appeared he grieved much at the death of Hipparchus the Eubœan. For when somebody said it was time for him to die, — For himself, said he, but he died too soon for me, preventing me by his death from returning him the kindness his friendship deserved. Hearing that Alexander blamed him for having children by several women, Therefore, saith he to him, since you have many rivals with you for the kingdom, be just and honorable, that you may not receive the kingdom as my gift, but by your own merit. He charged him to be observant of Aristotle, and study philosophy, That you may not, said he, do many things and repent afterwards as I now do. He made one of Antipater's recommendations a judge; and perceiving afterwards that his hair and beard were colored, he removed him, saying, I could not think one that was faithless in his hair could be

trusty in his deeds. As he sat judge in the cause of one Machætas, he fell asleep, and for want of minding his arguments, gave judgment against him. And when being enraged he cried out, I appeal; To whom, said he, wilt thou appeal? To you yourself, O king, said he, when you are awake to hear me with attention. Then Philip rousing and coming to himself, and perceiving Machætas, was injured, although he did not reverse the sentence, he paid the fine himself. When Harpalus, in behalf of Crates his kinsman and intimate friend, who was charged with disgraceful crimes, begged that Crates might pay the fine and so cause the action to be withdrawn and avoid public disgrace; — It is better, said he, that he should be reproached upon his own account, than we for him. His friends being enraged because the Peloponnesians, to whom he had shown favor, hissed at him in the Olympic games, What then, said he, would they do if we should abuse them? Awaking after he had overslept himself in the army; I slept, said he, securely, for Antipater watched. Another time, being asleep in the daytime, while the Grecians fretting with impatience thronged at the gates; Do not wonder, said Parmenio to them, if Philip be now asleep, for while you slept he was awake. When he corrected a musician at a feast, and discoursed with him concerning notes and instruments, the musician replied: Far be that dishonor from your majesty, that you should understand these things better than I do. While he was at variance with his wife Olympia and his son, Demaratus the Corinthian came to him, and Philip asked him how the Grecians held together. Demaratus replied: You had need to inquire how the Grecians agree, who agree so well with your nearest relations. Whereupon he let fall his anger, and was reconciled to them. A poor old woman petitioned and dunned him often to hear her cause; and he answered, I am not at leisure; the old woman bawled out, Do not reign then. He admired the speech, and immediately heard her and others.

ALEXANDER. While Alexander was a boy, Philip had great success in his affairs, at which he did not rejoice, but told the children that were brought up with him, My father will leave me nothing to do. The children answered, Your father gets all this for you. But what good, saith he, will it do me, if I possess much and do nothing? Being



nimble and light-footed, his father encouraged him to run in the Olympic race; Yes, said he, if there were any kings there to run with me. A wench being brought to lie with him late in the evening, he asked why she tarried so long. She answered, I stayed until my husband was abed; and he sharply reprov'd his pages, because through their carelessness he had almost committed adultery. As he was sacrificing to the gods liberally, and often offer'd frankincense, Leonidas his tutor standing by said, O son, thus generously will you sacrifice, when you have conquered the country that bears frankincense. And when he had conquered it, he sent him this letter: I have sent you an hundred talents of frankincense and cassia, that hereafter you may not be niggardly towards the gods, when you understand I have conquered the country in which perfumes grow. The night before he fought at the river Granicus, he exhorted the Macedonians to sup plentifully and to bring out all they had, as they were to sup the next day at the charge of their enemies. Perillus, one of his friends, begged of him portions for his daughters; and he order'd him to receive fifty talents. And when he said, Ten were enough, Alexander replied: Enough for you to receive, but not for me to give. He command'd his steward to give Anaxarchus the philosopher as much as he should ask for. He asketh, said the steward, for an hundred talents. He doth well, said he, knowing he hath a friend that both can and will bestow so much on him. Seeing at Miletus many statues of wrestlers that had overcome in the Olympic and Pythian games, And where, said he, were these lusty fellows when the barbarians assaulted your city? When Ada queen of Caria was ambitious often to send him sauces and sweetmeats delicately prepared by the best cooks and artists, he said, I have better confectioners of my own, viz., my night-travelling for breakfast, and my spare breakfast for dinner. All things being prepared for a fight, his captains asked him whether he had anything else to command them. Nothing, said he, but that the Macedonians should shave their beards. Parmenio wondering at it, Do you not know, said he, there is no better hold in a fight than the beard? When Darius offer'd him ten thousand talents, and to divide Asia equally with him; I would accept it, said Parmenio, were I Alexander. And so truly would I, said Alexander, if I were Parmenio.

But he answered Darius, that the earth could not bear two suns, nor Asia two kings. When he was going to fight for the world at Arbela, against ten hundred thousand enemies set in array against him, some of his friends came to him, and told him the discourse of the soldiers in their tents, who had agreed that nothing of the spoils should be brought into the treasury, but they would have all themselves. You tell me good news, said he, for I hear the discourse of men that intend to fight, and not to run away. Several of his soldiers came to him and said: O King! be of good courage, and fear not the multitude of your enemies, for they will not be able to endure the very stink of our sweat. The army being marshalled, he saw a soldier fitting his thong to his javelin, and dismissed him as a useless fellow, for fitting his weapons when he should use them. As he was reading a letter from his mother, containing secrets and accusations of Antipater, Hephæstion also (as he was wont) read it along with him. Alexander did not hinder him; but when the letter was read, he took his ring off his finger, and laid the seal of it upon Hephæstion's mouth. Being saluted as the son of Jupiter in the temple of Ammon by the chief priest; It is no wonder, said he, for Jupiter is by nature the father of all, and calls the best men his sons. When he was wounded with an arrow in the ankle, and many ran to him that were wont to call him a god, he said smiling: That is blood, as you see, and not, as Homer saith, —

Such humor as distils from blessed gods.<sup>1</sup>

To some that commended the frugality of Antipater, whose diet was sober and without luxury; Outwardly, said he, Antipater wears white clothes, but within he is all purple. In a cold winter day one of his friends invited him to a banquet, and there being a little fire on a small hearth, he bid him fetch either wood or frankincense. Antipatridas brought a beautiful singing woman to supper with him; Alexander, being taken with her visage, asked Antipatridas whether she was his mistress or not. And when he confessed she was; O villain, said he, turn her immediately out from the banquet. Again, when Cassander forced a kiss from Pytho, a boy beloved by Evius the piper, and Alex-

<sup>1</sup> II. V. 340.

ander perceived that Evius was concerned at it, he was extremely enraged at Cassander, and said with a loud voice, It seems nobody must be loved if you can prevent it. When he sent such of the Macedonians as were sick and maimed to the sea, they showed him one that was in health and yet subscribed his name among the sick; being brought into the presence and examined, he confessed he used that pretence for the love of Telesippa, who was going to the sea. Alexander asked, of whom he could make inquiries about this Telesippa, and hearing she was a free woman, he said, Therefore, my Antigeneus, let us persuade her to stay with us, for to force a free woman is not according to my custom. Of the mercenary Grecians that fought against him he took many prisoners. He commanded the Athenians should be kept in chains, because they served for wages when they were allowed a public maintenance; and the Thessalians, because when they had a fruitful country they did not till it; but he set the Thebans free, saying, To them only I have left neither city nor country. He took captive an excellent Indian archer that said he could shoot an arrow through a ring, and commanded him to show his skill; and when the man refused to do this, he commanded him in a rage to be put to death. The man told them that led him to execution that, not having practised for many days, he was afraid he should miss the mark. Alexander, hearing this, wondered at him and dismissed him with rewards, because he chose rather to die than show himself unworthy of his reputation. Taxiles, one of the Indian kings, met Alexander, and advised him not to make war nor fight with him, but if he were a meaner person than himself, to receive kindness from him, or if he were a better man, to show kindness to him. He answered, that was the very thing they must fight for, who should exceed the other in bounty. When he heard the rock called Aornus in India was by its situation impregnable, but the commander of it was a coward; Then, said he, the place is easy to be taken. Another, commanding a rock thought to be invincible, surrendered himself and the rock to Alexander, who committed the said rock and the adjacent country to his government, saying: I take this for a wise man, who chose rather to commit himself to a good man than to a strong place. When the rock was taken, his friends said that it exceeded the deeds of Hercules. But

I, said he, do not think my actions and all my empire to be compared with one word of Hercules. He fined some of his friends whom he caught playing at dice in earnest. Of his chief and most powerful friends, he seemed most to respect Craterus, and to love Hephæstion. Craterus, said he, is the friend of the king; but Hephæstion is the friend of Alexander. He sent fifty talents to Xenocrates the philosopher, who would not receive them, saying he was not in want. And he asked whether Xenocrates had no friend either; For as to myself, said he, the treasure of Darius is barely sufficient for me to bestow among my friends. He demanded of Porus, after the fight, how he should treat him. Royally, said he, like a king. And being again asked, what farther he had to request; All things, said he, are in that word *royally*. Admiring his wisdom and valor, he gave him a greater government than he had before. Being told a certain person reviled him, To do good, said he, and to be evil spoken of is kingly. As he was dying, looking upon his friends, I see, said he, my funeral tournament will be great. When he was dead, Demades the rhetorician likened the Macedonian army without a general to Polyphemus the Cyclops when his eye was put out.

PTOLEMY. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, frequently supped with his friends and lay at their houses; and if at any time he invited them to supper, he made use of their furniture, sending for vessels, carpets, and tables; for he himself had only things that were of constant use about him, saying it was more becoming a king to make others rich than to be rich himself.

ANTIGONUS. Antigonus exacted money severely. When one told him that Alexander did not do so, It may be so, said he; Alexander reaped Asia, and I but glean after him. Seeing some soldiers playing at ball in head-pieces and breastplates, he was pleased, and sent for their officers, intending to commend them; but when he heard the officers were drinking, he bestowed their commands on the soldiers. When all men wondered that in his old age his government was mild and easy; Formerly, said he, I sought for power, but now for glory and good-will. To Philip his son, who asked him in the presence of many when the army would march, What, said he, are you afraid that you only should not hear the trumpet? The same young man

being desirous to quarter at a widow's house that had three handsome daughters, Antigonus called the quartermaster to him: Prithee, said he, help my son out of these straits. Recovering from a slight disease, he said: No harm; this distemper puts me in mind not to aim at great things, since we are mortal. Hermodotus in his poems called him Son of the Sun. He that attends my close-stool, said he, sings me no such song. When one said, All things in kings are just and honorable, — Indeed, said he, for barbarian kings; but for us only honorable things are honorable, and only just things are just. Marsyas his brother had a cause depending, and requested him it might be examined at his house. Nay, said he, it shall be heard in the judgment-hall, that all may hear whether we do exact justice or not. In the winter being forced to pitch his camp where necessaries were scarce, some of his soldiers reproached him, not knowing he was near. He opened the tent with his cane, saying: Woe be to you, unless you get you farther off when you revile me. Aristodemus, one of his friends, supposed to be a cook's son, advised him to moderate his gifts and expenses. Thy words, said he, Aristodemus, smell of the apron. The Athenians, out of a respect to him, gave one of his servants the freedom of their city. And I would not, said he, have any Athenian whipped by my command. A youth, scholar to Anaximenes the rhetorician, spoke in his presence a prepared and studied speech; and he asking something which he desired to learn, the youth was silent. What do you say, said he, is all that you have said written in your commonplace-book? When he heard another rhetorician say, The snow-spread season makes the country fodder spent; Will you not stop, said he, prating to me as you do to the rabble? Thrasyllus the Cynic begged a drachm of him. That, said he, is too little for a king to give. Why, then, said the other, give me a talent. And that, said he, is too much for a Cynic (or for a *dog*) to receive. Sending his son Demetrius with ships and land-forces to make Greece free; Glory, said he, from Greece, as from a watch-tower, will shine throughout the world. Antagoras the poet was boiling a conger, and Antigonus, coming behind him while he was stirring his skillet, said: Do you think, Antagoras, that Homer boiled congers, when he wrote the deeds of Agamemnon? Antagoras replied: Do you think, O King, that Aga-

memnon, when he did such exploits, was a peeping in his army to see who boiled congers? After he had seen in a dream Mithridates mowing a golden harvest, he designed to kill him, and acquainted Demetrius his son with his design, making him swear to conceal it. But Demetrius, taking Mithridates aside and walking with him by the seaside, with the prick of his spear wrote on the shore, "Fly, Mithridates"; which he understanding, fled into Pontus, and there reigned until his death.

DEMETRIUS. Demetrius, while he was besieging Rhodes, found in one of the suburbs the picture of Ialysus made by Protogenes the painter. The Rhodians sent a herald to him, beseeching him not to deface the picture. I will sooner, said he, deface my father's statues, than such a picture. When he made a league with the Rhodians, he left behind him an engine, called the City Taker, that it might be a memorial of his magnificence and of their courage. When the Athenians rebelled, and he took the city, which was in distress for want of provision, he called an assembly and gave them corn. And while he made a speech to them concerning that affair; he spoke improperly; and when one that sat by told him how the word ought to be spoken, he said: For this correction I bestow upon you five thousand bushels more.

ANTIGONUS THE SECOND. Antigonus the Second — when his father was a prisoner, and sent one of his friends to admonish him to pay no regard to anything that he might write at the constraint of Seleucus, and to enter into no obligation to surrender up the cities — wrote to Seleucus that he would give up his whole kingdom, and himself for an hostage, that his father might be set free. Being about to fight by sea with the lieutenants of Ptolemy, and the pilot telling him the enemy outnumbered him in ships, he said: But how many ships do you consider my presence to be worth? Once when he gave ground, his enemies pressing upon him, he denied that he fled; but he betook himself (as he said) to an advantage that lay behind him. To a youth, son of a valiant father, but himself no very great soldier, petitioning he might receive his father's pay; Young man, said he, I pay and reward men for their own, not for their fathers' valor. When Zeno of Citium, whom he admired beyond all philosophers, died, he said, The theatre of my actions is fallen.

*your friends who are in perfect health.*

LYSIMACHUS. Lysimachus, when he was overcome by Dromichætas in Thrace and constrained by thirst, surrendered himself and his army. When he was a prisoner, and had drunk; O gods, said he, for how small a satisfaction have I made myself a slave after being a king! To Philippides the comedian, his friend and companion, he said: What have I that I may impart to you? He answered, What you please, except your secrets.

ANTIPATER. Antipater, hearing that Parmenio was slain by Alexander, said: If Parmenio conspired against Alexander, whom may we trust? but if he did not, what is to be done? Of Demades the rhetorician, now grown old, he said: As of sacrifices when finished, so there is nothing left of him but his belly and tongue.

ANTIOCHUS THE THIRD. Antiochus the Third wrote to the cities, that if he should at any time write for anything to be done contrary to the law, they should not obey, but suppose it to be done out of ignorance. When he saw the Priestess of Diana, that she was exceeding beautiful, he presently removed from Ephesus, lest he should be swayed, contrary to his judgment, to commit some unholy act.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. Antiochus, surnamed the Hawk, warred with his brother Seleucus for the kingdom. After Seleucus was overcome by the Galatians, and was not to be heard of, but supposed to be slain in the fight, he laid aside his purple and went into mourning. A while after, hearing his brother was safe, he sacrificed to the gods for the good news, and caused the cities under his dominion to put on garlands.

EUMENES. Eumenes was thought to be slain by a conspiracy of Perseus. That report being brought to Pergamus, Attalus his brother put on the crown, married his wife, and took upon him the kingdom. Hearing afterwards his brother was alive and upon the way, he met him, as he used to do, with his life-guard, and a spear in his hand. Eumenes embraced him kindly, and whispered in his ear: —

If a widow you will wed,  
Wait till her husband's dead.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Sophocles's Tyro, Frag. 596.

*knocking upon an open door*

But he never afterwards did or spake anything that showed any suspicion all his lifetime; but when he died, he bequeathed to him his queen and kingdom. In requital of which, his brother bred up none of his own children, although he had many; but when the son of Eumenes was grown up, he bestowed the kingdom on him in his own lifetime.

**PYRRHUS THE EPIROT.** Pyrrhus was asked by his sons, when they were boys, to whom he would leave the kingdom. To him of you, saith he, that hath the sharpest sword. Being asked whether Pytho or Caphisius was the better piper, Polysperchon, said he, is the best general. He joined in battle with the Romans, and twice overcame them, but with the loss of many friends and captains. If I should overcome the Romans, said he, in another fight, I were undone. Not being able to keep Sicily (as he said) from them, turning to his friends he said: What a fine wrestling ring do we leave to the Romans and Carthaginians! His soldiers called him Eagle; And I may deserve the title, said he, while I am borne upon the wings of your arms. Hearing some young men had spoken many reproachful words of him in their drink, he summoned them all to appear before him next day; when they appeared, he asked the foremost whether they spake such things of him or not. The young man answered: Such words were spoken, O King, and more we had spoken, if we had had more wine.

**ANTIOCHUS.** Antiochus, who twice made an inroad into Parthia, as he was a-hunting, lost his friends and servants in the chase, and went into a cottage of poor people who did not know him. As they were at supper, he threw out discourse concerning the king; they said for the most part he was a good prince, but overlooked many things he left to the management of debauched courtiers, and out of love of hunting often neglected his necessary affairs; and there they stopped. At break of day the guard arrived at the cottage, and the king was recognized when the crown and purple robes were brought. From the day, said he, on which I first received these, I never heard truth concerning myself till yesterday. When he besieged Jerusalem, the Jews, in respect of their great festival, begged of him seven days' truce; which he not only granted, but preparing oxen



with gilded horns, with a great quantity of incense and perfumes, he went before them to the very gates, and having delivered them as a sacrifice to their priests, he returned back to his army. The Jews wondered at him, and as soon as their festival was finished, surrendered themselves to him.

**THEMISTOCLES.** Themistocles in his youth was much given to wine and women. But after Miltiades the general overcame the Persians at Marathon, Themistocles utterly forsook his former disorders; and to such as wondered at the change, he said, The trophy of Miltiades will neither suffer me to sleep nor to be idle. Being asked whether he would rather be Achilles or Homer, — And pray, said he, which would you rather be, a conqueror in the Olympic games, or the crier that proclaims who are conquerors? When Xerxes with that great navy made a descent upon Greece, he fearing, if Epicycles (a popular, but a covetous, corrupt, and cowardly person) were made general, the city might be lost, bribed him with a sum of money to desist from that pretence. Adimantus was afraid to hazard a sea-fight, whereunto Themistocles persuaded and encouraged the Grecians. O Themistocles, said he, those that start before their time in the Olympic games are always scourged. Aye; but, Adimantus, said the other, they that are left behind are not crowned. Eurybiades lifted up his cane at him, as if he would strike him. Strike, said he, but hear me. When he could not persuade Eurybiades to fight in the straits of the sea, he sent privately to Xerxes, advising him that he need not fear the Grecians, for they were running away. Xerxes upon this persuasion, fighting in a place advantageous for the Grecians, was worsted; and then he sent him another message, and bade him fly with all speed over the Hellespont, for the Grecians designed to break down his bridge; that under pretence of saving him he might secure the Grecians. A man from the little island Seriphus told him, he was famous not upon his own account, but through the city where he lived. You say true, said he, for if I had been a Seriphian, I had not been renowned; nor would you, if you had been an Athenian. To Antiphatus, a beautiful person that avoided and despised Themistocles when he formerly loved him, but came to him and flattered

him when he was in great power and esteem; Hark you, lad, said he, though late, yet both of us are wise at last. To Simonides desiring him to give an unjust sentence, You would not be a good poet, said he, if you should make false quantities; nor I a good governor, if I should give judgment contrary to law. When his son was a little saucy towards his mother, he said that this boy had more power than all the Grecians, for the Athenians governed Greece, he the Athenians, his wife him, and his son his wife. He preferred an honest man that wooed his daughter, before a rich man. I would rather, said he, have a man that wants money, than money that wants a man. Having a farm to sell, he bid the crier proclaim also that it had a good neighbor. When the Athenians reviled him; Why do you complain, said he, that the same persons so often befriend you? And he compared himself to a row of plane-trees, under which in a storm passengers run for shelter, but in fair weather they pluck the leaves off and abuse them. Scoffing at the Eretrians, he said, Like the sword-fish, they have a sword indeed, but no heart. Being banished first out of Athens and afterwards out of Greece, he betook himself to the king of Persia, who bade him speak his mind. Speech, he said, was like to tapestry; and like it, when it was spread, it showed its figures, but when it was folded up, hid and spoiled them. And therefore he requested time until he might learn the Persian tongue, and could explain himself without an interpreter. Having there received great presents, and being enriched of a sudden; O lads, said he to his sons, we had been undone if we had not been undone.

MYRONIDES. Myronides summoned the Athenians to fight against the Bœotians. When the time was almost come, and the captains told him they were not near all come out; They are come, said he, all that intend to fight. And marching while their spirits were up, he overcame his enemies.

ARISTIDES. Aristides the Just always managed his offices himself, and avoided all political clubs, because power gotten by the assistance of friends was an encouragement to the unjust. When the Athenians were fully bent to banish him by an ostracism, an illiterate country fellow came to him with his shell, and asked him to write

in it the name of Aristides. Friend, said he, do you know Aristides? Not I, said the fellow, but I do not like his surname of Just. He said no more, but wrote his name in the shell and gave it him. He was at variance with Themistocles, who was sent on an embassy with him. Are you content, said the, Themistocles, to leave our enmity at the borders? and if you please, we will take it up again at our return. When he levied an assessment upon the Greeks, he returned poorer by so much as he spent in the journey.

Æschylus wrote these verses on Amphiaraus: —

His shield no emblem has;  
 He wishes to be, not to appear, the best;  
 From the deep furrows of his noble mind  
 Harvests of wise and prudent counsel come.<sup>1</sup>

And when they were pronounced in the theatre, all turned their eyes upon Aristides.

PERICLES. Whenever he entered on his command as general, while he was putting on his war-cloak, he used thus to bespeak himself: Remember, Pericles, you govern freemen, Grecians, Athenians. He advised the Athenians to demolish Ægina, as a dangerous eyesore to the haven of Piræus. To a friend that wanted him to bear false witness and to bind the same with an oath, he said: I am a friend only as far as the altar. When he lay on his death-bed, he blessed himself that no Athenian ever went into mourning upon his account.

ALCIBIADES. Alcibiades while he was a boy, wrestling in a ring, seeing he could not break his adversary's hold, bit him by the hand; who cried out, You bite like a woman. Not so, said he, but like a lion. He had a very handsome dog, that cost him seven thousand drachmas; and he cut off his tail, that, said he, the Athenians may have this story to tell of me, and may concern themselves no farther with me. Coming into a school, he called for Homer's Iliads; and when the master told him he had none of Homer's works, he gave him a box on the ear, and went his way. He came to Pericles's gate, and being told

<sup>1</sup> Σήμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὴν κύκλω  
 Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἀριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,  
 Βαθείαν ἀλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,  
 Ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευµατα.

he was busy preparing his accounts to be given to the people of Athens, Had he not better, said he, contrive how he might give no account at all? Being summoned by the Athenians out of Sicily to plead for his life, he absconded, saying, that criminal was a fool who studied a defence when he might fly for it. But, said one, will you not trust your country with your cause? No, said he, nor my mother either, lest she mistake and cast a black pebble instead of a white one. When he heard death was decreed to him and his associates, Let us convince them, said he, that we are alive. And passing over to Lacedæmon, he stirred up the Decelean war against the Athenians.

LAMACHUS. Lamachus chid a captain for a fault; and when he had said he would do so no more, Sir, said he, in war there is no room for a second miscarriage.

IPHICRATES. Iphicrates was contemned because he was thought to be a shoemaker's son. The exploit that first brought him into repute was this: when he was wounded himself, he caught up one of the enemies and carried him alive and in his armor to his own ship. He once pitched his camp in a country belonging to his allies and confederates, and yet he fortified it exactly with a trench and bulwark. Said one to him, What are ye afraid of? Of all speeches, said he, none is so dishonorable for a general, as I should not have thought it. As he marshalled his army to fight with barbarians, I am afraid, said he, they do not know Iphicrates, for his very name used to strike terror into other enemies. Being accused of a capital crime, he said to the informer: O fellow! what art thou doing, who, when war is at hand, dost advise the city to consult concerning me, and not with me? To Harmodius, descended from the ancient Harmodius, when he reviled him for his mean birth, My nobility, said he, begins in me, but yours ends in you. A rhetorician asked him in an assembly, who he was that he took so much upon him, — horseman, or footman, or archer, or shield-bearer. Neither of them, said he, but one that understands how to command all those.

TIMOTHEUS. Timotheus was reputed a successful general, and some that envied him painted cities falling under his net of their own accord, while he was asleep. Said Timotheus, If I take such cities when I am asleep, what

do you think I shall do when I am awake? A confident commander showed the Athenians a wound he had received. But I, said he, when I was your general in Samos, was ashamed that a dart from an engine fell near me. The orators set up Chares as one they thought fit to be general of the Athenians. Not for a general, said Timotheus, but to carry the general's baggage.

CHABRIAS. Chabrias said, they were the best commanders who best understood the affairs of their enemies. He was once indicted for treason with Iphicrates, who blamed him for exposing himself to danger, by going to the place of exercise, and dining at his usual hour. If the Athenians, said he, deal severely with us, you will die all foul and gut-foundered; I'll die clean and anointed, with my dinner in my belly. He was wont to say, that an army of stags, with a lion for their commander, was more formidable than an army of lions commanded by a stag.

HEGESIPPUS. When Hegesippus, surnamed Crobylus (i.e. *Top-knot*), instigated the Athenians against Philip, one of the assembly cried out, You would not persuade us to a war? Yes, indeed, would I, said he, and to mourning clothes and to public funerals and to funeral speeches, if we intend to live free and not submit to the pleasure of the Macedonians.

PYTHEAS. Pytheas, when he was a young man, stood forth to oppose the decrees made concerning Alexander. One said: Have you, young man, the confidence to speak in such weighty affairs? And why not? said he: Alexander, whom you voted a god, is younger than I am.

PHOCION. Phocion the Athenian was never seen to laugh or cry. In an assembly one told him, You seem to be thoughtful, Phocion. You guess right, said he, for I am contriving how to contract what I have to say to the people of Athens. The Oracle told the Athenians, there was one man in the city of a contrary judgment to all the rest; and the Athenians in a hubbub ordered search to be made, who this should be. I, said Phocion, am the man; I alone am pleased with nothing the common people say or do. Once when he had delivered an opinion which pleased the people, and perceived it was entertained by a general consent, he turned to his friend, and said: Have I not without knowing it spoken some mis-

chievous thing or other? The Athenians gathered a benevolence for a certain sacrifice; and when others contributed to it, he being often spoken to said: I should be ashamed to give to you, and not to pay this man, — pointing to a creditor of his. Demosthenes the orator told him, If the Athenians should be mad, they would kill you. Like enough, said he, me if they were mad, but you if they were wise. Aristogiton the informer, being condemned and ready to be executed in prison, entreated that Phocion would come to him. And when his friends would not suffer him to go to so vile a person; And where, said he, would you discourse with Aristogiton more pleasantly? The Athenians were offended with the Byzantines, for refusing to receive Chares into their city, who was sent with forces to assist them against Philip. Said Phocion, You ought not to be displeased with the distrust of your confederates, but with your commanders that are not to be trusted. Whereupon he was chosen general, and being trusted by the Byzantines, he forced Philip to return without his errand. King Alexander sent him a present of a hundred talents; and he asked those that brought it, what it should mean that, of all the Athenians, Alexander should be thus kind to him. They answered, because he esteemed him alone to be a worthy and upright person. Pray therefore, said he, let him suffer me to seem as well as to be so. Alexander sent to them for some ships, and the people calling for Phocion by name, bade him speak his opinion. He stood up and told them: I advise you either to conquer yourselves, or else to side with the conqueror. An uncertain rumor happened, that Alexander was dead. Immediately the orators leaped into the pulpit, and advised them to make war without delay; but Phocion entreated them to tarry awhile and know the certainty: For, said he, if he is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow, and so forwards. Leosthenes hurried the city into a war, with fond hopes conceited at the name of liberty and command. Phocion compared his speeches to cypress trees; They are tall, said he, and comely, but bear no fruit. However, the first attempts were successful; and when the city was sacrificing for the good news, he was asked whether he did not wish he had done this himself. I would, said he, have done what has been done,

but have advised what I did. When the Macedonians invaded Attica and plundered the seacoasts, he drew out the youth. When many came to him and generally persuaded him by all means to possess himself of such an ascent, and thereon to marshal his army, O Hercules! said he, how many commanders do I see, and how few soldiers? Yet he fought and overcame, and slew Nicion, the commander of the Macedonians. But in a short time the Athenians were overcome, and admitted a garrison sent by Antipater. Menyllus, the governor of that garrison, offered money to Phocion, who was enraged thereby and said: This man is no better than Alexander; and what I refused then I can with less honor receive now. Antipater said, of the two friends he had at Athens, he could never persuade Phocion to accept a present, nor could he ever satisfy Demades with presents. When Antipater requested him to do some indirect thing or other, Antipater, said he, you cannot have Phocion for your friend and flatterer too. After the death of Antipater, democracy was established in Athens, and the assembly decreed the death of Phocion and his friends. The rest were led weeping to execution; but as Phocion passed silently, one of his enemies met him and spat in his face. But he turned himself to the magistrates, and said, Will nobody restrain this insolent fellow? One of those that were to suffer with him lamented and took on: Why, Euippus, said he, are you not pleased that you die with Phocion? When the cup of hemlock was brought to him, being asked whether he had anything to say to his son; I command you, said he, and entreat you not to think of any revenge upon the Athenians.

PISISTRATUS. Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, when some of his party revolted from him and possessed themselves of Phyle, came to them bearing his luggage on his back. They asked him what he meant by it. Either, said he, to persuade you to return with me, or if I cannot persuade you, to tarry with you; and therefore I come prepared accordingly. An accusation was brought to him against his mother, that she was in love and used secret familiarity with a young man, who out of fear for the most part refused her. This young man he invited to supper, and as they were at supper asked him how

No man can be your  
friend and your flatterer  
Time

he liked his entertainment. He answered, Very well. Thus, said he, you shall be treated daily, if you please my mother. Thrasylbulus was in love with his daughter, and as he met her, kissed her; whereupon his wife would have incensed him against Thrasylbulus. If, said he, we hate those that love us, what shall we do to them that hate us?—and he gave the maid in marriage to Thrasylbulus. Some lascivious drunken persons by chance met his wife, and used unseemly speech and behavior to her; but the next day they begged his pardon with tears. As for you, said he, learn to be sober for the future; but as for my wife, yesterday she was not abroad at all. He designed to marry another wife, and his children asked him whether he could blame them for anything. By no means, said he, but I commend you, and desire to have more such children as you are.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS. Demetrius Phalereus persuaded King Ptolemy to get and study such books as treated of government and conduct; for those things are written in books which the friends of kings dare not advise.

LYCURGUS. Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian brought long hair into fashion among his countrymen, saying that it rendered those that were handsome more beautiful, and those that were deformed more terrible. To one that advised him to set up a democracy in Sparta, Pray, said he, do you first set up a democracy in your own house. He ordained that houses should be built with saws and axes only, thinking they would be ashamed to bring plate, tapestry, and costly tables into such pitiful houses. He forbade them to contend at fighting with their fists or in the combined contest of boxing and wrestling, that they might not accustom themselves to be conquered, no, not so much as in jest. He forbade them also to war often against the same people, lest they should make them the more warlike. Accordingly, many years after, when Agesilaus was wounded, Antalcidas told him the Thebans had rewarded him worthily for teaching and accustoming them to war, whether they would or no.

CHARILLUS. King Charillus, being asked why Lycurgus made so few laws, answered, They who use few words do not need many laws. When one of the Helots treated him rather too insolently, By Castor and Pollux, said he, I would kill you, were I not angry. To one that asked



him why the Spartans wore long hair, Because, said he, of all ornaments that is the cheapest.

TELECLUS. King Teleclus, when his brother inveighed against the citizens for not giving him that respect which they did to the king, said to him, No wonder, you do not know how to bear injury.

THEOPOMPUS. Theopompus, to one that showed him the walls of a city and asked him if they were not high and beautiful, answered, No, not even if they are built of women.

ARCHIDAMUS. Archidamus, in the Peloponnesian war, when his allies requested him to appoint them their quota of tributes, replied, War has a very abnormal appetite.

BRASIDAS. Brasidas caught a mouse among his dried figs, which bit him, and he let it go. Whereupon, turning to the company, Nothing, said he, is so small which may not save itself, if it have the valor to defend itself against its aggressors. In a fight he was shot through his shield, and plucking the spear out of his wound, with the same he slew his adversary. When he was asked how he came to be wounded, My shield, said he, betrayed me. It was his fortune to be slain in battle, as he endeavored to free the Grecians that were in Thrace. These sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, which made a visit to his mother, who first asked them whether Brasidas died honorably. When the Thracians praised him, and affirmed that there would never be such another man, My friends, said she, you are mistaken; Brasidas indeed was a valiant man, but Lacedæmon hath many more valiant men like him.

AGIS. King Agis said, The Lacedæmonians are not wont to ask how many, but where the enemy are. At Mantinea he was advised not to fight the enemy that exceeded him in number. It is necessary, said he, for him to fight with many, who would rule over many. The Eleans were commended for managing the Olympic games honorably. What wonder, said he, do they do, if one day in four years they do justice? When the same persons enlarged in their commendation, What wonder is it, said he, if they use justice honorably, which is an honorable undertaking? To a lewd person, that often asked who was the best man among the Spartans, he answered, He that is most unlike you. When another asked what was the number of the Lacedæmonians, —

Sufficient, said he, to defend themselves from wicked men. To another that asked him the same question, If you should see them fight, said he, you would think them to be many.

LYSANDER. Dionysius the Tyrant presented Lysander's daughters with rich garments, which he refused to accept, saying he feared they would appear more deformed in them. To such as blamed him for managing much of his affairs by stratagems, which was unworthy of Hercules from whom he was descended, he answered, Where the lion's skin will not reach, it must be pieced with the fox's. When the citizens of Argos seemed to make out a better title than the Lacedæmonians to a country that was in dispute between them, drawing his sword, He that is master of this, said he, can best dispute about bounds of countries. When the Lacedæmonians delayed to assault the walls of Corinth, and he saw a hare leap out of the trench; Do you fear, said he, such enemies as these, whose laziness suffers hares to sleep on their walls? To an inhabitant of Megara, that in a parley spoke confidently unto him, Your words, said he, want the breeding of the city.

AGESILAUS. Agesilaus said that the inhabitants of Asia were bad freemen and good servants. When they were wont to call the king of Persia the Great King, Wherein, said he, is he greater than I, if he is not more just and wise than I am? Being asked which was better, valor or justice, he answered, We should have no need of valor, if we were all just. When he broke up his camp suddenly by night in the enemy's country, and saw a lad he loved left behind by reason of sickness, and weeping, It is a hard thing, said he, to be pitiful and wise at the same time. Menecrates the physician, surnamed Jupiter, inscribed a letter to him thus: Menecrates Jupiter to King Agesilaus wisheth joy. And he returned in answer: King Agesilaus to Menecrates wisheth his wits. When the Lacedæmonians overcame the Athenians and their confederates at Corinth, and he heard the number of the enemies that were slain; Alas, said he, for Greece, who hath destroyed so many of her men as were enough to have conquered all the barbarians together. He had received an answer from the Oracle of Jupiter in Olympia, which was to his satisfaction. Afterwards the Ephori

bade him consult Apollo in the same case; and to Delphi he went, and asked that god whether he was of the same mind with his father. He interceded for one of his friends with Idrieus of Caria, and wrote to him thus: If Nicias has not offended, set him free; but if he is guilty, set him free for my sake; by all means set him free. Being exhorted to hear one that imitated the voice of a nightingale, I have often, said he, heard nightingales themselves. The law ordained that such as ran away should be disgraced. After the fight at Leuctra, the Ephori, seeing the city void of men, were willing to dispense with that disgrace, and empowered Agesilaus to make a law to that purpose. But he standing in the midst commanded that after the next day the laws should remain in force as before. He was sent to assist the king of Egypt, with whom he was besieged by enemies that outnumbered his own forces; and when they had entrenched their camp, the king commanded him to go out and fight them. Since, said he, they intend to make themselves equal to us, I will not hinder them. When the trench was almost finished, he drew up his men in the void space, and so fighting with equal advantage he overcame them. When he was dying, he charged his friends that no fiction or counterfeit (so he called statues) should be made for him; For if, said he, I have done any honorable exploit, that is my monument; but if I have done none, all your statues will signify nothing.

ARCHIDAMUS. When Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, beheld a dart to be shot from an engine newly brought out of Sicily, he cried out, O Hercules! the valor of man is at an end.

AGIS THE YOUNGER. Demades said, the Laconians' swords were so small, that jugglers might swallow them. That may be, said Agis, but the Lacedæmonians can make them reach their enemies very well. The Ephori ordered him to deliver his soldiers to a traitor. I will not, said he, intrust him with strangers, who betrayed his own men.

CLEOMENES. To one that promised to give him hardy cocks, that would die fighting, Prithee, said he, give me cocks that will kill fighting.

PÆDARETUS. Pædaretus, when he was not chosen among the Three Hundred (which was the highest office

*wrote me good thing done & pleasant  
 remember his portrait  
 Resigned July 11/24*

and honor in the city), went away cheerfully and smiling, saying, he was glad if the city had three hundred better citizens than himself.

**DAMONIDAS.** Damonidas, being placed by him that ordered the chorus in the last rank of it, said: Well done, you have found a way to make this place also honorable.

**NICOSTRATUS.** Archidamus, general of the Argives, enticed Nicostratus to betray a fort, by promises of a great sum, and the marriage of what Lacedæmonian lady he pleased except the king's daughters. He answered, that Archidamus was none of the offspring of Hercules, for he went about to punish wicked men, but Archidamus to corrupt honest men.

**EUDÆMONIDAS.** Eudæmonidas beholding Xenocrates, when he was old, in the Academy reading philosophy to his scholars, and being told he was in quest of virtue, asked: And when does he intend to practise it? Another time, when he heard a philosopher arguing that only the wise man can be a good commander, This is a wonderful speech, said he, but he that saith it never heard the sound of trumpets.

**ANTIOCHUS.** Antiochus being Ephor, when he heard Philip had given the Messenians a native country, asked whether he had granted them that they should be victorious when they fought for that country.

**ANTALCIDAS.** To an Athenian that called the Lacedæmonians unlearned, Therefore we alone, said Antalcidas, have learned no mischief of you. To another Athenian that told him, Indeed, we have often driven you from the Cephissus, he replied, But we never drove you from the Eurotas. When a Sophist was beginning to recite the praise of Hercules; And who, said he, ever spoke against him?

**EPAMINONDAS.** No panic fear ever surprised the army of the Thebans while Epaminondas was their general. He said, to die in war was the most honorable death, and the bodies of armed men ought to be exercised, not as wrestlers, but in a warlike manner. Wherefore he hated fat men, and dismissed one of them, saying, that three or four shields would scarce serve to secure his belly, which would not suffer him to see his members. He was so frugal in his diet that, being invited by a neighbor to supper, and finding there dishes, ointments,

and junkets in abundance, he departed immediately, saying: I thought you were sacrificing, and not displaying your luxury. When his cook gave an account to his colleagues of the charges for several days, he was offended only at the quantity of oil; and when his colleagues wondered at him, I am not, said he, troubled at the charge, but that so much oil should be received into my body. When the city kept a festival, and all gave themselves to banquets and drinking, he was met by one of his acquaintance unadorned and in a thoughtful posture. He wondering asked him why he of all men should walk about in that manner. That all of you, said he, may be drunk and revel securely. An ill man, that had committed no great fault, he refused to discharge at the request of Pelopidas; when his mistress entreated for him, he dismissed him, saying: Whores are fitting to receive such presents, and not generals. The Lacedæmonians invaded the Thebans, and oracles were brought to Thebes, some that promised victory, others that foretold an overthrow. He ordered those to be placed on the right hand of the judgment-seat, and these on the left. When they were placed accordingly, he rose up and said: If you will obey your commanders and unanimously resist your enemies, these are your oracles, — pointing to the better; but if you play the cowards, those, — pointing to the worsen. Another time, as he drew nigh to the enemy, it thundered, and some that were about him asked him what he thought the gods would signify by it. They signify, said he, that the enemy is thunderstruck and out of their minds, since he pitches his camp in a bad place, when he was nigh to a better. Of all the happy and prosperous events that befell him, he said that in this he took most satisfaction, that he overcame the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra while his father and mother, that begot him, were living. Whereas he was wont to appear with his body anointed and a cheerful countenance, the day after that fight he came abroad meanly habited and dejected; and when his friends asked him whether any misfortune had befallen him, No, said he, but yesterday I was pleased more than became a wise man, and therefore to-day I chastise that immoderate joy. Perceiving the Spartans concealed their disasters, and desiring to discover the greatness of their loss, he refused them leave to take away their dead alto-

gether, but allowed each city to bury its own; whereby it appeared that above a thousand Lacedæmonians were slain. Jason, monarch of Thessaly, was at Thebes as their confederate, and sent two thousand pieces of gold to Epaminondas, then in great want; but he refused the gold, and when he saw Jason, he said: You are the first to use violence. And borrowing fifty drachms of a citizen, with that money to furnish his army he invaded Peloponnesus. Another time, when the Persian king sent him thirty thousand darics, he chid Diomedon severely, asking him whether he sailed so far to bribe Epaminondas; and bade him tell the king, as long as he wished the prosperity of the Thebans, Epaminondas would be his friend gratis, but when he was otherwise minded, his enemy. When the Argives were confederates with the Thebans, the Athenian ambassadors then in Arcadia complained of both, and Callistratus the orator reproached the cities with Orestes and Œdipus. But Epaminondas stood up and said: We confess there hath been one amongst us that killed his father, and among the Argives one that killed his mother; but we banished those that did such things, and the Athenians entertained them. To some Spartans that accused the Thebans of many and great crimes, These indeed, said he, are they that have put an end to your short dialect. The Athenians made friendship and alliance with Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, who was an enemy to the Thebans, and who had promised to furnish them with flesh at half an obol a pound. And we, said Epaminondas, will supply them with wood to that flesh gratis; for if they grow troublesome, we will make bold to cut all the wood in their country for them. Being desirous to keep the Bœotians, that were grown rusty by idleness, always in arms, when he was chosen their chief magistrate, he used to exhort them, saying: Yet consider what you do, my friends; for if I am your general, you must be my soldiers. He called their country, which was plain and open, the stage of war, which they could keep no longer than their hands were upon their shields. Chabrias, having slain a few Thebans near Corinth, that engaged too hotly near the walls, erected a trophy, which Epaminondas laughed at, saying, it was not a trophy, but a statue of Trivia, which they usually placed in the highway before the gates. One told him that the Athe-

nians had sent an army into Peloponnesus adorned with new armor. What then? said he, doth Antigenidas sigh because Telles hath got new pipes? (Now Antigenidas was an excellent piper, but Telles a vile one.) Understanding his shield-bearer had taken a great deal of money from a prisoner, Come, said he, give me the shield, and buy you a victualling-house to live in; for now you are grown rich and wealthy, you will not hazard your life as you did formerly. Being asked whether he thought himself or Chabrias or Iphicrates the better general, It is hard, said he, to judge while we live. After he returned out of Laconia, he was tried for his life, with his fellow-commanders, for continuing to be Bœotarch four months longer than the law allowed. He bade the other commanders lay the blame upon him, as if he had forced them, and for himself, he said, his actions were his best apology; but if anything at all were to be answered to the judges, he entreated them, if they put him to death, to write his fault upon his monument, that the Grecians might know that Epaminondas compelled the Thebans against their will to plunder and fire Laconia, — which in five hundred years before had never suffered the like, — to build Messene two hundred and thirty years after it was sacked, to unite the Arcadians, and to restore liberty to Greece; for those things were done in that expedition. Whereupon the judges arose with great laughter, and refused even to receive the votes cast against him. In his last fight, being wounded and carried into his tent, he called for Diaphantes and after him for Iollidas; and when he heard they were slain, he advised the Thebans to make their peace with the enemy, since they had never a general left them; as by the event proved true. So well did he understand his countrymen.

PELOPIDAS. Pelopidas, Epaminondas's colleague, when his friends told him that he neglected a necessary business, that was the gathering of money, replied: In good deed money is necessary for this Nicomedas, pointing to a lame man that could not go. As he was going out to fight, his wife beseeched him to have a care of himself. To others you may give this advice, said he; but a commander and general you must advise that he should save his countrymen. A soldier told him, We are fallen among the enemies. Said he, How are we fallen among them,

more than they among us? When Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, broke his faith and cast him into prison, he reviled him ; and when the other told him he did but hasten his death, That is my design, said he, that the Thebans may be exasperated against you, and be revenged on you the sooner. Thebe, the wife of the tyrant, came to him, and told him she wondered to see him so merry in chains. He answered, he wondered more at her, that she could endure Alexander without being chained. When Epaminondas had him released, he said: I thank Alexander, for I have now found by trial that I have not only courage to fight, but to die.

#### ROMAN APOTHEGMS.

M.'CURIUS. When some blamed M.' Curius for distributing but a small part of a country he took from the enemy, and preserving the greater part for the commonwealth, he prayed there might be no Roman who would think that estate little which was enough to maintain him. The Samnites after an overthrow came to him to offer him gold, and found him boiling rape-roots. He answered the Samnites that he that could sup so wanted no gold, and that he had rather rule over those who had gold than have it himself.

C. FABRICIUS. C. Fabricius, hearing Pyrrhus had overthrown the Romans, told Labienus, it was Pyrrhus, not the Epirots, that beat the Romans. He went to treat about exchange of prisoners with Pyrrhus, who offered him a great sum of gold, which he refused. The next day Pyrrhus commanded a very large elephant should secretly be placed behind Fabricius, and discover himself by roaring; whereupon Fabricius turned and smiled, saying, I was not astonished either at your gold yesterday or at your beast to-day. Pyrrhus invited him to tarry with him, and to accept of the next command under him: That, said he, will be inconvenient for you; for, when the Epirots know us both, they will rather have me for their king than you. When Fabricius was consul, Pyrrhus's physician sent him a letter, wherein he promised him that,



if he commanded him, he would poison Pyrrhus. Fabricius sent the letter to Pyrrhus, and bade him conclude that he was a very bad judge both of friends and enemies. The plot was discovered; Pyrrhus hanged his physician, and sent the Roman prisoners he had taken without ransom as a present to Fabricius. Yet he refused to accept them, and returned the like number, lest he might seem to receive a reward. Neither did he disclose the conspiracy out of kindness to Pyrrhus, but that the Romans might not seem to kill him by treachery, as if they despaired to conquer him in open war.

FABIUS MAXIMUS. Fabius Maximus would not fight, but chose to spin away the time with Hannibal, — who wanted both money and provision for his army, — by pursuing and facing him in rocky and mountainous places. When many laughed at him and called him Hannibal's schoolmaster, he took little notice of them, but pursued his own design, and told his friends: He that is afraid of scoffs and reproaches is more a coward than he that flies from the enemy. When Minucius, his fellow-consul, upon routing a party of the enemy, was highly extolled as a man worthy of Rome; I am more afraid, said he, of Minucius's success than of his misfortune. And not long after he fell into an ambush, and was in danger of perishing with his forces, until Fabius succored him, slew many of the enemy, and brought him off. Whereupon Hannibal told his friends: Did I not often presage that cloud on the hills would some time or other break upon us? After the city received the great overthrow at Cannæ, he was chosen consul with Marcellus, a daring person and much desirous to fight Hannibal, whose forces, if nobody fought him, he hoped would shortly disperse and be dissolved. Therefore Hannibal said, he feared fighting Marcellus less than Fabius who would not fight. He was informed of a Lucanian soldier that frequently wandered out of the camp by night after a woman he loved, but otherwise an admirable soldier; he caused his mistress to be seized privately and brought to him. When she came, he sent for the soldier and told him: It is known you lie out nights, contrary to the law; but your former good behavior is not forgotten, therefore your faults are forgiven to your merits. Henceforwards you shall tarry with me, for I have your surety. And he brought out the woman

to him. Hannibal kept Tarentum with a garrison, all but the castle; and Fabius drew the enemy far from it, and by a stratagem took the town and plundered it. When his secretary asked what was his pleasure as to the holy images, Let us leave, said he, the Tarentines their offended gods. When M. Livius, who kept a garrison in the castle, said he took Tarentum by his assistance, other laughed at him; but said Fabius, You say true, for if you had not lost the city, I had not retaken it. When he was aged, his son was consul, and as he was discharging his office publicly with many attendants, he met him on horseback. The young man sent a sergeant to command him to alight; when others were at a stand, Fabius presently alighted, and running faster than for his age might be expected, embraced his son. Well done, son, said he, I see you are wise, and know whom you govern, and the grandeur of the office you have undertaken.

SCIPIO THE ELDER. Scipio the Elder spent on his studies what leisure the campaign and government would allow him, saying, that he did most when he was idle. When he took Carthage by storm, some soldiers took prisoner a very beautiful virgin, and came and presented her to him. I would receive her, said he, with all my heart, if I were a private man and not a governor. While he was besieging the city of Badia, wherein appeared above all a temple of Venus, he ordered appearances to be given for actions to be tried before him within three days in that temple of Venus; and he took the city, and was as good as his word. One asked him in Sicily, on what confidence he presumed to pass with his navy against Carthage. He showed him three hundred disciplined men in armor, and pointed to a high tower on the shore; There is not one of these, said he, that would not at my command go to the top of that tower, and cast himself down headlong. Over he went, landed, and burnt the enemy's camp, and the Carthaginians sent to him, and covenanted to surrender their elephants, ships, and a sum of money. But when Hannibal sailed back from Italy, their reliance on him made them repent of those conditions. This coming to Scipio's ear, Nor will I, said he, stand to the agreement if they will, unless they pay me five thousand talents more for sending for Hannibal. The Carthagin-

ians, when they were utterly overthrown, sent ambassadors to make peace and league with him; he bade those that came return immediately, as refusing to hear them before they brought L. Terentius with them, a good man, whom the Carthaginians had taken prisoner. When they brought him, he placed him in the council next himself, on the judgment-seat, and then he transacted with the Carthaginians and put an end to the war. And Terentius followed him when he triumphed, wearing the cap of one that was made free; and when he died, Scipio gave wine mingled with honey to those that were at the funeral, and performed other funeral rites in his honor. But these things were done afterwards. King Antiochus, after the Romans invaded him, sent to Scipio in Asia for peace; That should have been done before, said he, not now when you have received a bridle and a rider. The senate decreed him a sum of money out of the treasury, but the treasurers refused to open it on that day. Then, said he, I will open it myself, for the moneys with which I filled it caused it to be shut. When Pætilius and Quintus accused him of many crimes before the people, — On this very day, said he, I conquered Hannibal and Carthage; I for my part am going with my crown on to the Capitol to sacrifice; and let him that pleaseth stay and pass his vote upon me. Having thus said, he went his way; and the people followed him, leaving his accusers declaiming to themselves.

**T. QUINCTIUS.** T. Quinctius was eminent so early, that before he had been tribune, prætor, or ædile, he was chosen consul. Being sent as general against Philip, he was persuaded to come to a conference with him. And when Philip demanded hostages of him, because he was accompanied with many Romans while the Macedonians had none but himself; You, said Quinctius, have created this loneliness for yourself, by killing your friends and kindred. Having overcome Philip in battle, he proclaimed in the Isthmian games that the Grecians were free and to be governed by their own laws. And the Grecians set free all the Roman prisoners that in Hannibal's days were sold for slaves in Greece, buying each of them for two hundred drachms, and made him a present of them; and they followed him in Rome in his triumph, wearing caps on their heads such as

they use to wear who are made free. He advised the Achæans, who designed to make war upon the Island Zacynthus, to take heed lest, like a tortoise, they should endanger their head by thrusting it out of Peloponnesus. When King Antiochus was coming upon Greece with great forces, and all men trembled at the report of his numbers and equipage, he told the Achæans this story: Once I dined with a friend at Chalcis, and when I wondered at the variety of dishes, said my host, "All these are pork, only in dressing and sauces they differ." And therefore be not you amazed at the king's forces, when you hear talk of spearmen and men-at-arms and choice footmen and horse-archers, for all these are but Syrians, with some little difference in their weapons. Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, had good store of horses and men-at-arms, but could not tell what to do for money; and Quinctius played upon him, saying, Philopœmen had arms and legs, but no belly; and it happened his body was much after that shape.

CNEUS DOMITIUS. Cneus Domitius, — whom Scipio the Great sent in his stead to attend his brother Lucius in the war against Antiochus, — when he had viewed the enemy's army, and the commanders that were with him advised him to set upon them presently, said to them: We shall scarce have time enough now to kill so many thousands, plunder their baggage, return to our camp, and refresh ourselves too; but we shall have time enough to do all this to-morrow. The next day he engaged them, and slew fifty thousand of the enemy.

PUBLIUS LICINIUS. Publius Licinius, consul and general, being worsted in a cavalry engagement by Perseus king of Macedon, with what were slain and what were took prisoners, lost two thousand eight hundred men. Presently after the fight, Perseus, sent ambassadors to make peace and league with him; and although he was overcome, yet he advised the conqueror to submit himself and his affairs to the pleasure of the Romans.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS. Paulus Æmilius, when he stood for his second consulship, was defeated. Afterwards, the war with Perseus and the Macedonians being prolonged by the ignorance and effeminacy of the commanders, they chose him consul. I thank, said he, the people for nothing; they choose me general, not because I want the office,

but because they want an officer. As he returned from the hall to his own house, and found his little daughter Tertia weeping, he asked her what she cried for? Perseus, said she (so her little dog was called), is dead. Luckily has thou spoken, girl, said he, and I accept the omen. When he found in the camp much confident prating among the soldiers, who pretended to advise him and busy themselves as if they had been all officers, he bade them be quiet and only whet their swords, and leave other things to his care.

He ordered night-guards should be kept without swords or spears, that they might resist sleep, when they had nothing wherewith to resist the enemy. He invaded Macedonia by the way of the mountains; and seeing the enemy drawn up, when Nasica advised him to set upon them presently, he replied: So I should, if I were of your age; but long experience forbids me, after a march, to fight an army marshalled regularly. Having overcome Perseus, he feasted his friends for joy of the victory, saying, it required the same skill to make an army very terrible to the enemy, and a banquet very acceptable to our friends. When Perseus was taken prisoner, he told Paulus that he would not be led in triumph. That, said he, is as you please, — meaning he might kill himself. He found an infinite quantity of money, but kept none for himself; only to his son-in-law Tubero he gave a silver cup that weighed five pounds, as a reward of his valor; and that, they say, was the first piece of plate that belonged to the Æmilian family. Of the four sons he had, he parted with two that were adopted into other families; and of the two that lived with him, one of them died at the age of fourteen years, but five days before his triumph; and five days after the triumph, at the age of twelve years died the other. When the people that met him bemoaned and compassionated his calamities, Now, said he, my fears and jealousies for my country are over, since Fortune hath discharged her revenge for our success on my house, and I have paid for all.

CATO THE ELDER. Cato the Elder, in a speech to the people, inveighed against luxury and intemperance. How hard, said he, is it to persuade the belly, that hath no ears? And he wondered how that city was preserved wherein a fish was sold for more than an ox! Once he scoffed

at the prevailing imperiousness of women: All other men, said he, govern their wives; but we command all other men, and our wives us. He said he had rather not be rewarded for his good deeds than not punished for his evil deeds; and at any time he could pardon all other offenders besides himself. He instigated the magistrates to punish all offenders, saying, that they that did not prevent crimes when they might instigated them. Of young men, he liked them that blushed better than those who looked pale; and hated a soldier that moved his hands as he walked and his feet as he fought, and whose sneeze was louder than his outcry when he charged. He said, he was the worst governor who could not govern himself. It was his opinion that every one ought especially to reverence himself; for every one was always in his own presence. When he saw many had their statues set up, I had rather, says he, men should ask why Cato had no statue, than why he had one. He exhorted those in power to be sparing of exercising their power, that they might continue in power. They that separate honor from virtue, said he, separate virtue from youth. A governor, said he, or judge ought to do justice without entreaty, not injustice upon entreaty. He said, that injustice, if it did not endanger the authors, endangered all besides. He requested old men not to add the disgrace of wickedness to old age, which was accompanied with many other evils. He thought an angry man differed from a madman only in the shorter period his passion lasted. He thought that they who enjoyed their fortunes decently and moderately, were far from being envied; For men do not envy us, said he, but our estates. He said, they that were serious in ridiculous matters would be ridiculous in serious affairs. Honorable actions ought to succeed honorable sayings; Lest, said he, they lose their reputation. He blamed the people for always choosing the same men officers; For either you think, said he, the government little worth, or very few fit to govern. He pretended to wonder at one that sold an estate by the seaside, as if he were more powerful than the sea; for he had drunk up that which the sea could hardly drown. When he stood for the consulship, and saw others begging and flattering the people for votes, he cried out aloud: The people have need of a sharp physician and a great purge;

therefore not the mildest but the most inexorable person is to be chosen. For which word he was chosen before all others. Inciting young men to fight boldly, he oftentimes said, The speech and voice terrify and put to flight the enemy more than the hand and sword. As he warred against Bætica, he was outnumbered by the enemy, and in danger. The Celtiberians offered for two hundred talents to send him a supply, and the Romans would not suffer him to engage to pay wages to barbarians. You are out, said he; for if we overcome, not we but the enemy must pay them; if we are routed, there will be nobody to demand nor to pay either. Having taken more cities, as he saith, than he stayed days in the enemies' country, he reserved no more of the prey for himself than what he ate or drank. He distributed to every soldier a round of silver, saying, It was better many should return out of the campaign with silver than a few with gold; for governors ought to gain nothing by their governments but honor. Five servants waited on him in the army, whereof one had bought three prisoners; and understanding Cato knew it, before he came into his presence he hanged himself. Being requested by Scipio Africanus to befriend the banished Achæans, that they might return to their own country, he made as if he would not be concerned in that business; but when the matter was disputed in the senate, rising up, he said: We sit here, as if we had nothing else to do but to argue about a few old Grecians, whether they shall be carried to their graves by our bearers or by those of their own country. Posthumus Albinus wrote a history in Greek, and in it begs the pardon of his readers. Said Cato, jeering him, If the Amphictyonic Council commanded him to write it, he ought to be pardoned.

SCIPIO JUNIOR. It is reported that Scipio Junior never bought nor sold nor built anything for the space of fifty-four years, and so long as he lived; and that of so great an estate, he left but thirty-three pounds of silver, and two of gold behind him, although he was lord of Carthage, and enriched his soldiers more than other generals. He observed the precept of Polybius, and endeavored never to return from the forum, until by some means or other he had engaged some one he lighted on to be his friend or companion. While he was yet young, he had such a re-

pute for valor and knowledge, that Cato the Elder, being asked his opinion of the commanders in Africa, of whom Scipio was one, answered in that Greek verse, —

Others like shadows fly;  
He only is wise.<sup>1</sup>

When he came from the army to Rome, the people preferred him, not to gratify him, but because they hoped by his assistance to conquer Carthage with more ease and speed. After he was entered the walls, the Carthaginians defended themselves in the castle, separated by the sea, not very deep. Polybius advised him to scatter caltrops in the water, or planks with iron spikes, that the enemy might not pass over to assault their bulwark. He answered, that it was ridiculous for those who had taken the walls and were within the city to contrive how they might not fight with the enemy. He found the city full of Greek statues and presents brought thither from Sicily, and made proclamation that such as were present from those cities might claim and carry away what belonged to them. When others plundered and carried away the spoil, he would not suffer any that belonged to him, either slave or freeman, to take, nor so much as to buy any of it. He helped C. Lælius, his most beloved friend, when he stood to be consul, and asked Pompey (who was thought to be a piper's son) whether he stood or not. He replied, No; and besides promised to join with them in going about and procuring votes, which they believed and expected, but were deceived; for news was brought that Pompey was in the forum, fawning on and soliciting the citizens for himself; whereat others being enraged, Scipio laughed. We may thank our own folly for this, said he, that, as if we were not to request men but the gods, we lose our time in waiting for a piper. When he stood to be censor, Appius Claudius, his rival, told him that he could salute all the Romans by their names, whereas Scipio scarce knew any of them. You say true, said he, for it hath been my care not to know many, but that all might know me. He advised the city, which then had an army in Celtiberia, to send them both to the army, either as tribunes or lieutenants, that thus the soldiers might be witnesses and judges

<sup>1</sup> See *Odyss.* X. 495.



of the valor of each of them. When he was made censor, he took away his horse from a young man, who, in the time while Carthage was besieged, made a costly supper, in which was a honey-cake, made after the shape of that city, which he named Carthage and set before his guests to be plundered by them; and when the young man asked the reason why he took his horse from him, he said, Because you plundered Carthage before me. As he saw C. Licinius coming towards him, I know, said he, that man is perjured; but since nobody accuses him, I cannot be his accuser and judge too. The senate sent him thrice, as Clitomachus saith, to take cognizance of men, cities, and manners, as an overseer of cities, kings, and countries. As he came to Alexandria and landed, he went with his head covered, and the Alexandrians running about him entreated he would gratify them by uncovering and showing them his desirable face. When he uncovered his head, they clapped their hands with a loud acclamation. The king, by reason of his laziness and corpulency, making a hard shift to keep pace with them, Scipio whispered softly to Panætius: The Alexandrians have already received some benefit of our coming, for through our visit they have seen their king walk. There travelled with him one friend, Panætius the philosopher, and five servants, whereof one dying in the journey, he would not buy another, but sent for one to Rome. The Numantines seemed invincible, and having overcome several generals, the people the second time chose Scipio general in that war. When great numbers strived to enlist in his army, even that the senate forbade, as if Italy thereby would be left destitute. Nor did they allow him money that was in bank, but ordered him to receive the revenues of tributes that were not yet payable. As to money, Scipio said he wanted none, for of his own and by his friends he could be supplied; but of the decree concerning the soldiers he complained, for the war (he said) was a hard and difficult one, whether their defeat had been occasioned by the valor of the enemy or by the cowardice of their own soldiers. When he came to the army, he found there much disorder, intemperance, superstition, and luxury. Immediately he drove away the soothsayers, priests, and panders. He ordered them to send away their household stuff, all except kettles, a spit, and an earthen cup. He allowed a

silver cup, weighing not more than two pounds, to such as desired it. He forbade them to bathe; and those that anointed themselves were to rub themselves too; for horses wanted another to rub them, he said, only because they had no hand of their own. He ordered them to eat their dinner standing, and to have only such food as was dressed without fire; but they might sit down at supper, to bread, plain porridge, and flesh boiled or roasted. He himself walked about clothed in a black tunic, saying, he mourned for the disgrace of the army. He met by chance with the pack-horses of Memmius, a tribune that carried wine casks set with precious stones, and the best Corinthian vessels. Since you are such a one, said he, you have made yourself useless to me and to your country for thirty days, but to yourself all your life long. Another showed him a shield well adorned. The shield, said he, young man, is a fine one, but it becomes a Roman to have his confidence placed rather in his right hand than in his left. To one that was building the rampart, saying his burthen was very heavy, and deservedly, said he, for you trust more to this wood than to your sword. When he saw the rash confidence of the enemy, he said that he bought security with time; for a good general, like a good physician, useth iron as his last remedy. And yet he fought when he saw it convenient, and routed the enemy. When they were worsted, the elder men chid them, and asked why they fled from those they had pursued so often. It is said a Numantine answered, The sheep are the same still, but they have another shepherd. After he had taken Numantia and triumphed a second time, he had a controversy with C. Gracchus concerning the senate and the allies; and the abusive people made a tumult about him as he spake from the pulpit; The outcry of the army, said he, when they charge, never disturbed me, much less the clamor of a rabble of newcomers, to whom Italy is a step-mother (I am well assured) and not a mother. And when they of Gracchus's party cried out, Kill the Tyrant, — No wonder, said he, that they who make war upon their country would kill me first; for Rome cannot fall while Scipio stands, nor can Scipio live when Rome is fallen.

**CÆCILIUS METELLUS.** Cæcilius Metellus designing to reduce a strong fort, a captain told him he would under-

take to take it with the loss only of ten men; and he asked him, whether he himself would be one of those ten. A young tribune asked him what design he had in mind. If I thought my shirt knew, said he, I would pluck it off and burn it. He was at variance with Scipio in his lifetime, but he lamented at his death, and commanded his sons to assist at the hearse; and said, he gave the gods thanks in the behalf of Rome, that Scipio was born in no other country.

C. MARIUS. C. Marius was of obscure parentage, pursuing offices by his valor. He was candidate for the chief ædileship, and perceiving he could not reach it, the same day he stood for the lesser, and missing of that also, yet for all that he did not despair of being consul. Having a wen on each leg, he suffered one to be cut, and endured the surgeon without binding, not so much as sighing or once contracting his eyebrows; but when the surgeon would cut the other, he did not suffer him, saying the cure was not worth the pain. In his second consulship, Lucius his sister's son offered unchaste force to Trebonius, a soldier, who slew him; when many appeared against him, he did not deny but confessed he killed the colonel, and told the reason why. Hereupon Marius called for a crown, the reward of extraordinary valor, and put it upon Trebonius's head. He had pitched his camp, when he fought against the Teutons, in a place where water was wanting; when the soldiers told him they were thirsty, he showed them a river running by the enemy's trench. Look you, said he, there is water for you, to be bought for blood; and they desired him to conduct them to fight, while their blood was fluent and not all dried up with thirst. In the Cimbrian war, he gave a thousand valiant Camertines the freedom of Rome, which no law did allow; and to such as blamed him for it he said, I could not hear the laws for the clash of arrows. In the civil war, he lay patiently entrenched and besieged, waiting for a fit opportunity; when Popedius Silon called to him, Marius, if you are so great a general come down and fight. And do you, said he, if you are so great a commander, force me to fight against my will, if you can.

LUTATIUS CATULUS. Lutatius Catulus in the Cimbrian war lay encamped by the side of the river Athesis, and his soldiers, seeing the barbarians attempting to pass the river, gave back; when he could not make them stand, he has-

tened to the front of them that fled, that they might not seem to fly from their enemies but to follow their commander.

SYLLA. Sylla, surnamed the Fortunate, reckoned these two things as the chiefest of his felicities, — the friendship of Metellus Pius, and that he had spared and not destroyed the city of Athens.

C. POPILIUS. C. Popilius was sent to Antiochus with a letter from the senate, commanding him to withdraw his army out of Egypt, and to renounce the protection of that kingdom during the minority of Ptolemy's children. When he came towards him in his camp, Antiochus kindly saluted him at a distance, but without returning his salutation he delivered his letter; which being read, the king answered, that he would consider, and give his answer. Whereupon Popilius with his wand made a circle round him, saying, Consider and answer before you go out of this place; and when Antiochus answered that he would give the Romans satisfaction, then at length Popilius saluted and embraced him.

LUCULLUS. Lucullus in Armenia, with ten thousand foot in armor and a thousand horse, was to fight Tigranes and his army of a hundred and fifty thousand, the day before the nones of October, the same day on which formerly Scipio's army was destroyed by the Cimbrians. When one told him, The Romans dread and abominate that day; Therefore, said he, let us fight to-day valiantly, that we may make this day out of a black and unlucky one a joyful and festival day for the Romans. His soldiers were most afraid of their men-at-arms; but he bade them be of good courage, for it was more labor to strip than to overcome them. He first came up to their counterscarp, and perceiving the confusion of the barbarians, cried out, Fellow-soldiers, the day's our own! And when nobody resisted him, he pursued, and, with the loss of five Romans, slew above a hundred thousand of them.

CN. POMPEIUS. Cn. Pompeius was as much beloved by the Romans as his father was hated. When he was young, he wholly sided with Sylla, and before he had borne many offices or was chosen into the senate, he enlisted many soldiers in Italy. When Sylla sent for him, he returned answer, that he would not muster his forces in the presence of his general, unfleshed and without spoils; nor did he come until in several fights he had overcome the captains

of the enemy. He was sent by Sylla lieutenant-general into Sicily, and being told that the soldiers turned out of the way and forced and plundered the country, he sealed the swords of such as he sent abroad, and punished all other stragglers and wanderers. He had resolved to put the Mamertines, that were of the other side, all to the sword; but Sthenius the orator said to him, He would do injustice if he should punish many that were innocent for the sake of one that was guilty; and that he himself was the person that persuaded his friends and forced his enemies to side with Marius. Pompey admired the man, and said, he could not blame the Mamertines for being influenced by a person who preferred his country beyond his own life; and forgave both the city and Sthenius too. When he passed into Africa against Domitius and overcame him in a great battle, the soldiers saluted him Imperator. He answered, he could not receive that honor, so long as the fortification of the enemy's camp stood undemolished; upon this, although it rained hard, they rushed on and plundered the camp. At his return, among other courtesies and honors wherewith Sylla entertained him, he styled him The Great; yet when he was desirous to triumph, Sylla would not consent, because he was not yet chosen into the senate. But when Pompey said to those that were about him, Sylla doth not know that more worship the rising than the setting sun, Sylla cried aloud, Let him triumph. Hereat Servilius, one of the nobles, was displeas'd; the soldiers also withstood his triumph, until he had bestowed a largess among them. But when Pompey replied, I would rather give up my triumph than flatter them, — Now, said Servilius, I see Pompey is truly great and worthy of a triumph. It was a custom in Rome, that knights who had served in the wars the time appointed by the laws should bring their horse into the forum before the censors, and there give an account of their warfare and the commanders under whom they had served. Pompey, then consul, brought also his horse before the censors, Gellius and Lentulus; and when they asked him, as the manner is, whether he had served all his campaigns, All, said he, and under myself as general. Having gotten into his hands the writings of Sertorius in Spain, among which were letters from several leading men in Rome, inviting Sertorius to Rome to in-

novate and change the government, he burnt them all, by that means giving opportunity to ill-affected persons to repent and mend their manners. Phraates, king of Parthia, sent to him requesting that the river Euphrates might be his bounds. He answered, the Romans had rather the right should be their bounds towards Parthia. L. Lucullus, after he left the army, gave himself up to pleasure and luxury, jeering at Pompey for busying himself in affairs unsuitable to his age. He answered, that government became old age better than luxury. In a fit of sickness; his physician prescribed him to eat a thrush; but when none could be gotten, because they were out of season, one said, that Lucullus had some, for he kept them all the year. It seems then, said he, Pompey must not live, unless Lucullus play the glutton; and dismissing the physician, he ate such things as were easy to be gotten. In a great dearth at Rome, he was chosen by title overseer of the market, but in reality lord of sea and land, and sailed to Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily. Having procured great quantities of wheat, he hastened back to Rome; and when by reason of a great tempest the pilots were loath to hoist sail, he went first aboard himself, and commanding the anchor to be weighed, cried out aloud, There is a necessity of sailing, but there is no necessity of living. When the difference betwixt him and Cæsar broke out, and Marcellinus, one of those whom he had preferred, revolted to Cæsar and inveighed much against Pompey in the senate; Art thou not ashamed, said he, Marcellinus, to reproach me, who taught you to speak when you were dumb, and fed you full even to vomiting when you were starved? To Cato, who severely blamed him because, when he had often informed him of the growing power of Cæsar, such as was dangerous to a democracy, he took little notice of it, he answered, Your counsels were more prophetic, but mine more friendly. Concerning himself he freely professed, that he entered all his offices sooner than he expected, and resigned them sooner than was expected by others. After the fight at Pharsalia, in his flight towards Egypt, as he was going out of the ship into the fisher-boat the king sent to attend him, turning to his wife and son, he said nothing to them beside those two verses of Sophocles:

Whoever comes within a tyrant's door  
Becomes his slave, though he were free before.

As he came out of the boat, when he was struck with a sword, he said nothing; but gave one groan, and covering his head submitted to the murderers.

CICERO. Cicero the orator, when his name was played upon and his friends advised him to change it, answered, that he would make the name of Cicero more honorable than the name of the Catos, the Catuli, or the Scauri. He dedicated to the gods a silver cup with a cover, with the first letters of his other names, and instead of Cicero a pea (*cicer*) engraven. Loud bawling orators, he said, were driven by their weakness to noise, as lame men to take horse. Verres had a son that in his youth had not well secured his chastity; yet he reviled Cicero for his effeminacy, and called him catamite. Do you not know, said he, that children are to be rebuked at home within doors? Metellus Nepos told him he had slain more by his testimony than he had saved by his pleadings. You say true, said he, my honesty exceeds my eloquence. When Metellus asked him who his father was, Your mother, said he, hath made that question a harder one for you to answer than for me. For she was unchaste, while Metellus himself was a light, inconstant, and passionate man. The same Metellus, when Diodotus his master in rhetoric died, caused a marble crow to be placed on his monument; and Cicero said, he returned his master a very suitable gratuity, who had taught him to fly but not to declaim. Hearing that Vatinius, his enemy and otherwise a lewd person, was dead, and the next day that he was alive, A mischief on him, said he, for lying. To one that seemed to be an African, who said he could not hear him when he pleaded, And yet, said he, your ears are of full bore. He had summoned as a witness in a cause, Popilius Cotta, an ignorant blockhead that pretended to the law; and when he told the court he knew nothing of the business, On my conscience, I'll warrant you, said Cicero, he thinks you ask him a question in the law. Verres sent a golden sphinx as a present to Hortensius the orator, who told Cicero, when he spoke obscurely, that he was not skilled in riddles. That's strange, said he, since you have a sphinx in your house. Meeting Voconius with his three daughters that were hard favored, he told his friends softly that verse,—

Children he hath got,  
Though Apollo consented not.

When Faustus the son of Sylla, being very much in debt, set up a writing that he would sell his goods by auction, he said, I like this proscription better than his father's. When Pompey and Cæsar fell out, he said, I know whom to fly from, but I know not whom to fly to. He blamed Pompey for leaving the city, and for imitating Themistocles rather than Pericles, when his affairs did not resemble the former's but the latter's. He changed his mind and went over to Pompey, who asked him where he left his son-in-law Piso. He answered, With your father-in-law Cæsar. To one that turned from Cæsar to Pompey, saying that in his haste and eagerness he had left his horse behind him, he said, You have taken better care of your horse than of yourself. To one that brought news that the friends of Cæsar looked sourly, You do as good as call them, said he, Cæsar's enemies. After the battle in Pharsalia, when Pompey was fled, one Nonius said they had seven eagles left still, and advised to try what they would do. Your advice, said he, were good, if we were to fight with jackdaws. Cæsar, now conqueror, honorably restored the statues of Pompey that were thrown down; whereupon Cicero said, that Cæsar by erecting Pompey's statues had secured his own. He set so high a value on oratory, and did so lay out himself especially that way, that having a cause to plead before the judges, when the day approached and his slave Eros brought him word it was deferred until the day following, he presently made him free.

C. CÆSAR. Caius Cæsar, when he was a young man, fled from Sylla, and fell into the hands of pirates, who first demanded of him a sum of money; and he laughed at the rogues for not understanding his quality, and promised them twice as much as they asked him. Afterwards, when he was put into custody until he raised the money, he commanded them to be quiet and silent while he slept. While he was in prison, he made speeches and verses which he read to them, and when they commended them but coldly, he called them barbarians and blockheads, and threatened them in jest that he would hang them. But after a while he was as good as his word; for when the money for his ransom was brought and he discharged, he gathered men and ships out of Asia, seized the pirates and crucified them. At Rome he stood to



be chief priest against Catulus, a man of great interest among the Romans. To his mother, who accompanied him to the gate, he said, To-day, mother, you will have your son high priest or banished. He divorced his wife Pompeia, because she was reported to be over familiar with Clodius; yet when Clodius was brought to court upon that account, and he was cited as a witness, he spake no evil against his wife; and when the accuser asked him, Why then did you divorce her?— Because, said he, Cæsar's wife ought to be free even from suspicion. As he was reading the exploits of Alexander, he wept and told his friends, He was of my age when he conquered Darius, and I hitherto have done nothing. He passed by a little inconsiderable town in the Alps, and his friends said, they wondered whether there were any contentions and tumults for offices in that place. He stood, and after a little pause answered, I had rather be the first in this town than second in Rome. He said, great and surprising enterprises were not to be consulted upon, but done. And coming against Pompey out of his province of Gaul, he passed the river Rubicon, saying, Let every die be thrown. After Pompey fled to sea from Rome, he went to take money out of the treasury: when Metellus, who had the charge of it, forbade him and shut it against him, he threatened to kill him; whereupon Metellus being astonished, he said to him, This, young man, is harder for me to say than to do. When his soldiers were having a long passage from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, unknown to all he went aboard a small vessel, and attempted to pass the sea; and when the vessel was in danger of being overset, he discovers himself to the pilot, crying out, Trust Fortune, and know that you carry Cæsar. But the tempest being vehement, his soldiers coming about him and expostulating passionately with him, asking whether he distrusted them and was looking for another army, would not suffer him to cross at that time. They fought, and Pompey had the better of it; but instead of following his blow he retreated to his camp. To-day, said Cæsar, the enemy had the victory, but none of them know how to conquer. Pompey commanded his army to stand in array at Pharsalia in their ranks, and to receive the charge from the enemy. In this Cæsar said he was out, thereby suffering the eagerness of his soldiers' spirits,

when they were up and inspired with rage and success, in the midst of their career to languish and expire. After he routed Pharnaces Ponticus at the first assault, he wrote thus to his friends, I came, I saw, I conquered.<sup>1</sup> After Scipio was worsted in Africa and fled, and Cato had killed himself, he said: I envy thee thy death, O Cato! since thou didst envy me the honor of saving thee. Antonius and Dolabella were suspected by his friends, who advised him to secure them; he answered, I fear none of those fat and lazy fellows, but those pale and lean ones,—meaning Brutus and Cassius. As he was at supper, the discourse was of death, which sort was the best. That, said he, which is unexpected.

CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. Cæsar, who was the first surnamed Augustus, being yet young, demanded of Antony the twenty-five millions of money which he had taken out of the house of Julius Cæsar when he was slain, that he might pay the Romans the legacies he had left them, every man seventy-five drachms. But when Antony detained the money, and bade him, if he were wise, let fall his demand, he sent the crier to offer his own paternal estate for sale, and therewith discharged the legacies; by which means he procured a general respect to himself, and to Antony the hatred of the Romans. Rymetalces, King of Thrace, forsook Antony and went over to Cæsar; but bragging immoderately in his drink, and nauseously reproaching his new confederates, Cæsar drank to one of the other kings, and told him, I love treason but do not commend traitors. The Alexandrians, when he had taken their city, expected great severity from him; but when he came upon the judgment-seat, he placed Arius the Alexandrian by him, and told them: I spare this city, first because it is great and beautiful, secondly for the sake of its founder, Alexander, and thirdly for the sake of Arius my friend. When it was told him that Eros, his steward in Egypt, having bought a quail that beat all he came near and was never worsted by any, had roasted and eaten it, he sent for him; and when upon examination he confessed the fact, he ordered him to be nailed on the mast of the ship. He removed Theodorus, and in his stead made Arius his factor in Sicily,

<sup>1</sup> ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα, ἔνοι, νίδι, νίσι.

whereupon a petition was presented to him, in which was written, Theodorus of Tarsus is either a bald-pate or a thief, what is your opinion? Cæsar read it, and subscribed, I think so. Mecænas, his intimate companion, presented him yearly on his birthday with a piece of plate. Athenodorus the philosopher, by reason of his old age, begged leave that he might retire from court, which Cæsar granted; and as Athenodorus was taking his leave of him, Remember, said he, Cæsar, whenever you are angry, to say or do nothing before you have repeated the four-and-twenty letters to yourself. Whereupon Cæsar caught him by the hand and said, I have need of your presence still; and he kept him a year longer, saying, The reward of silence is a secure reward. He heard Alexander at the age of thirty-two years had subdued the greatest part of the world and was at a loss what he should do with the rest of his time. But he wondered Alexander should not think it a lesser labor to gain a great empire than to set in order what he had gotten. He made a law concerning adulterers, wherein was determined how the accused were to be tried and how the guilty were to be punished. Afterwards, meeting with a young man that was reported to have been familiar with his daughter Julia, being enraged he struck him with his hands; but when the young man cried out, O Cæsar! you have made a law, he was so troubled at it that he refrained from supper that day. When he sent Caius his daughter's son into Armenia, he begged of the gods that the favor of Pompey, the valor of Alexander, and his own fortune might attend him. He told the Romans he would leave them one to succeed him in the government that never consulted twice in the same affair, meaning Tiberius. He endeavored to pacify some young men that were imperious in their offices; and when they gave little heed to him, but still kept a stir, Young men, said he, hear an old man to whom old men hearkened when he was young. Once, when the Athenians had offended him, he wrote to them from Ægina: I suppose you know I am angry with you, otherwise I had not wintered at Ægina. Besides this, he neither said nor did anything to them. One of the accusers of Eurycles prated lavishly and unreasonably, proceeding so far as to say, If these crimes, O Cæsar, do not seem great to you, command him to

repeat to me the seventh book of Thucydides; wherefore Cæsar being enraged commanded him to prison. But afterwards, when he heard he was descended from Brasidas, he sent for him again, and dismissed him with a moderate rebuke. When Piso built his house from top to bottom with great exactness, You cheer my heart, said he, who build as if Rome would be eternal.

Don't think your money after the best  
most marketable made at the beginning  
never count one crum to escape  
downward for a lesser one

Money is  
like marrow  
? least use when allowed  
to be in a heap.  
Don't voluntarily  
spread where it is  
needed

Deposits plunged in  
You Reached we can only  
Piso after that

LACONIC APOTHEGMS; OR REMARKABLE  
SAYINGS OF THE SPARTANS.

*Of Agasicles.*

AGASICLES the Spartan king, when one wondered why, since he was a great lover of instruction, he would not admit Philophanes the Sophist, freely said, I ought to be their scholar whose son I am. And to one inquiring how a governor should be secure without guards, he replied, If he rules his subjects as fathers do their sons.

*Of Agesilaus the Great.*

Agesilaus the Great, being once chosen steward of a feast, and asked by the butler how much wine he allowed every guest, returned: If you have a great deal provided, as much as every one calls for; if but a little, give them all an equal share. When he saw a malefactor resolutely endure his torments, How great a rascal is this fellow, he cried out, that uses patience, bravery, and courage, in such an impious and dishonest case! To one commending an orator for his skill in amplifying petty matters he said, I don't think that shoemaker a good workman that makes a great shoe for a little foot. When one in discourse said to him, Sir, you have assented to such a thing already, and repeated it very often, he replied, Yes, if it is right; but if not, I said so indeed but never assented. And the other rejoining, But, sir, a king is obliged to perform whatever he hath granted by his nod;<sup>1</sup> No more, he returned, than those that petition him are bound to make none but good and just requests, and to consider all circumstances of time and what befits a king. When he heard any praise or condemnation, he thought it as necessary to inquire into the character of those that spake as of those of whom they spake. While he was a boy, at a certain solemnity of naked dancing, the person that

<sup>1</sup> II. I. 527.

ordered that affair put him in a dishonorable place; and he, though already declared king, endured it, saying, I'll show that it is not the places that grace men, but men the places. To a physician prescribing him a nice and tedious course of physic, he said, By Castor and Pollux, unless I am destined to live at any rate, I surely shall not if I swallow all this. Whilst he stood by the altar of Minerva Chalciæcus sacrificing an ox, a louse bit him. At this he never blushed, but cracked him before the whole company, adding these words, By all the gods, it is pleasant to kill a plotter at the very altar. Another time seeing a boy pull a mouse by the tail out of his hole, and the mouse turn and bite the boy's fingers and so escape; he bade his companions take notice of it, saying, If so little a creature will oppose injurious violence, what think ye that men ought to do?

Being eager for war against the Persians to free the Asiatic Greeks, he consulted the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona; and that telling him to go on as he designed, he brought the answer to the Ephors, upon which they ordered him to go to Delphi and put the same question. He went, and put it in this form: Apollo, are you of the same mind with your father? And the oracle agreeing, he was chosen general and the war began. Now Tissaphernes, at first being afraid of Agesilaus, came to articles, and agreed that the Greek cities should be free and left to their own laws; but afterward procuring a great army from the king, he declared war against him unless he should presently leave Asia. Glad of this treachery of Tissaphernes, he marched as if his design was to make an inroad upon Caria; but when Tissaphernes had brought his troops thither, he turned upon Phrygia, and took a great many cities and abundance of rich spoil, saying to his friend: To break one's promise is indeed impious; but to outwit an enemy is not only just and glorious, but profitable and sweet. Being inferior to the enemy in horse, he retreated to Ephesus, and ordered all the wealthy to provide each a man and horse, which should excuse them from personal service in his wars. By which means, in the room of rich cowards, he was soon furnished with stout men and able horses; and this he said he did in imitation of Agamemnon, who agreed for a serviceable mare to discharge a wealthy

coward. When he ordered the captives to be sold naked and the chapmen came, a thousand bid money for the clothes, but all derided the bodies of the men, which were tender and white by reason of their delicate breeding, as useless and worth nothing. He said to his soldiers, Look, those are the things for which ye fight, and these are the things with whom ye fight. Having beaten Tissaphernes in Lydia and killed many of his men, he wasted the territories of the king; and the king sending money and desiring a peace, Agesilaus replied: To grant peace is in the power only of the commonwealth. I delight to enrich my soldiers rather than myself, and think it agreeable to the honor of the Greeks not to receive gifts from their enemies but to take spoils.

Megabates the son of Spithridates, a very pretty boy, who thought himself very well beloved, coming to him to offer a kiss and an embrace, he turned away his head. But when the boy had not appeared a long time, Agesilaus inquired after him; and his friends replied, that it was his own fault, since he derided the kiss of the pretty boy, and the youth was afraid to come again. Agesilaus, standing silent and musing a pretty while, said: Well, I will use no persuasions, for methinks I had rather conquer such desires than take the most popular city of my enemies; for it is better to preserve our own than rob others of their liberty. In all things else he was very exact, and a strict observer of the law; but in his friends' concerns he thought that to be too scrupulous was a bare pretence to cloak unwillingness to use his interest. And agreeable to this, there is extant a small note of his, interceding for a friend to one Idrieus a Carian: If Nicias is not guilty, discharge him; if he is, discharge him for my sake; but by all means pray let him be discharged. This was his usual humor in his friends' concerns, yet sometimes profit and convenience were preferred; for once abandoning his camp in disorder, and leaving one that he loved behind him sick, when he begged and beseeched him with tears to have compassion, he turned and said, How hard it is to be pitiful and wise at once! His diet was the same with that of his attendants; he never fed to satisfy, nor drank himself drunk; he used sleep not as a master, but as a servant to his affairs; and was so fitted to endure heat or cold, that he alone was

undisturbed at the change of seasons. He lodged amongst his soldiers, and his bed was as mean as any; and this he had always in his mouth: It befits a governor to excel private men not in delicacy and softness, but in bravery and courage. And therefore when one asked him what good Lycurgus's laws had brought to Sparta, he replied, Contempt of pleasure. And to one that wondered at his and the other Lacedæmonians' mean fare and poor attire, he said, From this course of life, sir, we reap liberty. And to one advising him to indulge more, saying, Chance is uncertain, and you may never have the opportunity again, he replied, I accustom myself so that, let whatever change happen, I shall need no change. When he was grown old, he continued the same course; and to one asking him why at his age in very cold weather he would not wear a coat, he replied, that the youth may imitate, having the old men and governors for example.

The Thasians, when he marched through their country, presented him with corn, geese, sweetmeats, cheese-cakes, and all sorts of delicacies, both of meat and drink; he accepted the corn, but commanded them to carry back the rest, as useless and unprofitable to him. But they importunately pressing him to take all, he ordered them to be given to the Helots; and when some asked the reason, he replied, They that profess bravery ought not to meddle with such delicacies; and whatever takes with slaves cannot be agreeable to the free. Another time the Thasians, after considerable benefits received, made him a god and dedicated temples to his honor, and sent an embassy to compliment him on that occasion. When he had read over the honors the ambassadors had brought him, Well, said he, and can your country make men gods? And they affirming, Go to, he rejoined, make yourselves all gods first; and when that is done, I'll believe you can make me one. The Greeks in Asia decreeing him statues, he wrote thus to them: Let there be no representation of me, either painted, founded, or engraved. In Asia, seeing a house roofed with square beams, he asked the master whether trees in their country were grown square. And he replying, No, but round; What then, said he, if they grew square, would you make them round? Being asked how far Sparta's bounds extended, shaking a spear he replied, As far as this will reach. And to another



inquiring why Sparta was without walls, he showed the citizens in arms, saying, Look, these are the walls of Sparta. And to another that put the same question he replied, Cities should be walled not with stones and timber, but with the courage of the inhabitants; and his friends he advised to strive to be rich not in money, but in bravery and virtue. When he would have his soldiers do anything quickly, he before them all put the first hand to it; he was proud that he wrought as much as any, and valued himself more upon ruling his own desires than upon being king. When one saw a lame Spartan marching to the war, and endeavored to procure a horse for him, How, said he, don't you know that war needs those that will stay, not those that will fly? Being asked how he got this great reputation, he replied, By contemning death. And another time, one inquiring why the Spartans used pipes and music when they fought, he said, When all move in measure, it may be known who is brave and who a coward. When he heard one magnifying the king of Persia's happiness, who was but young, Yes, said he, Priam himself was not unhappy at that age.

When he had conquered a great part of Asia, he designed to march against the king himself, to break his quiet and hinder him from corrupting the popular men amongst the Greeks; but being recalled by the Ephors to oppose the designs which the other Greek states, bought with the king's gold, were forming against Sparta, he said, A good ruler should be governed by the laws, — and sailed away from Asia, leaving the Greeks there extremely sorry at his departure. And because the stamp of the Persian money was an archer, he said, when he abandoned his camp, that he was driven out of Asia by thirty thousand of the king's archers. For so many pieces of gold being carried to Thebes and Athens by Timocrates, and distributed amongst the popular men, the people were excited to war upon the Spartans. And this epistle he sent to the Ephors: —

AGESILAUS to the EPHORS, *Greeting.*

We have subdued a great part of Asia, driven out the barbarians, and furnished Ionia with arms. But since you command me back, I follow, nay almost come before

this epistle; for I am not governor for myself, but for the commonwealth. And then a king truly rules according to justice, when he is governed by the laws, the Ephors, or others that are in authority in the commonwealth.

Passing the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace, but made no applications to any of the barbarians, only sending to know whether he marched through the country of an enemy or a friend. All the others received him as friends and guided him in his march; only the Troadians (of whom, as story says, even Xerxes bought his passage) demanded of Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver and as many women. But he scoffingly replied, Why then do not you come presently to receive what you demand? And leading on his army, he fought them; and having destroyed a considerable number, he marched through. To the king of Macedon he sent the same question; and he replying that he would consider of it, Let him consider, saith he, and we will be marching on. Upon which the king, surprised at his daring temper and afraid of his force, admitted him as a friend. The Thessalians having assisted his enemies, he wasted their country, and sent Xenocles and Scythes to Larissa in order to make a treaty. These being seized and detained, all others stomached it extremely, and were of opinion that Agesilaus should besiege and storm Larissa. But he replying that he would not give either of their lives for all Thessaly, he had them delivered upon articles. Hearing of a battle fought near Corinth, in which very few of the Spartans, but many of the Corinthians, Athenians, and their allies were slain, he did not appear joyful, or puffed up with his victory, but fetching a deep sigh cried out, Unhappy Greece, that hath destroyed herself men enough to have conquered all the barbarians! The Pharsalians pressing upon him and distressing his forces with five hundred horse, he charged them, and after the rout raised a trophy at the base of Narthacium. And this victory pleased him more than all the others he had won, because with his single cavalry he had beaten those that vaunted themselves as the best horsemen in the world. Diphridas bringing him commands immediately upon his march to make an inroad into Bœotia, — though he designed the same thing in a short time, when he should be better prepared,

— he obeyed, and sending for twenty thousand men from the camp at Corinth, marched into Bœotia; and at Coronea joining battle with the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, and Locrians altogether, he won, though desperately wounded himself, the greatest battle (as Xenophon affirms) that was fought in his age. And yet when he returned, after so much glory and so many victories, he made no alteration in his course of life.

When he saw some of the citizens think themselves brave fellows for breeding horses for the race, he persuaded his sister Cunisca to get into a chariot and put in for the prize at the Olympian games, intending by that way to convince the Greeks that it was no argument of bravery, but of wealth and profuse expense. Having entertained Xenophon the philosopher at his house, and treating him with great consideration, he urged him to summon his children and have them brought up in Sparta, where they might learn the most excellent of arts, how to govern and how to be governed. And on another occasion being asked by what means the Lacedæmonians flourished above others, Because, says he, they are more studious than others how to rule and how to obey. When Lysander was dead, he found a strong faction, which Lysander upon his return from Asia had associated against him, and was very eager to show the people what manner of citizen Lysander was whilst he lived. And finding among Lysander's papers an oration composed by Cleon of Halicarnassus, about new designs and changing the government, which Lysander was to speak to the people, he resolved to publish it. But when an old politician, perusing the discourse and fearing its effect upon the people, advised him not to dig up Lysander but rather bury the speech with him, he followed the advice, and made no more of it. Those of the contrary faction he did not openly molest, but by cunning contrivance he got some of them into office, and then showed them to be rascals when in power. And then defending them or getting their pardon when accused, he brought them over to his own side, so that he had no enemy at last. To one desiring him to write to his acquaintance in Asia, that he might have justice done him, he replied, My acquaintance will do thee justice, though I do not write. One showed him the wall of a city strongly built and well

fortified, and asked him whether he did not think it a fine thing. Yes, by heaven, he replied, for women, but not for men to live in. To a Megarian talking great things of his city he said, Youth, thy words want an army.

What he saw others admire he seemed not so much as to know; and when Callipides, a man famous among the Greeks for acting tragedies and caressed by all, met him and saluted him, and then impudently intruding amongst his companions showed himself, supposing that Agesilaus would take notice of him and begin some familiar discourse, and at last asked, Doth not your majesty know me? Have not you heard who I am? — he looked upon him and said, Art not thou Callipides, the Merry Andrew? (For that is the name the Lacedæmonians give an actor.) Being once desired to hear a man imitate a nightingale, he refused, saying, I have often heard the bird itself. Menecrates the physician, for his good success in some desperate diseases, was called Jupiter; and priding himself in the name, he presumed to write to Agesilaus thus: Menecrates Jupiter to King Agesilaus wisheth good health. Reading no more, he presently wrote back: King Agesilaus to Menecrates wisheth a healthy mind.

When Conon and Pharnabazus with the king's navy were masters of the sea and wasted the coasts of Laconia, and Athens — Pharnabazus defraying the charges — was surrounded with a wall, the Lacedæmonians made a peace with the Persian; and sending Antalcidas, one of their citizens, to Tiribazus, they agreed to deliver into the king's hands all the Asiatic Greeks, for whose freedom Agesilaus fought. Upon which account Agesilaus was not at all blemished by this dishonorable treaty; for Antalcidas was his enemy, and clapped up a peace on purpose because the war raised Agesilaus and got him glory. When one said, The Lacedæmonians are becoming medized, he replied, Rather the Medes are becoming laconized. And being asked which was the better virtue, courage or justice, he said: Courage would be good for nothing, if there were no justice; and if all men were just, there would be no need of courage. The Asians being wont to style the king of Persia The Great; How, said he, is he greater than I am, if he is not more just or temperate? And he used to say, The Greeks in Asia are mean-spirited freemen, but stout slaves. And being

asked how one might get the greatest reputation amongst men, he replied, By speaking the best and doing the bravest things. And he had this saying commonly in his mouth, A commander should be daring against his enemy, and kind and good-natured to his own soldiers. When one asked him what boys should learn; That, said he, which they shall use when men. When he sat judge upon a cause, the accuser spake floridly and well; but the defendant meanly and ever now and then repeated these words, Agesilaus, a king should assist the laws. What, said he, dost thou think, if any one dug down thy house or took away thy coat, a mason or a weaver would assist thee?

A letter being brought him from the king of Persia by a Persian that came with Callias the Spartan, after the peace was concluded, offering him friendship and kind entertainment, he would not receive it, bidding the messenger tell the king that there was no need to send private letters to him; for if he was a friend to Sparta and meant well to Greece, he would do his best to be his friend; but if he designed upon their liberty, he might know that, though he received a thousand letters from him, he would be his enemy. He was very fond of his children; and it is reported that once toying with them he got astride upon a reed as upon a horse, and rode about the room; and being seen by one of his friends, he desired him not to speak of it till he had children of his own. When he had fought often with the Thebans and was wounded in the battle, Antalcidas, as it is reported, said to him: Indeed, sir, you have received a very fair reward for instructing the Thebans, whom, when ignorant and unwilling, you have forced to learn the art of war. For story tells us, the Lacedæmonians at that time by frequent skirmishes had made the Thebans better soldiers than themselves. And therefore Lycurgus, the old lawgiver, forbade them to fight often with the same nation, lest the enemy should learn their discipline. When he understood that the allies took it very ill, that in their frequent expeditions they, being great in number, followed the Spartans that were but few; designing to show their mistake about the number, he ordered all the allies to sit down in one body and the Lacedæmonians in another by themselves. Then he made proclamation that all the potters should rise first; and when they

stood up, the braziers next; then the carpenters, next the masons, and so all other traders in order. Now almost all the allies stood up and not one of the Spartans, for their law forbids them all mechanical employments, Then said Agesilaus, with a smile, See now how many soldiers we provide more than you. When at the battle of Leuctra many of the Spartans fled and upon that account were obnoxious to the laws, the Ephors, seeing the city had but few men and stood in great need of soldiers at that time, would free them from the infamy and yet still keep the laws in force. Upon that account they put the power of making laws into the hands of Agesilaus; and he coming into the assembly said, I will make no new laws, nor will I add anything to those you already have, nor take therefrom, nor change them in any wise; but I will order that the laws you already have be in force from to-morrow.

Epaminondas rushing on with a torrent and tide of force, and the Thebans and their allies being puffed up with this victory, though he had but an inconsiderable number, Agesilaus repulsed them from the city and forced them to retreat. In the battle at Mantinea, he advised the Spartans to neglect the others and fight Epaminondas only, saying: The wise alone is the stout man, and the cause of victory; and therefore if we take him off, we shall quickly have the rest; for they are fools and worth nothing. And it happened accordingly; for Epaminondas having the better of the day and the Spartans being routed, as he turned about and encouraged his soldiers to pursue, a Lacedæmonian gave him his death-wound. He falling, the Spartans that fled with Agesilaus rallied and turned the victory; the Thebans appearing to have much the worse, and the Spartans the better of the day. When Sparta had a great many hired soldiers in pay, and wanted money to carry on the war, Agesilaus, upon the king of Egypt's desire, went to serve him for money. But the meanness of his habit brought him into contempt with the people of that country; for they, according to their bad notions of princes, expected that the king of Sparta should appear like the Persian, gaudily attired. But in a little time he sufficiently convinced them that majesty and glory were to be gotten by prudence and courage. When he found his men discouraged at the

number of the enemy (for they were 200,000) and their own fewness, just before the engagement, without any man's privity, he contrived how to encourage them: in the hollow of his left hand he wrote VICTORY, and taking the liver from the priest, he put it into that hand, and held it a pretty while, pretending he was uncertain and perplexed at some appearance, till the characters were imprinted on the flesh; and then he showed it to the soldiers, telling them the gods gave certain signs of victory by these characters. Upon which, thinking they had sure evidence of good success, they marched resolutely to the battle. When the enemy much exceeded them in number and were making an intrenchment round his camp, and Nectabius, whom then he assisted, urged him to fight; I would not, said he, hinder our enemies from making their number as small as ours. And when the trench was almost drawn round, ordering his army to the space between, and so fighting upon equal terms, with those few soldiers he had he routed and killed abundance of the enemy, and sent home a great treasure. Dying on his voyage from Egypt, he commanded his attendants not to make any figure or representation of his body; For, said he, if I have done any brave action, that will preserve my memory; if not, neither will a thousand statues, the works of base mechanics.

*Of Agesipolis the Son of Cleombrotus.*

Agesipolis the son of Cleombrotus, when one told him that Philip had razed Olynthus in a few days, said, Well, but he is not able to build such another in twice that time. To one saying that whilst he was king he himself was an hostage with some other youths, and not their wives or children, he replied, Very good, for it is fit we ourselves should suffer for our own faults. When he designed to send for some whelps from home, and one said, Sir, none must be carried out of the country, he replied, Nor men heretofore, but now they may.

*Of Agesipolis the Son of Pausanias*

Agesipolis the son of Pausanias, when the Athenians appealed to the Megarians as arbitrators of the differences

between them, said, It is a shame, Athenians, that those who were once the lords of all Greece should understand what is right and just less than the people of Megara.

*Of Agis the Son of Archidamus.*

Agis the son of Archidamus, when the Ephors gave orders, Go take the youth, and follow this man into his own country, and he shall guide thee to the very citadel, said: How can it be prudent to trust so many youths to the fidelity of him who betrays his own country? Being asked what art was chiefly learned in Sparta, To know, he replied, how to govern and to be governed. He used to say, The Spartans do not inquire how many the enemy are, but where they are. At Mantinea, being advised not to fight the enemy, who exceeded him in number, he said, It is necessary for him to fight a great many that would rule a great many. To one inquiring how many the Spartans were, Enough, he replied, to keep invaders at a distance. Marching by the walls of Corinth, and perceiving them to be high and strong he said, What women live there? To an orator that said speech was the best thing, he rejoined, You then, when you are not speaking, are worth nothing. When the Argives, after they had been once beaten, faced him more boldly than before; on seeing many of the allies disheartened, he said, Courage, sirs! for when we conquerors shake, what do you think is the condition of the conquered? To an ambassador from the Abderites, after he had ended his long speech, inquiring what answer he should carry to his city, he replied, This: As long as you talked, so long I quietly heard. Some commending the Eleans for exact justice in determining the prizes at the Olympian games, he said, What great wonder is it, that in four years they can be just one day? To some that told him he was envied by the heirs of the other kingly family, Well, said he, their own misfortunes will torment them, and my own and my friends' success besides. When one advised him to give the flying enemy room to run, he said, How shall we fight those that stand to it and resist, if we dare not engage those whom their cowardice makes fly? When one proposed a way to free Greece, well contrived indeed but hard to be brought about, he said, Friend, thy words want



an army and a treasure. To one saying, Philip won't let you set foot upon any other part of Greece, he returned, Sir, we have room enough in our own country. An ambassador from Perinthus to Lacedæmon, after a long tedious speech, asking what answer he should carry back to the Perinthians, he said, What but this?—that thou couldst hardly find an end to thy talk, and I kept silent. He went by himself ambassador to Philip; and Philip saying, What! but one? he replied, I am an ambassador but to one. An old man, observing that the ancient laws were neglected and that new evil customs crept in, said to him, when he was now grown old himself, All things here at Sparta are turned topsy-turvy. He replied with a joke: If it is so, it is agreeable to reason; for when I was a boy, I heard my father say that all things were then topsy-turvy; and he heard his father say the same; and it is no wonder if succeeding times are worse than the preceding; but it is a wonder if they happen to be better, or but just as good. Being asked how a man could be always free, he replied, If he contemns death.

*Of Agis the Younger.*

Agis the Younger, when Demades said, The Spartans' swords are so short that our jugglers can easily swallow them, replied, Yet the Spartans can reach their enemies with these swords. A base fellow often asking who was the bravest of the Spartans, he said, He that is most unlike thee.

*Of Agis the Last.*

Agis, the last king of Lacedæmon, being taken and condemned by the Ephors without hearing, as he was led to the gallows, saw one of the officers weeping. Do not weep for me, he said, who, being so unjustly, so barbarously condemned, am in a better condition than my murderers. And having spoken thus, he quietly submitted himself to the halter.

*Of Acrotatus.*

Acrotatus, when his parents commanded him to join in some unjust action, refused for some time; but when they

grew importunate, he said: When I was under your power I had no notion of justice, but now you have delivered me to my country and her laws, and to the best of your power have taught me loyalty and justice, I shall endeavor to follow these rather than you. And since you would have me to do that which is best, and since just actions are best for a private man and much more for a governor, I shall do what you would have me, and refuse what you command.

*Of Alcamenes the Son of Teleclus.*

Alcamenes the son of Teleclus, being asked how a ruler might best secure his government, replied, By slighting gain. And to another inquiring why he refused the presents the Messenians made him he said, Because, if I had taken them, I and the laws could never have agreed. When one said that though he had wealth enough he lived but meanly, he replied, Well, it is a glory for one that hath abundance to live as reason not as appetite directs.

*Of Alexandridas.*

Alexandridas, the son of Leo, said to one that was much concerned at his banishment from the city, Good sir, be not concerned that you must leave the city, but that you have left justice. To one that talked to the Ephors very pertinently but a great deal too much he said, Sir, your discourse is very good, but ill-timed. And when one asked him why they let their Helot slaves cultivate the fields, and did not take care of them themselves, he replied, Because we acquired our land not caring for it but for ourselves. Another saying, Desire of reputation causes abundance of mischief, and those are happy that are free from it; Then, he subjoined, it follows that villains are happy; for do you think that he that commits sacrilege or doth an injury takes any care for credit and reputation? Another asking why in a battle the Spartans venture so boldly into danger, Because, said he, we train ourselves to have a reverence for life, not, as others do, to fear for it. Another demanding why the judges took so many days to pass sentence in a capital cause, and why he that was acquitted still remained liable to be brought

to trial, he replied: They consult so long, because if they make an error in judgment and condemn a man to death, they cannot revise their judgment; and the accused still remains subject to trial, because this arrangement might enable them to give even a better judgment than before.

*Of Anaxander the Son of Eurycrates.*

Anaxander, the son of Eurycrates, to one asking him why the Spartans laid up no money in the exchequer, replied, that the keepers of it might not be tempted to be knaves.

*Of Anaxilas.*

Anaxilas, when one wondered for what reason the Ephors did not rise up to the king, since the kings made them, said, It is for the same reason for which they are appointed Ephors (or overseers).

*Of Androclidas.*

Androclidas a Spartan, being maimed in his leg, enlisted in the army; and when some refused him because he was maimed, he said, It must not be those that can run away, but those that can stand to it, that must fight the enemy.

*Of Antalcidas.*

Antalcidas, when he was to be initiated in the Samothracian mysteries, and was asked by the priest what great sin he had committed in all his life, replied, If I have committed any, the gods know it already. To an Athenian that called the Lacedæmonians illiterate he said, True; for we alone have learned no ill from you. Another Athenian saying, We have often beat you back from the Cephissus, he subjoined, But we never repulsed you from the Eurotas. To another demanding how one might please most men, he replied, By speaking what delights, and doing what profits them. A Sophist being about to read him an encomium of Hercules, he said, Why, who has blamed him? To Agesilaus, when he was wounded in a battle by the Thebans, he said, Sir, you have a fine reward for forcing them to learn the art of

war; for, by the many skirmishes Agesilaus had with them, they learned discipline and became good soldiers. He said, The youth are the walls of Sparta, and the points of their spears its bounds. To one inquiring why the Lacedæmonians fought with such short swords he replied, We come up close to our enemies.

*Of Antiochus.*

Antiochus, one of the Ephors, when he heard Philip had bestowed some lands on the Messenians, said, Well, but hath Philip also given them arms, that they may be able to defend his gift?

*Of Aregeus.*

Aregeus, when some praised not their own but other men's wives, said: Faith, about virtuous women there should be no common talk; and what beauty they have none but their own husbands should understand. As he was walking through Selinus, a city of Sicily, he saw this epitaph upon a tomb, —

Those that extinguished the tyrannic flame,  
Surprised by war and hasty fate,  
Though they are still alive in lasting fame,  
Lie buried near Selinus' gate; —

and said: You died deservedly for quenching it when already in a flame; for you should have hindered it from coming to a blaze.

*Of Ariston.*

Ariston, when one commended the saying of Cleomenes, — who, being asked what a good king should do, replied, Good turns to his friends, and evil to his enemies, — said: How much better is it, sir, to do good to our friends, and make our enemies our friends! Though upon all hands it is agreed Socrates spoke this first, yet he hath the credit of it too. To one asking how many the Spartans were in number he replied, Enough to chase our enemies. An Athenian making a funeral oration in praise of those that fell by the hand of the Lacedæmonians, he said, What brave fellows then were ours, that conquered these!

*Of Archidamidas.*

Archidamidas said to one commending Charilas for being kind to all alike, How can he deserve commendation, that is gentle to the wicked and unjust? When one was angry with Hecatæus the Sophist because when admitted to the public entertainment he said nothing, he said, Sir, you seem not to understand that he that knows how to speak knows also when to speak.

*Of Archidamus the Son of Zeuxidamus.*

Archidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, when one asked him who were governors at Sparta, replied, The laws, and the magistrates according to those laws. To one that praised a fiddler and admired his skill he said, How must you prize brave men, when you can give a fiddler such a commendation! When one recommending a musician to him said, This man plays well upon the harp, he returned, And we have this man who makes broth well; — as if it were no more to raise pleasure and tickle with a sound than with food and broth. To one that promised to make his wine sweet he said, To what purpose? for we shall spend the more, and spoil our public mess. When he besieged Corinth, seeing some hares started under the very walls, he said to his soldiers, Our enemies may be easily surprised. Two choosing him arbitrator, he brought them both into the temple of Minerva of the Brazen House, and made them swear to stand to his determination; and when they had both sworn, he said, I determine that you shall not go out of this temple, till you have ended all the differences between you. Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant sending his daughters some very rich apparel, he refused it, saying, When this is on, I am afraid they will look ugly and deformed. When he saw his son rashly engaging the Athenians, he said, Pray get more strength or less spirit.

*Of Archidamus the Son of Agesilaus.*

Archidamus the son of Agesilaus, when Philip after the battle at Chæronea sent him a haughty letter, returned this answer, If you measure your shadow, you will find it no greater than before the victory. And being asked



how much land the Spartans possessed, he said, As much as their spears reach. Periander, a physician, being well skilled in his profession and of good credit, but writing very bad poems, he said to him, Why, Periander, instead of a good physician are you eager to be called a bad poet? In the war with Philip, when some advised him to fight at some distance from his own country, he replied, Let us not mind that, but whether we shall fight bravely and beat our enemies. To some who commended him for routing the Arcadians he said, It had been better if we had been too hard for them in policy rather than in strength. When he invaded Arcadia, understanding that the Eleans were ready to oppose him, he wrote thus: Archidamus to the Eleans; It is good to be quiet. The allies in the Peloponnesian war consulting what treasure would be sufficient to carry on the war, and desiring to set the tax, he said, War cannot be put on a certain allowance. As soon as ever he saw a dart shot out of an engine brought from Sicily, he cried out, Good God! true valor is gone forever. When the Greeks refused to obey him or to stand to those conditions which he had made with Antigonus and Craterus the Macedonians, but would be free, alleging that the Spartans would prove more rigorous lords than the Macedonians, he said: A sheep always uses the same voice, but a man various and many, till he hath perfected his designs.

#### *Of Astycratidas.*

Astycratidas, after Agis the king was beaten by Antigonus at Megalopolis, was asked, What will you Spartans do? will you serve the Macedonians? He replied, Why so, can Antigonus hinder us from dying in the defence of Sparta?

#### *Of Bias.*

Bias being surprised by an ambush that Iphicrates the Athenian general had laid, and his soldiers demanding what must be done, he replied, You must provide for your own safety, and I must fight manfully and die.

#### *Of Brasidas.*

Brasidas catching a mouse amongst some dry figs, the mouse bit him; upon which he let her go, and said to his

companions, There is nothing so little but it may preserve itself, if it dares resist the invaders. In a battle, being shot through the shield into the body, he drew the dart out and with it killed the enemy. And one asking how his wound came, he replied, By the treachery of my shield. As he was leading forth his army, he wrote to the Ephors, I will accomplish what I design in this war, or I will die for it. Being killed as he fought to free the Greeks in Thrace, the ambassadors that were sent to Sparta to condole his loss made a visit to his mother Argileonis. And the first question she asked was, whether Brasidas died bravely. And the Thracians extolling him and saying there was no such man in the world; You mistake, sir, said she, it is true, Brasidas was a good man, but Sparta can show more who are better.

*Of Damonidas.*

Damonidas, when the master of the festival set him in the lowest place in the choral dance, said, Well, sir, you have found a way to make this place, which was infamous before, noble and honorable.

*Of Damis.*

Damis to some letters that were sent to him by Alexander, intimating that he should vote Alexander a god, returned this answer: We are content that Alexander (if he will) be called a god.

*Of Damindas.*

Damindas, when Philip invaded Peloponnesus, and one said that the Spartans would suffer great mischiefs unless they accepted his proposals, said, Thou woman-man, what misery can we suffer that despise death?

*Of Dercyllidas.*

Dercyllidas, being sent ambassador to Pyrrhus, — who was then with his army on the borders of Sparta, and required them either to receive their king Cleonymus, or he would make them know they were no better than

other men, — replied, If he is a god, we do not fear him, for we have committed no fault; if a man, we are as good as he.

*Of Demaratus.*

Demaratus, — when Orontes talked very roughly to him, and one said, Demaratus, Orontes uses you very roughly, — replied, I have no reason to be angry, for those that speak to please do the mischief, not those that talk out of malice. To one inquiring why they disgrace those that lose their shields in a battle and not those that lose their head-pieces or breastplates, he answered, Because these serve for their private safety only, but their shield for the common defence and strength of the whole army. Hearing one play upon the harp, he said, The man seems to play the fool well. In a certain assembly, when he was asked whether he held his tongue because he was a fool or for want of words, he replied, A fool cannot hold his tongue. When one asked him why being king he fled Sparta, he answered, Because the laws rule there. A Persian having by many presents enticed the boy that he loved from him, and saying, Spartan, I have caught your love; No, faith, he answered, but you have bought him. One having revolted from the king of Persia, and by Demaratus's persuasion returning again to his obedience, and the king designing his death, Demaratus said: It is dishonorable, O king, whilst he was an enemy not to be able to punish him for his revolt, and to kill him now he is a friend. To a parasite of the king that often mocked him about his exile he said: Sir, I will not fight you, for you have lost your post in life.

*Of Emprepes.*

Emprepes, one of the Ephors, cut out two of the nine strings of Phrynis the musician's harp with a hatchet, saying, Do not abuse music.

*Of Epænetus.*

Epænetus said that liars were the cause of all villainies and injustice in the world.



*Of Euboidas.*

Euboidas, hearing some commend another man's wife, disliked it and said, no one but the family should speak of the perfections of any woman.

*Of Eudamidas the Son of Archidamus.*

Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus and brother of Agis, seeing Zenocrates, now grown old, philosophizing in the Academy with some of his acquaintance, asked what old man that was. And it being answered, He is a wise man, and one of those that seek after virtue; he replied, When will he use it, if he is seeking it now? Another time, when he heard a philosopher discoursing that none but a learned man could be a good general, he said, indeed the discourse is admirable, but he that makes it is of no credit in this matter, for he hath never heard a trumpet sound. Just as Xenocrates had finished his discourse, Eudamidas came into his school, and when one of his companions said, As soon as we came he ended; So he ought, he replied, if he had spoken all that was needful on the subject. And the other saying, Yet it were a pleasant thing to hear him again, he replied, If we visited one that had supped already, should we desire him to sit down again? When one asked him why, when all the citizens voted a war with the Macedonians, he appeared for peace, he answered, Because I have no mind to convince them of their mistake. And when another urged them to this war, mentioning their various victories over the Persians, he said, Sir, you appear not to see that this would be as foolish as to set upon fifty wolves because you have beaten a thousand sheep. A musician playing very well, some asked him what manner of man he was in his opinion, and he answered, A great seducer in a small matter. Hearing one commending Athens, he said, Who could have reason to praise that city which no man ever loved because he had improved in it? An Argive saying that the Spartans being taken from their own customs grew worse by travel, he replied, But you, when you come into Sparta, do not return worse, but much better. When Alexander ordered by public proclamation in the Olympic games, that all exiles whatever, except the Thebans, had free

liberty to return to their own country, Eudamidas said: This is a woful proclamation to you Thebans, but yet honorable; for of all the Grecians Alexander fears only you. Being asked why before a battle they sacrificed to the Muses, he replied, That our brave actions may be worthily recorded.

*Of Eurycratidas the Son of Anaxandridas.*

Eurycratidas the son of Anaxandridas, when one asked him why the Ephor sat every day to determine causes about contracts, replied, That we may learn to keep our word even with our enemies.

*Of Zeuxidamus.*

Zeuxidamus, when one asked him why they did not set down all their laws concerning bravery and courage in writing and let the young men read them, answered, Because they should be accustomed to mind valiant actions, rather than books and writings. An Ætolian saying that war was better than peace for those that would be brave men, No, faith, said he, but death is better than life.

*Of Herondas.*

Herondas, when one at Athens was condemned for idleness, being informed of it desired one to show him the man that had been convicted of so gentlemanly a crime.

*Of Thearidas.*

Thearidas whetting his sword, being asked, Is it sharp, Thearidas? replied, Yes, sharper than a slander.

*Of Themistias.*

Themistias the prophet foretold to King Leonidas his own and his soldiers' destruction at Thermopylæ, and being commanded by Leonidas to return to Sparta, under pretence of informing the state how affairs stood, but really that he might not perish with the rest, he refused,

saying, I was sent as a soldier, not as a courier to carry news.

*Of Theopompus.*

Theopompus, when one asked him how a monarch may be safe, replied, If he will give his friends just freedom to speak the truth, and to the best of his power not allow his subjects to be oppressed. To a guest of his that said, In my own country I am called a lover of the Spartans, he replied, It would be more honorable for you to be called a lover of your citizens than a lover of the Spartans. An ambassador from Elis saying that his city sent him because he was the only man amongst them that admired and followed the Spartan way of living, Theopompus asked, And pray, sir, which way is best, yours or the other citizens'? And the ambassador replying, Mine; he subjoined, How then can that city stand, in which amongst so many inhabitants there is but one good man? When one said that Sparta was preserved because the kings knew how to govern; No, he replied, but because the citizens know how to be governed. The Pylians voting him greater honors, he wrote to them thus, Moderate honors time augments, but it defaces the immoderate.

*Of Thorycion.*

Thorycion on his return from Delphi, seeing Philip's army possessed of the narrow land at the Isthmus, said, Peloponnesus hath very bad porters in you Corinthians.

*Of Thectamenes.*

Thectamenes, when the Ephors condemned him to die, went away smiling; and one of the company asked him whether he despised the judicial proceedings of Sparta. No, said he, but I am glad that I am ordered to pay a fine which I can pay out of my own stock, without being beholden to any man or taking up money upon interest.

*Of Hippodamus.*

Hippodamus, when Agis was joined in command with Archidamus, being sent with Agis to Sparta to look after

affairs there, said, But shall I not meet a more glorious death fighting bravely in defence of Sparta? He was above fourscore years of age, yet he put on his armor, fought on the right hand of the king, and died bravely.

*Of Hippocratidas.*

Hippocratidas, when the governor of Caria sent him word that he had a Spartan in his hands who concealed a conspiracy that he was privy to, and asked how he should deal with him, returned this answer: If you have done him any great kindness, kill him; if not, banish him as a base fellow, too mean-spirited to be good. A youth whom his lover followed meeting him and blushing at the encounter, he said: You should keep such company that, whoever sees you, you will have no reason to change color.

*Of Callicratidas.*

Callicratidas the admiral, when some of Lysander's friends desired him to permit them to kill one of the enemy, and offered fifty talents for the favor, though he wanted money extremely to buy provision for his soldiers, refused; and when Cleander urged him, and said, Sir, I would have taken the money if I were you, he replied, So would I, were I Cleander. When he came to Sardis to Cyrus the Younger, who was then an ally of the Lacedæmonians, about a sum of money to equip his navy, on the first day he ordered his officers to tell Cyrus that he desired audience; but being told that he was drinking, Well, said he, I shall stay till he hath done. But understanding that he could not be admitted that day, he presently left the court, and thereupon was thought a rude and uncivil fellow. On the next day, when he received the same answer and could not be admitted, he said, I must not be so eager for money as to do anything unbecoming Sparta. And presently he went back to Ephesus, cursing those who had first endured the insolence of the barbarians, and had taught them to rely upon their wealth and abuse others; and he swore to his companions that as soon as ever he came to Sparta, he would do all that lay in his power to reconcile the Greek states, that they might be more dreadful to the barbarians, and not forced to seek

assistance from them to ruin one another. Being asked what manner of men the Ionians were, he replied, Bad freemen, but good slaves. When Cyrus sent his soldiers their pay, and some particular presents to himself, he received the pay, but sent back the presents, saying that there was no need of any private friendship between them, for the common league with the Lacedæmonians included him. Designing to engage near Arginusæ, when Hermon the pilot said, It is advisable to tack about, for the Athenians exceed us in number; he exclaimed: What then! it is base and dishonorable to Sparta to fly, but to stand to it and die or conquer is brave and noble. As he was sacrificing before the battle, when he heard the priest presaging that the army would conquer but the captain fall, undauntedly he said: Sparta doth not depend on one man; my country will receive no great loss by my death, but a considerable one by my yielding to the enemy. And ordering Cleander to succeed as admiral, he readily engaged, and died in the battle.

*Of Cleombrotus the Son of Pausanias.*

Cleombrotus, the son of Pausanias, when a guest of his contended with his father which was the best man, said, Sir, my father must be better than you, till you get a son as well as he.

*Of Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandridas.*

Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandridas, was wont to say that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, Hesiod of the Helots; for one taught the art of war, and the other husbandry. Having made a truce for seven days with the Argives, he watched his opportunity the third night, and perceiving them secure and negligent by reason of the truce, he fell upon them whilst they were asleep, killed some, and took others prisoners. Upon this being upbraided for breach of articles, he said that his oath did not extend to night as well as day, and to hurt a man's enemies any way, both before god and man, was much better than to be just. It happened that he missed taking Argos, in hopes of which he broke his oath; for the

women taking the old arms out of the temples defended the city. And afterwards running stark mad, he seized a knife, and ripped himself up from the very ankles to the vital parts, and thus died grinning and laughing. The priest advising him not to march to Argos,—for he would be forced to a dishonorable retreat,—when he came near the city and saw the gates shut and the women upon the walls, he said: What, sir priests, will this be a dishonorable retreat, when, the men being all lost, the women have shut the gates? When some of the Argives railed at him as an impious and forsworn wretch, he said, Well, it is in your power to rail at me, and in mine to do mischief to you. The Samian ambassadors urging him to make war on the tyrant Polycrates, and making long harangues on that account, he said: The beginning of your speech I don't remember, and therefore I cannot understand the middle, and the last I don't like. A pirate spoiling the country, and when he was taken saying, I had no provision for my soldiers, and therefore went to those who had store and would not give it willingly, to force it from them; Cleomenes said, True villany goes the shortest way to work. A base fellow railing at him, he said, Well, I think thou railest at everybody, that being employed to defend ourselves, we may have no time to speak of thy baseness.

One of the citizens saying that a good king should be always mild and gracious, True, said he, as long as he doth not make himself contemptible. Being tormented with a long disease, he consulted the priests and expiators, to whom he formerly gave no credit; and when a friend of his wondered at the action, Why dost thou wonder, said he, for I am not the same man I was then; and since I am not the same, I do not approve the same things. A Sophist discoursing of courage, he laughed exceedingly; and the Sophist saying, Why do you laugh, Cleomenes, when you hear one treat of courage, especially since you are a king? Because, sir, said he, if a swallow should discourse of it, I should laugh; but if an eagle, I should hearken attentively.

When the Argives boasted that they would make good their defeat by a new battle, he said, I wonder if adding two syllables has made you braver than you were. When one railed at him, and said, Thou art luxurious, Cleo-

menes; Well, he replied, that is better than to be unjust; but thou art covetous, although thou art master of abundance of superfluities. A friend willing to recommend a musician to him, besides other large commendations, said he was the best musician in all Greece. Cleomenes, pointing to one that stood by, said, Faith, sir, that fellow is my best cook. Mæander the Samian tyrant, flying to Sparta upon the invasion of the Persian, discovering what treasure he had brought, and offering Cleomenes as much as he would have, Cleomenes refused, and beside took care that he should not give any of the citizens a farthing; but going to the Ephors, told them that it would be good for Sparta to send that Samian guest of his out of Peloponnesus, lest he should persuade any of the Lacedæmonians to be a knave. And they taking his advice ordered Mæander to be gone that very day. One asking why, since they had beaten the Argives so often, they did not totally destroy them, he replied, That we may have some to exercise our youth. One demanding why the Spartans did not dedicate the spoils of their enemies to the gods, Because, said he, they are taken from cowards; and such things as are betrayed to us by the cowardice of the possessors are fit neither for our youth to see, nor to be dedicated to the gods.

*Of Cleomenes the Son of Cleombrotus.*

Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus, to one that presented him some game-cocks, and said, Sir, these will die before they run, returned: Pray let me have some of that breed which will kill these, for certainly they are the better of the two.

*Of Labotus.*

Labotus said to one that made a long discourse: Why such great preambles to so small a matter? A speech should be no bigger than the subject.

*Of Leotychidas.*

Leotychidas the First, when one said he was very inconstant, replied, My inconstancy proceeds from the

variety of times, and not as yours from innate baseness. And to another asking him what was the best way to secure his present happiness, he answered, Not to trust all to Fortune. And to another inquiring what free-born boys should principally learn, That, said he, which will profit them when they are grown men. And to another asking why the Spartans drink little, he replied, That we may consult concerning others, and not others concerning us.

*Of Leotychidas the Son of Aristo.*

Leotychidas the son of Aristo, when one told him that Demaratus's sons spake ill of him, replied, Faith, no wonder, for not one of them can speak well. A serpent twisting about the key of his inmost door, and the priests declaring it a prodigy; I cannot think it so, said he, but it had been one if the key had twisted round the serpent. To Philip, a priest of Orpheus's mysteries, in extreme poverty, saying that those whom he initiated were very happy after death, he said, Why then, you sot, don't you die quickly, and bewail your poverty and misery no more?

*Of Leo the Son of Eucratidas.*

Leo the son of Eucratidas, being asked in what city a man might live with the greatest safety, replied, In that where the inhabitants have neither too much nor too little; where justice is strong and injustice weak. Seeing the racers in the Olympian games very solicitous at starting to get some advantage of one another, he said, How much more careful are these racers to be counted swift than just! To one discoursing of some profitable matters out of due season he said, Sir, your discourse is good but ill timed.

*Of Leonidas the Son of Anaxandridas.*

Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas and brother to Cleomenes, when one said to him, Abating that you are king, you are no better than we, replied, But unless I had been better than you, I had not been king. His



wife Gorgo, when he went forth to Thermopylæ to fight the Persian, asked him what command he left with her; and he replied, Marry a brave man, and bear him brave children. The Ephors saying, You lead but few to Thermopylæ; They are many, said he, considering on what design we go. And when they again asked him whether he had any other enterprise in his thought, he replied, I pretend to go to hinder the barbarians' passage, but really to die fighting for the Greeks. When he was at Thermopylæ, he said to his soldiers: They report the enemy is at hand, and we lose time; for we must either beat the barbarian or die ourselves. And to another saying, The flights of the Persian arrows will darken the very sun, he said, Therefore it will be pleasant for us to fight in the shade. And another saying, What, Leonidas, do you come to fight so great a number with so few? — he returned: If you esteem number, all Greece is not able to match a small part of that army; if courage, this number is sufficient. And to another discoursing after the same manner he said, I have enough, to be killed. When Xerxes wrote to him thus, Sir, you may forbear to fight against the gods, but may follow my interest and be lord of all Greece, he answered: If you understood wherein consisted the happiness of life, you would not covet other men's; but know that I would rather die for the liberty of Greece than be a monarch over my countrymen. And Xerxes writing to him again thus, Send me thy arms, he replied, Come and take them. When he resolved to fall upon the enemy, and the captains of the war told him he must stay till the forces of the allies had joined him, he said: Do you think all those that intend to fight are not here already? Or do you not understand that those only fight who fear and reverence their kings? And he ordered his soldiers so to dine, as if they should sup in another world. And being asked why the bravest men prefer an honorable death before an inglorious life, he replied, Because they believe one is the gift of Nature, while the other is particularly their own. Being desirous to save the striplings that were with him, and knowing very well that if he dealt openly with them none would accept his kindness, he gave each of them privately letters to carry to the Ephors. He desired likewise to save three of those that were grown

men; but they having some notice of his design refused the letters. And one of them said, I came, sir, to be a soldier, and not a courier; and the second, I shall be a better man if here than if away; and the third, I will not be after these, but the first in the fight.

### *Of Lochagus.*

Lochagus the father of Polyænides and Siron, when one told him one of his sons was dead, said, I knew long ago that he must die.

### *Of Lycurgus the Lawgiver.*

Lycurgus the lawgiver, designing to reclaim his citizens from their former luxury and bring them to a more sober course of life and make them brave men (for they were then loose and delicate), bred up two whelps of the same litter; one he kept at home, bred him tenderly, and fed him well; but the other he taught to hunt, and used him to the chase. Both these dogs he brought out into the public assembly, and setting down some scraps of meat and letting go a hare at the same time, each of the dogs ran greedily to what they had been accustomed. And the hunter catching the hare, Lycurgus said: See, countrymen, how these two, though of the same litter, by my breeding them are become very different; and that custom and exercise conduces to make things brave and excellent more than Nature. Some say that he did not bring out two whelps of the same kind, but one a house dog and the other a hunter; the former of which (though the baser kind) he had accustomed to the woods, and the other (though more noble) kept lazily at home; and when in public, each of them pursuing his usual delight, he had given a clear evidence that education is of considerable force in raising bad or good inclinations, he said: Therefore, countrymen, our honorable extraction, that idol of the crowd, though from Hercules himself, profits us little, unless we learn and exercise all our life in such famous exploits as made him accounted the most noble and the most glorious in the world.

When he made a division of the land, giving each man

an equal portion, it is reported that some while after, in his return from a journey, as he passed through the country in harvest time and saw the cocks of wheat all equal and lying promiscuously, he was extremely pleased, and with a smile said to his companions, All Sparta looks like the possession of many loving brothers who have lately divided their estate. Having discharged every man from his debts, he endeavored likewise to divide all movables equally amongst all, that he might have no inequality in his commonwealth. But seeing that the rich men would hardly endure this open and apparent spoil, he cried down all gold and silver coin, and ordered nothing but iron to be current; and rated every man's estate and defined how much it was worth upon exchange for that money. By this means all injustice was banished Sparta; for none would steal, none take bribes, none cheat or rob any man of that which he could not conceal, which none would envy, which could not be used without discovery, or carried into other countries with advantage. Besides, this contrivance freed them from all superfluous arts; for no merchant, Sophist, fortune-teller, or mountebank would live amongst them; no carver, no contriver ever troubled Sparta; because he cried down all money that was advantageous to them, and permitted none but this iron coin, each piece of which was an Ægina pound in weight, and less than a penny in value. Designing farther to check all luxury and greediness after wealth, he instituted public meals, where all the citizens were obliged to eat. And when some of his friends demanded what he designed by this institution and why he divided the citizens, when in arms, into small companies, he replied: That they may more easily hear the word of command; and if there are any designs against the state, the conspiracy may join but few; and besides, that there may be an equality in the provision, and that neither in meat nor drink, seats, tables, or any furniture, the rich may be better provided than the poor. When he had by this contrivance made wealth less desirable, it being unfit both for use and show, he said to his familiars, What a brave thing is it, my friends, by our actions to make Plutus appear (as he is indeed) blind! He took care that none should sup at home and afterwards, when they were full of other victuals,

come to the public entertainments; for all the rest reproached him that did not feed with them as a glutton and of too delicate a palate for the public provision; and when he was discovered, he was severely punished. And therefore Agis the king, when after a long absence he returned from the camp (the Athenians were beaten in the expedition), willing to sup at home with his wife once, sent a servant for his allowance; the officers refused, and the next day the Ephors fined him for the fault.

The wealthy citizens being offended at these constitutions made a mutiny against him, abused, threw stones, and designed to kill him. Thus pursued, he ran through the market-place towards the temple of Minerva of the Brazen House, and reached it before any of the others; only Alcander pursuing close struck him as he turned about, and beat out one eye. Afterward the commonwealth delivered up this Alcander to his mercy; but he neither inflicted any punishment nor gave him an ill word, but kindly entertained him at his own house, and brought him to be his friend, an admirer of his course of life, and very well affected to all his laws. Yet he built a monument of this sad disaster in the temple of Minerva, naming it *Optiletis*, — for the Dorians in that country call eyes *optiloi*. Being asked why he used no written laws, he replied, Because those that are well instructed are able to suit matters to the present occasion. And another time, when some inquired why he had ordained that the timber which roofed the houses should be wrought with the axe only, and the doors with no other instrument but the saw, he answered: That my citizens might be moderate in everything which they bring into their houses, and possess nothing which others so much prize and value. And hence it is reported that King Leotychides the First, supping with a friend and seeing the roof curiously arched and richly wrought, asked him whether in that country the trees grew square. And some demanding why he forbade them to war often with the same nation, he replied, Lest being often forced to stand on their defence, they should get experience and be masters of our art. And therefore it was a great fault in Agesilaus, that by his frequent incursions into Bœotia he made the Thebans a match for the Lacedæmonians. And another asking why he exercised the

virgins' bodies with racing, wrestling, throwing the bar, and the like, he answered: That the first rooting of the children being strong and firm, their growth might be proportionable; and that the women might have strength to bear and more easily undergo the pains of travail, or, if necessity should require, be able to fight for themselves, their country, and their children. Some being displeased that the virgins went about naked at certain solemnities, and demanding the reason of that custom, he replied: That using the same exercises with men, they might equal them in strength and health of body and in courage and bravery of mind, and be above that mean opinion which the vulgar had of them. And hence goes the story of Gorgo, wife of Leonidas, that when a stranger, a friend of hers, said, You Spartan women alone rule men, she replied, Good reason, for we alone bear men. By ordering that no bachelor should be admitted a spectator of these naked solemnities and fixing some other disgrace on them, he made them all eager to be married and get children; besides, he deprived them of that honor and observance which the young men were bound to pay their elders. And upon that account none can blame what was said to Dercyllidas, though a brave captain; for as he came near, one of the young men refused to rise up and give him place, saying, You have not begotten any to give place to me.

When one asked him why he allowed no dowry to be given with a maid, he answered, that none might be slighted for their poverty or courted for their wealth, but that every one, considering the manners of the maid, might choose for the sake of virtue. And for the same reason he forbade all painting of the face and curiousness in dress and ornament. To one that asked him why he made a law that before such an age neither sex should marry, he answered, that the children might be lusty, being born of persons of full age. And to one wondering why he would not suffer the husband to lie all night with his wife, but commanded them to be most of the day and all the night with their fellows, and creep to their wives cautiously and by stealth; he said: I do it that they may be strong in body, having never been satiated and surfeited with pleasure; that they may be always fresh in love, and their children more strong and lusty.

He forbade all perfumes, as nothing but good oil corrupted, and the dyer's art, as a flatterer and enticer of the sense; and he ejected all skilled in ornament and dressing, as those who by their lewd devices corrupt the true arts of decency and living well. At that time the women were so chaste and such strangers to that lightness to which they were afterwards addicted, that adultery was incredible; and there goes a saying of Geradatas, one of the ancient Spartans, who being asked by a stranger what punishment the Spartans appointed for adulterers (for Lycurgus mentioned none), he said, Sir, we have no adulterers amongst us. And he replying, But suppose there should be? Geradatas made the same answer; For how (said he) could there be an adulterer in Sparta, where wealth, delicacy, and all ornaments are disesteemed, and modesty, neatness, and obedience to the governors only are in request? When one desired him to establish a democracy in Sparta, he said, Pray, sir, do you first set up that form in your own family. And to another demanding why he ordered such mean sacrifices he answered, That we may always be able to honor the gods. He permitted the citizens those exercises only in which the hand is not stretched out; and one demanding his reason, he replied, That none in any labor may be accustomed to be weary. And another inquiring why he ordered that in a war the camp should be often changed, he answered, That we may damage our enemies the more. Another demanding why he forbade to storm a castle, he said, Lest my brave men should be killed by a woman, a boy, or some man of as mean courage.

When the Thebans asked his advice about the sacrifices and lamentation which they instituted in honor of Leucothea, he gave them this: If you think her a Goddess, do not lament; if a woman, do not sacrifice to her as a Goddess. To some of the citizens inquiring, How shall we avoid the invasions of enemies, he replied, If you are poor, and one covets no more than another. And to others demanding why he did not wall his city he said, That city is not unwall'd which is encompassed with men and not brick. The Spartans are curious in their hair, and tell us that Lycurgus said, It makes the handsome more amiable, and the ugly more terrible. He ordered that in a war they should pursue the routed enemy so far as

to secure the victory, and then retreat, saying, it was unbecoming the Grecian bravery to butcher those that fled; and beside, it was useful, for their enemies, knowing that they spared all that yielded and cut in pieces the opposers, would easily conclude that it was safer to fly than to stand stoutly to it and resist. When one asked him why he charged his soldiers not to meddle with the spoil of their slain enemies, he replied, Lest while they are eager on their prey they neglect their fighting, but also that they may keep their order and their poverty together.

*Of Lysander.*

Lysander, when Dionysius sent him two gowns, and bade him choose which he would to carry to his daughter, said, She can choose best; and so took both away with him. This Lysander being a very crafty fellow, frequently using subtle tricks and notable deceits, placing all justice and honesty in profit and advantage, would confess that truth indeed was better than a lie, but the worth and dignity of either was to be defined by their usefulness to our affairs. And to some that were bitter upon him for these deceitful practices, as unworthy of Hercules's family, and owing his success to little mean tricks and not plain force and open dealing, he answered with a smile, When the lion's skin cannot prevail, a little of the fox's must be used. And to others that upbraided him for breaking his oaths made at Miletus he said, Boys must be cheated with cockal-bones, and men with oaths. Having surprised the Athenians by an ambush near the Goat Rivers and routed them, and afterwards by famine forced the city to surrender, he wrote to the Ephors, Athens is taken. When the Argives were in a debate with the Lacedæmonians about their confines and seemed to have the better reasons on their side, drawing his sword, he said, He that hath this is the best pleader about boundaries. Leading his army through Bœotia, and finding that state wavering and not fixed on either party, he sent to know whether he should march through their country with his spears up or down. At an assembly of the states of Greece, when a Megarian talked saucily to him, he said, Sir, your words want a city. The Corinthians revolting, and he approaching to the walls that

he saw the Spartans not eager to storm, while at the same time hares were skipping over the trenches of the town; Are not you ashamed (said he) to be afraid of those enemies whose slothfulness suffers even hares to sleep upon their walls? At Samothrace, as he was consulting the oracle, the priests ordered him to confess the greatest crime he had been guilty of in his whole life. What, said he, is this your own, or the gods' command? And the priests replying, The gods'; said he, Do you withdraw, and I will tell them, if they make any such demand. A Persian asking him what polity he liked, That, he replied, which assigns stout men and cowards suitable rewards. To one that said, Sir, I always commend you and speak in your behalf, — Well, said he, I have two oxen in the field, and though neither says one word, I know very well which is the laborious and which the lazy. To one that railed at him he said, Speak, sir, let us have it all fast, if thou canst empty thy soul of those wicked thoughts which thou seemest full of. Some time after his death, there happening a difference between the Spartans and their allies, Agesilaus went to Lysander's house to inspect some papers that lay in his custody relating to that matter; and there found an oration composed for Lysander concerning the government, setting forth that it was expedient to set aside the families of the Europrotidæ and Agidæ, to admit all to an equal claim, and choose their king out of the worthiest men, that the crown might be the reward not of those that shared in the blood of Hercules, but of those who were like him for virtue and courage, that virtue that exalted him into a god. This oration Agesilaus was resolved to publish, to show the Spartans how much they were mistaken in Lysander and to discredit his friends; but they say, Cratidas the president of the Ephors fearing this oration, if published, would prevail upon the people, advised Agesilaus to be quiet, telling him that he should not dig up Lysander, but rather bury that oration with him, being so cunningly contrived, so powerful to persuade. Those that courted his daughters, and when at his death he appeared to be poor forsook them, the Ephors fined, because whilst they thought him rich they caressed him, but scorned him when by his poverty they knew him to be just and honest.



*Of Namertes.*

Namertes being on an embassy, when one of that country told him he was a happy man in having so many friends, asked him if he knew any certain way to try whether a man had many friends or not; and the other being earnest to be told, Namertes replied, Adversity.

*Of Nicander.*

Nicander, when one told him that the Argives spake very ill of him, said, Well, they suffer for speaking ill of good men. And to one that inquired why they wore long hair and long beards, he answered, Because man's natural ornaments are the handsomest and the cheapest. An Athenian saying, Nicander, you Spartans are extremely idle; You say true, he answered, but we do not busy ourselves like you in every trifle.

*Of Panthoidas.*

When Panthoidas was ambassador in Asia and some showed him a strong fortification, Faith, said he, it is a fine cloister for women. In the Academy, when the philosophers had made a great many and excellent discourses, and asked Panthoidas how he liked them; Indeed, said he, I think them very good, but of no profit at all, since you yourselves do not use them.

*Of Pausanias the Son of Cleombrotus.*

Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, when the Delians pleaded their title to the island against the Athenians, and urged that according to their law no women were ever brought to bed or any carcass buried in the isle, said, How then can that be your country, in which not one of you was born or shall ever lie? The exiles urging him to march against the Athenians, and saying that, when he was proclaimed victor in the Olympic games, these alone hissed; How, says he, since they hissed whilst we did them good, what do you think they will do when abused? When one asked him why they made Tyrtaeus

the poet a citizen, he answered, That no foreigner should be our captain. A man of a weak and puny body advising to fight the enemy both by sea and land; Pray, sir, says he, will you strip and show what a man you are who advise to engage? When some amongst the spoils of the barbarians admired the richness of their clothes; It had been better, he said, that they had been men of worth themselves than that they should possess things of worth. After the victory over the Medes at Plataea, he commanded his officers to set before him the Persian banquet that was already dressed; which appearing very sumptuous, By heaven, quoth he, the Persian is an abominable glutton, who, when he hath such delicacies at home, comes to eat our barley-cakes.

*Of Pausanias the Son of Plistoanax.*

Pausanias the son of Plistoanax replied to one that asked him why it was not lawful for the Spartans to abrogate any of their old laws, Because men ought to be subject to laws, and not the laws to men. When banished and at Tegea, he commended the Lacedæmonians. One said to him, Why then did you not stay at Sparta? And he returned, Physicians are conversant not amongst the healthy, but the diseased. To one asking him how they should conquer the Thracians, he replied, If we make the best man our captain. A physician, after he had felt his pulse and considered his constitution, saying, He ails nothing; It is because, sir, he replied, I use none of your physic. When one of his friends blamed him for giving a physician an ill character, since he had no experience of his skill nor received any injury from him; No, faith, said he, for had I tried him, I had not lived to give this character. And when the physician said, Sir, you are an old man; That happens, he replied, because you were never my doctor. And he was used to say, that he was the best physician, who did not let his patients rot above ground, but quickly buried them.

*Of Pædaretus.*

Pædaretus, when one told him the enemies were numerous, said, Therefore we shall get the greater reputation,

for we shall kill the more. Seeing a man soft by nature and a coward commended by the citizens for his lenity and good disposition, he said, We should not praise men that are like women, nor women that are like men, unless some extremity forceth a woman to stand upon her guard. When he was not chosen into the three hundred (the chief order in the city), he went away laughing and very jocund; and the Ephors calling him back and asking why he laughed, Why, said he, I congratulate the happiness of the city, that enjoys three hundred citizens better than myself.

*Of Plistarchus.*

Plistarchus the son of Leonidas, to one asking him why they did not take their names from the first kings, replied, Because the former were rather captains than kings, but the later otherwise. A certain advocate using a thousand little jests in his pleading; Sir, said he, you do not consider that, as those that often wrestle are wrestlers at last, so you by often exciting laughter will become ridiculous yourself. When one told him that an notorious railer spoke well of him; I'll lay my life, said he, somebody hath told him I am dead, for he can speak well of no man living.

*Of Plistoanax.*

Plistoanax the son of Pausanias, when an Athenian orator called the Lacedæmonians unlearned fellows, said, 'Tis true, for we alone of all the Greeks have not learned any ill from you.

*Of Polydorus.*

Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, when one often threatened his enemies, said to him, Do not you perceive, sir, that you waste a great part of your revenge? As he marched his army against Messene, a friend asked him if he would fight against his brothers? No, said he, but I put in for an estate to which none, as yet, hath any good title. The Argives after the fight of the three hundred being totally routed in a set battle, the allies urged him not to let the opportunity slip, but storm and take the

city of the enemy; for it would be very easy, now all the men were destroyed and none but women left. He replied: I love to vanquish my enemies when I fight on equal terms; nor do I think it just in him who was commissioned to contest about the confines of the two states, to desire to be master of the city; for I came only to recover our own territories and not to seize theirs. Being asked once why the Spartans ventured so bravely in battle; Because, said he, we have learned to reverence and not fear our leaders.

#### *Of Polykratidas.*

Polykratidas being joined with others in an embassy to the lieutenants of the king, being asked whether they came as private or public persons, returned, If we obtain our demands, as public; if not, as private.

#### *Of Phæbidas.*

Phæbidas, just before the battle at Leuctra, when some said, This day will show who is a brave man, replied, 'Tis a fine day indeed that can show a brave man alive.

#### *Of Soos.*

It is reported of Soos that, when his army was shut up by the Clitorians in a disadvantageous strait and wanted water, he agreed to restore all the places he had taken, if all his men should drink of the neighboring fountain. Now the enemy had captured the spring and guarded it. These articles being sworn to, he convened his soldiers, and promised to give him the kingdom who would forbear drinking; but none accepting it, he went to the water, sprinkled himself, and so departed, whilst the enemies looked on; and he therefore refused to restore the places, because he himself had not drunk.

#### *Of Telecrus.*

Telecrus, to one reporting that his father spake ill of him, replied, He would not speak so unless he had reason

for it. When his brother said, The citizens have not that kindness for me they have for you, but use me more coarsely, though born of the same parents, he replied, You do not know how to bear an injury, and I do. Being asked what was the reason of that custom among the Spartans for the younger to rise up in reverence to the elder, Because, said he, by this behavior towards those to whom they have no relation, they may learn to reverence their parents more. To one inquiring what wealth he had, he returned, No more than enough.

*Of Charillus.*

Charillus being asked why Lycurgus made so few laws; Because, he replied, those whose words are few need but few laws. Another inquiring why their virgins appear in public unveiled, and their wives veiled; Because, said he, virgins ought to find husbands, married women keep those they have. To a slave saucily opposing him he said, I would kill thee if I were not angry. And being asked what polity he thought best; That, said he, in which most of the citizens without any disturbance strive for virtue. And to a friend inquiring why amongst them all the images of the gods were armed he replied, That those reproaches we cast upon men for their cowardice may not reflect upon the gods, and that our youth may not supplicate the deities unarmed.

THE REMARKABLE SPEECHES OF SOME OBSCURE MEN AMONGST THE SPARTANS.

WHEN the Samian ambassadors had made a long harangue, the Spartans answered, We have forgot the first part, and so cannot understand the last. To the Thebans violently contesting with them about something they replied, Your ardor should be less, or your forces greater. A Lacedæmonian being asked why he kept his beard so long; That seeing my gray hairs, he replied, I may do

nothing but what becomes them. One commending the best warriors, a Spartan that overheard said, At Troy. Another, hearing that some forced their guests to drink after supper, said, What! not to eat too? Pindar in his poems having called Athens the prop of Greece, a Spartan said, Greece would soon fall if it leaned on such a prop. When one, seeing the Athenians pictured killing the Spartans, said, The Athenians are stout fellows; Yes, subjoined a Spartan, in a picture. To one that was very attentive to a scandalous accusation a Spartan said, Pray, sir, be not prodigal of your ears against me. And to one under correction that cried out, I offend against my will, another said, Therefore suffer against thy will. One seeing some journeying in a chariot said, God forbid that I should sit where I cannot rise up to reverence my elders. Some Chian travellers vomiting after supper in the consistory, and dunging in the very seats of the Ephors, first they made strict inquiry whether the offenders were citizens or not; but finding they were Chians, they publicly proclaimed that they gave the Chians leave to be filthy and uncivil.

When one saw a merchant sell hard almonds at double the price that others were usually sold at, he said, Are stones scarce? Another pulling a nightingale, and finding but a very small body, said, Thou art voice and nothing else. Another Spartan, seeing Diogenes the Cynic in very cold weather embrace a brazen statue, asked whether he was not very cold; and he replying, No, he rejoined, What great matter then is it that you do? A Metapontine, being jeered by a Spartan for cowardice, replied, Nay, sir, we are masters of some of the territories of other states; Then, said the Spartan, you are not only cowards but unjust. A traveller at Sparta, standing long upon one leg, said to a Lacedæmonian, I do not believe you can do as much; True, said he, but every goose can. To one valuing himself upon his skill in oratory a Spartan said, By heaven, there never was and never can be any art without truth. An Argive saying, We have the tombs of many Spartans amongst us; a Spartan replied, But we cannot show the grave of one Argive; meaning that they had often invaded Argos, but the Argives never Sparta. A Spartan that was taken captive and to be sold, — when the crier said, Here's a

Spartan to be sold, — stopped his mouth, saying, Cry a captive. One of the soldiers of Lysimachus, being asked by him whether he was a true Spartan or one of the Helot slaves, replied, Do you imagine a Lacedæmonian would serve you for a groat a day? The Thebans, having beaten the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, marched to the river Eurotas itself, where one of them boasting said, Where are the Spartans now? To whom a captive replied, They are not at hand, sir, for if they had been, you had not come so far. The Athenians, having surrendered their own city to the Spartans, requested that they might be permitted to enjoy Samos only; upon which the Spartans said, When you are not at your own disposal, would you be lords of others? And hence came that proverb, He that is not master of himself begs Samos.

When the Lacedæmonians had taken a town by storm, the Ephors said, The exercise of our youth is lost, for now they will have none to contend with them. The Persian offering to raze a city that had frequent quarrels and skirmishes with the Spartans, they desired him to forbear and not take away the whetstone of their youth. They appointed no masters to instruct their boys in wrestling, that they might contend not in sleights of art and little tricks, but in strength and courage; and therefore Lysander, being asked by what means Charon was too hard for him, replied, By sleights and cunning. When Philip, having entered their territories, sent to know whether he should come as an enemy or a friend, the Spartans returned, Neither. Hearing that the ambassador they had sent to Antigonus the son of Demetrius had called him king, they fined him, though he had obtained of him in a time of scarcity a bushel of wheat for every person in the city. A vicious person giving excellent good counsel, they received it, but took it from him and ascribed it to another, a man regular and of a good life. When some brothers differed, they fined the father for neglecting his sons and suffering them to be at strife. They fined likewise a musician that came amongst them, for playing the harp with his fingers. Two boys fighting, one wounded the other mortally with a hook. And when his acquaintance, just as he was dying, vowed to revenge his death and have the blood of him that killed him; By no means, saith he, it is unjust, for I had

done the same thing if I had been stout and more speedy in my stroke. Another boy, at the time when freemen's sons are allowed to steal what they can and it is a disgrace to be discovered, when some of his companions had stolen a young fox and delivered it to him, and the owners came to search, hid it under his gown; and though the angry little beast bit through his side to his very guts, he endured it quietly, that he might not be discovered. When the searchers were gone and the boys saw what had happened, they chid him roundly, saying, It had been better to produce the fox, than thus to conceal him by losing your own life; No, no! he replied, it is much better to die in torments, than to let my softness betray me and suffer a life that had been scandalous. Some meeting certain Spartans upon the road said, Sirs, you have good luck, for the robbers are just gone. Faith, they replied, they have good luck that they did not meet with us. A Lacedæmonian, being asked what he knew, answered, To be free. A Spartan boy, being taken by Antigonus and sold, obeyed his master readily in everything that he thought not below a freeman to do; but when he was commanded to bring a chamber-pot, unable to contain he said, I will not serve; but his master pressing him, he ran to the top of the house, and saying, You shall find what you have bought, threw himself down headlong and died. Another being to be sold, when the chapman asked him, Wilt thou be towardly if I buy thee? Yes, he returned, and if you do not buy me. Another captive, when the crier said, Here's a slave to be sold, cried out, You villain, why not a captive? A Spartan, who had a fly engraven on his shield no bigger than Nature hath made that creature, when some jeered him as if he did it on purpose that he might not be taken notice of, replied: It is that I may be known; for I advance so near my enemies that they can well perceive my impress, as little as it is. Another, when at an entertainment a harp was brought in, said, It is not the custom of the Spartans to play the fool. A Spartan being asked whether the way to Sparta was safe or not, replied: That is according as you go down thither; for lions that approach regret their coming, and hares we hunt in their very coverts. A Spartan wrestling, when he could not make his adversary that had got the upper hand of him loose his hold, and was unable to avoid the fall, bit him by the arm;



and the other saying, Spartan, thou bitest like a woman; No, said he, but like a lion. A lame man, marching out to war and being laughed at, said, There is no need of those that can run away, but of those that can stand to it and defend their post. Another being shot through said with his last breath: It doth not trouble me that I die, but that I should be killed by a woman before I had performed some notable exploit. One coming into an inn and giving the host a piece of meat to make ready for him, — when the host demanded some cheese and oil besides, — What! says the Spartan, if I had cheese should I want meat? When one called Lampis of Ægina happy, because he seemed a rich man, having many ships of his own at sea, a Spartan said, I do not like that happiness that hangs by a cord. One telling a Spartan that he lied, the Spartan returned: True, for we are free; but others, unless they speak truth, will suffer for it. When one had undertaken to make a carcass stand upright, and tried every way to no purpose; Faith, said he, there wants something within. Tynnichus bore his son Thrasybulus's death very patiently, and there is this epigram made upon him: —

Stout Thrasybulus on his shield was brought  
 From bloody fields, where he had bravely fought;  
 The Argives beat, and as he stoutly prest,  
 Five spears, and Death attending, pierced his breast.  
 The father took the corpse, and as he bled,  
 He laid it on the funeral pile, and said:  
 Be cowards mourned, I'll spend no tear nor groan,  
 Whilst thus I burn a Spartan and my son.

The keeper of the bath allowing more water than ordinary to Alcibiades the Athenian, a Spartan said, What! is he more foul, that he wants more than others? Philip making an incursion on Sparta, and all the Spartans expecting to be cut off, he said to one of them, Now what will you Spartans do? And he replied: What, but to die bravely? for only we of all the Greeks have learned to be free and not endure a yoke. When Agis was beaten and Antipater demanded fifty boys for hostages, Eteocles, one of the then Ephors, answered: Boys we will not give, lest swerving from the customs of their country they prove slothful and untoward, and so incapable of the privilege of citizens; but of women and old men you shall have twice as many.

And when upon refusal he threatened some sharp afflictions, he returned: If you lay upon us somewhat worse than death, we shall die the more readily. An old man in the Olympic games being desirous to see the sport, and unprovided of a seat, went about from place to place, was laughed and jeered at, but none offered him the civility; but when he came to the Spartans' quarter, all the boys and some of the men rose from their seats, and made him room. At this, all the Greeks clapped and praised their behavior; upon which the good old man shaking his hoary hairs, with tears in his eyes, said: Good God! how well all the Greeks know what is good, and yet only the Lacedæmonians practise it! And some say the same thing was done at Athens. For at the great solemnity of the Athenians, the Panathenaic festival, the Attics abused an old man, calling him as if they designed to make room for him, and when he came putting him off again; and when after this manner he had passed through almost all, he came to that quarter where the Spartan spectators sat, and all of them presently rose up and gave him place; the whole multitude, extremely taken with this action, clapped and shouted; upon which one of the Spartans said: By Heaven, these Athenians know what should be done, but are not much for doing it. A beggar asking an alms of a Lacedæmonian, he said: Well, should I give thee anything, thou wilt be the greater beggar, for he that first gave thee money made thee idle, and is the cause of this base and dishonorable way of living. Another Spartan, seeing a fellow gathering charity for the gods' sake, said, I will never regard those as gods that are poorer than myself. Another, having taken one in adultery with an ugly whore, cried out, Poor man, how great was thy necessity! Another, hearing an orator very lofty and swelling in his speech, said, Faith, this is a brave man, how excellently he rolls his tongue about nothing! A stranger being at Sparta, and observing how much the young men revered the old, said, At Sparta alone it is desirable to be old. A Lacedæmonian, being asked what manner of poet Tyrtæus was, replied, Excellent to whet the courage of our youth. Another that had very sore eyes listed himself a soldier; when some said to him, Poor man, whither in that condition, and what wilt thou do in a fight? He returned, If I can do nothing else, I shall blunt the enemies' sword.

Buris and Spertis, two Lacedæmonians, going voluntarily to Xerxes the Persian to suffer that punishment which the oracle had adjudged due to Sparta for killing those ambassadors the king had sent, as soon as they came desired Xerxes to put them to death as he pleased, that they might make satisfaction for the Spartans. But he, surprised at this gallantry, forgave the men and desired their service in his court; to which they replied, How can we stay here, and leave our country, our laws, and those men for whom we came so far to die? Indarnes the general pressing them to make peace, and promising them equal honors with the king's greatest favorites, they returned, Sir, you seem to be ignorant of the value of liberty, which no man in his wits would change for the Persian empire. A Spartan in a journey, when a friend of his had purposely avoided him the day before, and the next day, having obtained very rich furniture, splendidly received him, trampled on his tapestry saying, This was the cause why I had not so much as a mat to sleep upon last night. Another coming to Athens, and seeing the Athenians crying salt-fish and pies to sell up and down the streets, others gathering taxes, keeping stews, and busied about a thousand such dishonest trades, and looking on nothing as base and unbecoming; after his return, when his acquaintance inquired how things were at Athens, he replied, All well; intimating by this irony that all things there were esteemed good and commendable, and nothing base. Another, being questioned about something, denied it; and the inquirer rejoining, Thou liest, he replied: And art not thou a fool to ask me what you know yourself very well? Some Lacedæmonians being sent ambassadors to the tyrant Lygdamis, pretending sickness he deferred their audience a long time. They said to one of his officers, Pray, sir, assure him that we did not come to wrestle but to treat with him. A priest initiating a Spartan in holy mysteries asked him what was the greatest wickedness he was ever guilty of. And he replying, The gods know very well, and the priest pressing him the more and saying he must needs discover, the Spartan asked, To whom? to thee or the god? And the priest saying, To the god, he rejoined, Then do you withdraw. Another at night passing by a tomb and imagining he saw a ghost, made towards it with his spear, and striking it through cried out, Whither dost

thou fly, poor twice dead ghost? Another having vowed to throw himself headlong from the Leucadian rock, when he came to the top and saw the vast precipice, he went down again; upon which being jeered by an acquaintance, he said, I did not imagine that one vow needed another that was greater. Another in a battle had his sword lifted up to kill his enemy, but the retreat being sounded, he did not let the blow fall; and when one asked him why, when his enemy was at his mercy, he did not use the advantage, Because, said he, it is better to obey my leader than kill an enemy. One saying to a Spartan that was worsted in the Olympic games, Spartan, thy adversary was the better man; No, he replied, but the better tripper.

## THE VIRTUES OF WOMEN.

CONCERNING the virtues of women, O Clea, I am not of the same mind with Thucydides. For he would prove that she is the best woman concerning whom there is the least discourse made by people abroad, either to her praise or dispraise; judging that, as the person, so the very name of a good woman ought to be retired and not gad abroad. But to us Gorgias seems more accurate, who requires that not only the face but the fame of a woman should be known to many. For the Roman law seems exceeding good, which permits due praises to be given publicly both to men and women after death. Wherefore when Leontis, a most excellent woman, departed this life, immediately we made a long oration to thee about her, and truly not devoid of philosophical consolation; and now (as thou didst desire) I send thee in writing the rest of my speech and discourse, carrying with it an historical demonstration that the virtue of a man and woman is one and the same. And although it be not composed for the tickling of the ear, yet if there be jocundity in the nature of an example to him that is persuaded of the truth of it, my narration fails not of that grace which works conviction; neither is it ashamed of commixing the Graces with the Muses in the sweetest harmony (as Euripides saith), while it engageth confidence especially through that part of the soul which is studious of grace and beauty. For surely, if, whilst we asserted the art of portraiture to be the same, whether performed by men or women, we produced the same sort of draughts wrought by women which Apelles, Zeuxis, or Nicomachus hath left, is there any one who would reprehend us as attempting rather to humor and cajole men than to convince them? Verily I do not think it. Moreover, if, whilst we go to make appear that the poetic or comic art is not one thing in men and another in women, we compare Sappho's verses with Anacreon's, or the Sibylline oracles with those of Bacis, can any one justly blame this way of argumentation, because it insinuates a

credence into the pleased and delighted hearers? No one surely would say this. Neither can a man truly any way better learn the resemblance and the difference between feminine and virile virtue than by comparing together lives with lives, exploits with exploits, as the products of some great art; duly considering whether the magnanimity of Semiramis carries with it the same character and impression with that of Sesostris, or the cunning of Tanaquil the same with that of King Servius, or the discretion of Porcia the same with that of Brutus, or that of Pelopidas with Timoclea, — considering that quality of these virtues wherein are found their chiefest point and force. Moreover, virtues do admit some other differences, like peculiar colors, by reason of men's dispositions, and are assimilated to the manners and temperaments of the bodies wherein they are, yea, to the education and manner of diet. Achilles was courageous in one manner, Ajax in another; the subtlety of Ulysses was not like that of Nestor, neither were Cato and Agesilaus just after the same manner; neither was Eirene a lover of her husband as Alcestis was; neither was Cornelia magnanimous in the same way with Olympias. But, for all this, we do not say that there are many kinds of fortitude, prudence, and justice specifically distinct, so long as their individual dissimilitudes exclude none of them from the specific definitions.

Those things now which are very commonly discoursed of, and of which I know thou hast had the exact history and knowledge from solid books, I will at present omit, unless there be some public and recorded matters worth your hearing, which have escaped the historians of former times.

And seeing that many worthy things, both public and private, have been done by women, it is not amiss to give a brief historical account of those that are public, in the first place.

#### EXAMPLE 1. *Of the Trojan Women.*

Of those that escaped at the taking of Troy the most part were exercised with much tempestuous weather, and being inexperienced in navigation and unacquainted with the sea, they were wafted over into Italy; and about the river Tiber they made a very narrow escape by putting

into such ports and havens as they could meet with. Whilst the men went about the country to inquire after pilots, there fell out a discussion among the women, that for a people as fortunate and happy as they had been, any fixed habitation on the land was better than perpetual wandering over the sea; and that they must make a new Rome for themselves, seeing it was impossible to regain that which they had lost. Upon this, complotting together, they set fire on the ships, Roma (as they say) being one of the first in the attempt. But having done these things, they went to meet their husbands, who were running towards the sea to the relief of the ships; and fearing their indignation, they laid hold some of them on their husbands, and some on their relations, and fell a kissing them soundly; by which carriage they calmed their anger. Wherefore it hath been formerly, and now remains to be a custom among the Romans, for the women to salute their kinsfolk that come unto them by kissing.

The Trojans as it seems, being sensible of the strait they were in, and having also made some experience of the natives entertaining them with much bounty and humanity, applauded the exploit of the women, and sat down by the Latins.

#### EXAMPLE 2. *Of the Phocian Women.*

The action of the women of Phocis hath not fallen under the cognizance of any noted writer of that age, and yet there was never a more memorable deed of virtue wrought by women,—the which is attested by those famous sacred rites performed by the Phocians at Hyampolis, and by ancient decrees. The total history of the transaction is particularly recorded in the Life of Daiphantus.

The story of those women is this. There was an implacable war between the Thessalians and the Phocians. For these (the Phocians) slew all the Thessalian governors and magistrates in the cities of Phocis in one day. Whereupon they (the Thessalians) slew two hundred and fifty Phocian hostages, and with their whole host marched up against them through Locris, publishing their resolution to spare no men that were of age, and to sell the women and children as slaves. Daiphantus therefore, the son of Ba-

thyllius, a triumvir, governor of Phocis, persuaded the Phocian men themselves to go to meet the Thessalians in battle; but as for the women, together with their children, that they should assemble them from all parts of Phocis into one place, which they should pile round with combustible matter, and should leave a watch, to whom they should give in charge, that if he perceived that the men were conquered, he should immediately set fire to the pile and burn all the bodies to ashes. The counsels were agreed to by some, but one stands up and saith: It is just that these things be consented to by the women also, and if they do not cheerfully submit to it, they should have no force offered to them. The account of this discourse being come to the women, they assembled together by themselves, and carried it by vote, and applauded Daiphantus as a man that best consulted the affairs of Phocis; they say also, that the children meeting together privately voted the same things. These matters being thus settled, the Phocians joining battle at Cleonæ, a town of Hyampolis, got the victory. Hence the Grecians call this vote of the Phocian women Aponoia (the desperate resolve). And of all the festivals this of the Elaphebolia is the greatest, which they observe to Diana in Hyampolis to this day, in remembrance of this victory.

### EXAMPLE 3. *Of the Women of Chios.*

The people of Chios possessed themselves of Leuconia upon this occasion following. A certain famous man of the nobles of Chios was married; whilst the bride was drawn in her chariot, King Hippoclus, an intimate friend of the bridegroom's, being present with the rest, and also fuddled and merry, leaped into the chariot, not designing any incivility, but only to keep up the usual custom and to make sport. However, the bridegroom's friends slew him. The effects of divine displeasure appearing against the people of Chios, and the oracle commanding them to slay the slayers of Hippoclus, they replied, We have all of us slain Hippoclus. The oracle commanded them all therefore to depart the city, if all did partake of the guilt. So that at length the principals, accessories, and abettors of the murder by any means whatsoever, being not a few in number



nor feeble for strength, transplanted themselves into Leuconia, which the Chians had once captured from the Coredoneans by the aid of the Erythræans. Afterward a war arising between them and the Erythræans, by far the most potent people among the Ionians, when the latter invaded Leuconia, the men of Chios were not able to defend themselves and came to an agreement to depart upon these terms that every one should take with him only one cloak and one coat, and nothing else. But the women of Chios upbraided them as mean-spirited men, that they would lay down their weapons and go naked men through their enemies. And when they made answer that they were sworn so to do, they charged them not to leave their weapons behind them, but to say to their adversaries, that the spear is a cloak and the buckler a coat to every man of courage. The men of Chios being persuaded to these things, and emboldening themselves courageously against the Erythræans, and showing their weapons, the Erythræans were amazed at their audacity, and none opposed or hindered them, but were glad of their departure. These men therefore, being taught courage by the women in this manner, made a safe escape.

Many years after this there was another exploit, nothing inferior to this in fortitude, performed by the women of Chios. When Philip, the son of Demetrius, besieged the city, he set forth a barbarous and insolent proclamation, inviting the servants to a defection upon promise of liberty and marriage of their mistresses, saying that he would give them their masters' wives into their possession. At this the women were dreadfully and outrageously incensed; and also the servants were no less provoked to indignation, and were ready to assist. Therefore they rushed forth furiously and ascended the wall, bringing stones and darts, encouraging and animating the soldiers; so that in the end these women discomfited and repulsed the enemy, and caused Philip to raise his siege, and not so much as one servant fell off to him.

#### EXAMPLE 4. *Of the Argive Women.*

Of all the renowned actions performed by women, none was more famous than the fight with Cleomenes in the country of Argos, whom Telesilla the poetess by her

efforts defeated. This woman they say was of an honorable family, but had a sickly body; she therefore sent to consult the oracle concerning her health. Answer was made, that she must be a servant to the Muses. Accordingly she becomes obedient to the goddess, applying herself to poetry and music; her distempers left her, and she became the mirror of women in the art of poetry. Now when Cleomenes, king of the Spartans, having slain many Argives (but not so many as some fabulously reported, to wit, 7777), marched up against the city, the youthful women were (as it were) divinely inspired with desperate resolution and courage to repulse the enemies out of their native country.

They take arms under the conduct of Telesilla, they place themselves upon the battlements, they crowd the walls, even to the admiration of the enemy; they by a sally beat off Cleomenes, with the slaughter of many of his men; and as for the other king, Demaratus (as Socrates saith), he having entered the city and possessed him of the so-called Pamphyliacum, they beat him out. In this manner the city being preserved, those women that were slain in the engagement they buried by the Argive road; to them that escaped they gave the honor of erecting the statue of Mars, in perpetual memorial of their bravery. Some say this fight was on the seventh day of the month; others say it was on the first day of the month, which is now called the fourth and was anciently called Hermæus by the Argives; upon which day, even to this time, they perform their Hybristica (*i.e.*, their sacred rites of incivility), clothing the women with men's coats and cloaks, but the men with women's veils and petticoats. To repair the scarcity of men, they admitted not slaves, as Herodotus saith, but the best sort of the adjacent inhabitants to be citizens, and married them to the widows; and these the women thought meet to reproach and undervalue at bed and board, as worse than themselves; whence there was a law made, that married women should be bearded when they lay with their husbands.

EXAMPLE 5. *Of the Persian Women.*

Cyrus, causing the Persians to revolt from King Astyages and the Medes, was overcome in battle; and the

Persians retreating by flight into the city, the enemy pursued so close that they had almost fallen into the city with them. The women ran out to meet them before the city, plucking up their petticoats to their middle, saying, Ye vilest varlets among men, whither so fast? Ye surely cannot find a refuge in these parts, from whence ye issued. The Persians blushing for shame at the sight and speech, and rebuking themselves, faced about, and renewing the fight routed their enemies. Hence a law was enacted, that when the king enters the city, every woman should receive a piece of gold; and this law Cyrus made. And they say that Ochus, being in other kinds a naughty and covetous king, would always, when he came, compass the city and not enter it, and so deprive the women of their largess; but Alexander entered twice, and gave all the women with child a double benevolence.

EXAMPLE 6. *Of the Celtic Women.*

There arose a very grievous and irreconcilable contention among the Celts, before they passed over the Alps to inhabit that tract of Italy which now they occupy, which proceeded to a civil war. The women placing themselves between the armies, took up the controversies, argued them so accurately, and determined them so impartially, that an admirable friendly correspondence and general amity ensued, both civil and domestic. Hence the Celts made it their practice to take women into consultation about peace or war, and to use them as arbitrators in any controversies that arose between them and their allies. In the league therefore made with Hannibal, the writing runs thus: If the Celts take occasion of quarrelling with the Carthaginians, the governors and generals of the Carthaginians in Spain shall decide the controversy; but if the Carthaginians accuse the Celts, the Celtic women shall be judges.

EXAMPLE 7. *Of the Melian Women.*

The Melians standing in need of a larger country constituted Nymphæus, a handsome man and marvellously comely, the commander for the transplanting of the colony.

The oracle enjoined them to continue sailing till they cast away their ships, and there to pitch their colony. It happened that, when they arrived at Caria and went ashore, their ships were broken to pieces by a storm. Some of the Carians which dwelt at Cryassus, whether commiserating their distressed condition or dreading their resolution, invited them to dwell in their neighborhood, and bestowed upon them a part of their country; but then observing their marvellous increase in a little time, they conspired to cut them off by treachery, and provided a feast and great entertainment for that end and purpose. But it came to pass that a certain virgin in Caria, whose name was Caphene, fell in love with Nymphæus. While these things were in agitation, she could not endure to connive at the destruction of her beloved Nymphæus, and therefore acquainted him privately with the conspiracy of the citizens against him. When the Cryassians came to invite them, Nymphæus made this answer: It is not the custom of the Greeks to go to a feast without their wives. The Carians hearing this requested them also to bring their wives; and so explaining the whole transaction to the Melians, he charged the men to go without armor in plain apparel, but that every one of the women should carry a dagger stuck in her bosom, and that each should take her place by her husband. About the middle of supper, their signal token was given to the Carians; the point of time also the Grecians were sensible of. Accordingly the women laid open their bosoms, and the men laid hold of the daggers, and sheathing them in the barbarians, slew them all together. And possessing themselves of the country, they overthrew that city, and built another, which they called New Cryassus. Moreover, Caphene being married to Nymphæus received due honor and grateful acknowledgments becoming her good services. Here the taciturnity and courage of women is worthy of admiration, that none of them among so many did so much as unwittingly, by reason of fear, betray their trust.

EXAMPLE 8. *Of the Tyrrhene Women.*

At the time when the Tyrrhenians inhabited the islands Lemnos and Imbros, they violently seized upon some Athe-

nian women from Brauron, on whom they begat children, which children the Athenians banished from the islands as mixed barbarians. But these arriving at Tænarum were serviceable to the Spartans in the Helotic war, and therefore obtained the privilege of citizens and marriage, but were not dignified with magistracies or admitted to the senate; for they had a suspicion that they would combine together in order to some innovation, and conceived they might shake the present established government. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians, seizing on them and securing them, shut them up close prisoners, seeking to take them off by evident and strong convictions. But the wives of the prisoners, gathering together about the prison, by many supplications prevailed with the jailers that they might be admitted to go to salute their husbands and speak with them. As soon as they came in, they required them to change their clothes immediately and leave them to their wives; while the men, apparelled in their wives' habits, should go forth. These things being effected, the women stayed behind, prepared to endure all hard usages of the prison, but the deluded keepers let out the men as if they had been their wives. Whereupon they seized upon Taygeta, exciting the Helotic people to revolt, and taking them to their aid; but the Spartans, alarmed by these things into a great consternation, by a herald proclaimed a treaty of peace. And they were reconciled upon these conditions, that they should receive their wives again, and furnished with ships and provisions should make an expedition by sea, and possessing themselves of a land and a city elsewhere should be accounted a colony and allies of the Lacedæmonians. These things did the Pelasgians, taking Pollis for their captain and Cratædas his brother, both Lacedæmonians, and one part of them took up their seat in Melos; but the most part of them, which were shipped with Pollis, sailed into Crete, trying the truth of the oracles, by whom they were told that, when they should lose their goddess and their anchor, then they should put an end to their roving and there build a city. Wherefore, putting into harbor on that part of Crete called Chersonesus, panic fears fell upon them by night, at which coming under a consternation, they leaped tumultuously on board their ships, leaving on shore for haste the statue of Diana, which was their patrimony brought from Brauron to Lemnos, and

from Lemnos carried about with them wherever they went. The tumult being appeased, when they had set sail, they missed this statue; and at the same time Pollis, finding that his anchor had lost one of its beards (for the anchor, having been dragged, as appeared, through some rocky place, was by accident torn), said that the oracular answer of the Pythia was accomplished. Therefore he gave a sign to tack about, and accordingly made an inroad into that country, conquered those that opposed him in many battles, sat down at Lyctus, and brought many other cities to be tributary to him. And now they repute themselves to be akin to the Athenians on their mothers' side, and to be Spartan colonies.

EXAMPLE 9. *Of the Lycian Women.*

That which is reported to have fallen out in Lycia, although it be fabulous, hath yet common fame attesting it. Amisodarus, as they say, whom the Lycians call Isaras, came from a colony of the Lycians about Zeleia, bringing with him pirate ships, which Chimarrhus, a warlike man, who was also savage and brutish, was commander of. He sailed in a ship which had a lion carved on her head and a dragon on her stern. He did much mischief to the Lycians, so that they could not sail on the sea nor inhabit the towns nigh the sea-coast.

This man Bellerophon pursued with his Pegasus and slew him, and also defeated the Amazons, for which he obtained no due requital, but Iobates the king was most unjust to him; upon which Bellerophon went to the sea-shore, and made earnest supplication by himself to Neptune that he would render that country barren and unfruitful; and having said his prayers, he faced about. Upon which the waves of the sea arose and overwhelmed the land, and it was a dreadful sight to behold the lofty billows following Bellerophon and drowning the plain. And now, when the men by their deprecation, laboring to put a stop to Bellerophon, availed nothing at all, the women plucking up their petticoats met him full butt; upon which confounded with shame he turned back again, and the flood, as they say, returned with him. But some unriddle the fabulous part of this story, by telling us that

it was not by execrations that he brought up the sea; but the fattest part of the plain lying lower than the sea, and a certain elevation extending itself all along the shore which beat off the sea, Bellerophon broke through this, so that the sea forcibly flowed in and overwhelmed the plain; and when the men by their humble addresses obtained nothing, the women assembling about him in multitudes gained respect from him and pacified his wrath. Some tell us that what was called the Chimæra was a mountain opposite to the sun, which caused reflections of the sun's beams, in summer ardent and fiery, which spread over the plain and withered the fruits; and Bellerophon, finding out the reason of the mischief, cut through the smoothest part of the cliff, which especially caused these reflections. But on seeing that he was treated ungratefully, his indignation was excited to take vengeance on the Lycians, but was appeased by the women. The reason which Nymphis (in the fourth book concerning Heraclea) doth assign is to me not at all fabulous; for he saith, when Bellerophon slew a certain wild boar, which destroyed the cattle and fruits in the province of the Xanthians, and received no due reward of his service, he prayed to Neptune for vengeance, and obtained that all the fields should cast forth a salt dew and be universally corrupted, the soil becoming bitter; which continued till he, condescendingly regarding the women suppliants, prayed to Neptune, and removed his wrath from them. Hence there was a law among the Xanthians, that they should not for the future derive their names from their fathers, but from their mothers.

EXAMPLE 10. *Of the Women of Salmantica.*

When Hannibal, the son of Barca, besieged the great city Salmantica in Spain, before he fought against the Romans, at the first assault the besieged citizens were surprised with fear, insomuch that they consented to grant him his demands, and to give him three hundred talents of silver and three hundred hostages. Upon which he raised his siege; when they changed their minds, and would not perform anything that they had promised. Wherefore returning again to his siege, he gave command to his soldiers to take the city by storm, and fall to the plundering their

goods. At this the barbarians, struck universally into a panic fear, came to terms of composition, for the free dwellers to depart the city with their clothes to their backs, but to leave their weapons, goods, slaves, and city behind them. Now the women supposed that, although the enemies would strictly search every man as he departed, yet the women would go untouched. Accordingly, taking scimitars and hiding them under their coats, they fell in with the men as they marched out. When they were all gone out of the city, Hannibal sets a guard of Masæsylian soldiers, placing their post without the gate, but the rest of his army fell promiscuously into the city to plunder. But the Masæsylians, seeing them busy in carrying away much spoil, were not able any longer to refrain or to mind the charge of their watch, taking it heinously that that was their lot, and therefore left their post and went to take their share of the booty. Upon this the women raised a shout to animate their husbands, and delivered the scimitars into their hands, and they themselves some of them fell upon the sentinels; insomuch that one of them, snatching away the spear of Banon the interpreter, smote him with it, though he was armed with a breastplate. And as for the rest, the men routed and put some to flight and slew others, making their escape by charging through them in a great body together with the women. Hannibal, being made acquainted with these things, pursued them, and those he took he slew; but some betaking themselves to the mountains easily made their escape, and afterwards, sending in their humble supplications, were admitted by him into the city, obtaining indemnity and civil usage.

EXAMPLE 11. *Of the Women of Milesia.*

A certain dreadful and monstrous distemper did seize the Milesian maids, arising from some hidden cause. It is most likely the air had acquired some infatuating and venomous quality, that did influence them to this change and alienation of mind; for all on a sudden an earnest longing for death, with furious attempts to hang themselves, did attack them, and many did privily accomplish it. The arguments and tears of parents and the persuasion of friends availed nothing, but they circumvented their keep-



ers in all their contrivances and industry to prevent them, still murdering themselves. And the calamity seemed to be an extraordinary divine stroke and beyond human help, until by the counsel of a wise man a law of the senate was passed, enacting that those maids who hanged themselves should be carried naked through the market-place. The passage of this law not only inhibited but quashed their desire of slaying themselves. Note what a great argument of good nature and virtue this fear of disgrace is; for they who had no dread upon them of the most terrible things in the world, death and pain, could not abide the idea of dishonor and exposure to shame even after death.

EXAMPLE 12. *Of the Women of Cios.*

It was the custom among the maids of Cios to assemble together in the public temples, and to pass the day together in good fellowship; and there their sweethearts had the felicity to behold how prettily they sported and danced about. In the evening this company went to the house of every particular maid in her turn, and waited upon each other's parents and brethren very officiously, even to the washing of their feet. It oftentimes so fell out that many young men fell in love with one maid; but they carried it so decently and civilly that, when the maid was espoused to one, the rest presently gave off courting of her. The effect of this good order among the women was that no mention was made of any adultery or fornication among them for the space of seven hundred years.

EXAMPLE 13. *Of the Phocian Women.*

When the tyrants of Phocis had taken Delphi, and the Thebans undertook that war against them which was called the Holy War, certain women devoted to Bacchus (which they call Thyades) fell frantic and went a gadding by night, and mistaking their way they came to Amphissa; and being very much tired and not as yet in their right wits, they flung down themselves in the market-place, and fell asleep as they lay scattered up and down here and there. But the wives of the Amphisseans, fearing, because that

city was engaged to aid the Phocians in the war and abundance of the tyrants' soldiery were present in the city, the Thyades might have some indignity put upon them, ran forth all of them into the market-place and stood silently round about them, neither would offer them any disturbance whilst they slept; but when they were awake, they attended their service particularly and brought them refreshments; and in fine, by persuasions obtained leave of their husbands to accompany them and escort them in safety to their own borders.

EXAMPLE 14. *Valeria and Clælia.*

The injury done to Lucretia and her supreme virtue were the causes of banishing Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh Roman king from Romulus, she being married to a distinguished man, one of the royal race. She was ravished by one of Tarquin's sons, who was in a way of hospitality entertained by her; and after she had acquainted her friends and family with the abuse offered her, she immediately slew herself. Tarquinius having fallen from his dominion, after many battles that he fought in attempting to regain his kingly government, at last prevailed with Porsena, prince of the Etrurians, to encamp against Rome with a powerful army. Whereupon the Romans, being pressed with war and famine at the same time, likewise knowing that Porsena was not only a great soldier but a just and civil person, resolved to refer the matters against Tarquinius to him as a judge. This proposal Tarquinius obstinately refused to consent unto, saying that Porsena could not be a just arbitrator if he did not remain constant to his military alliance. Whereupon Porsena left him to himself, and made it his endeavor to depart a friend to the Romans, on condition of having restored to him the tracts of land they had cut off from the Etrurians and the captives they had taken. Upon these accepted conditions hostages being given, — ten male children, and ten females (among whom was Valeria, the daughter of Publicola the consul), — he immediately ceased his warlike preparations before the articles of agreement were quite finished. Now the virgin hostages going down to the river, as if they intended only to wash themselves a little

further than ordinary from the camp, there, by the instigation of one of them whose name was Clœlia, wrapping their garments about their heads, they cast themselves into that great river Tiber, and assisting one another, swam through those vast depths with much labor and difficulty. There are some who say that Clœlia compassing a horse got upon him, and passing over gently before, the rest swimming after her, conducted, encouraged, and assisted them; the argument they use for this we shall declare anon.

As soon as the Romans saw the maids had made such a clever escape, they admired indeed their fortitude and resolution; but did not approve of their return, not abiding to be worse in their faith than any one man; therefore they charged the maids to return back, and rent them away with a safe conduct. Tarquinius laid wait for them as they passed the river, and wanted but little of intercepting the virgins. But Valeria with three of her household servants made her flight to the camp of Porsena; and as for the rest, Aruns, Porsena's son, gave them speedy help and delivered them from the enemies. When they were brought, Porsena looking upon them commanded them to tell him which of them advised and first attempted this enterprise; all of them being surprised with fear, except Clœlia, were silent, but she said, that she was the author of it; at which Porsena, mightily surprised, commanded an horse curiously adorned with trappings should be brought, which he gave to Clœlia, and dismissed them all with much generosity and civility; and this is the ground which many make of saying that Clœlia passed through the river on horseback. Others deny this story, but yet say that Porsena admiring the undauntedness and confidence of the maid, as being beyond what is commonly in a woman, bestowed a present on her becoming a man champion. It is certain that there is the statue of a woman on horseback by the side of the Sacred Way, which some say represents Clœlia, others, Valeria.

EXAMPLE 15. *Of Micca and Megisto.*

Aristotimus having gained the tyranny over the people of Elis in Peloponnesus, against whom he prevailed by the aid of King Antigonus, used not his power with any

meekness or moderation. For he was naturally a savage man; and being in servile fear of a band of mixed barbarians, who guarded his person and his government, he convived at many injurious and cruel things which his subjects suffered at their hands, among which was the calamity of Philodemus. This man had a beautiful daughter, whose name was Micca. This maid one of the tyrant's captains of auxiliaries, called Lucius, attempted to lie with, more out of a design to debauch her than for any love he had to her; and for this end he sent to fetch her to him. The parents verily seeing the strait they were in advised her to go; but the maid, being of a generous and courageous spirit, clasped about her father, beseeching him with earnest entreaties that he would rather see her put to death than that her virginity should be filthily and wickedly violated. Some delay being made, Lucius himself starts up in the midst of his cups, enraged with wrath and lust, and drunk with wine; and finding Micca laying her head on her father's knees, he instantly commanded her to go along with him; but she refusing, he rent off her clothes, and whipped her stark naked, she stoutly enduring the smart in silence. When her father and mother perceived that by her tears they could not avail or bring any succor to her, they turned to imploring the help of both gods and men, as persons that were oppressed by the most cruel and unrighteous proceedings. But this barbarous fellow, drunk and raging every way with madness, ran the maid through as she lay with her face in her father's bosom. Neither was the tyrant affected with these cruelties, but slew many and sent more into exile; for they say eight hundred took their flight into Ætolia, petitioning the tyrant that their wives and children might come to them. A little after he made proclamation, permitting the women that would to go to their husbands, carrying with them all their household goods that they pleased; but when he perceived that all the women received the proclamation with pleasure (for the number was above six hundred), he charged them all to go in great companies on the appointed day, as if he meant to consult for their safety. When the day came, they crowded at the gates with their goods packed up, carrying their children, some in their arms and some in carts, and stayed for one another. All on a sudden many of the tyrant's creatures made towards them in

great haste, shouting to them to stay, while they were yet at great distance from them; and as they approached, they charged the women to return back. Likewise turning about their chariots and carts, they forced them upon them, drove the horses through the midst of them without fear or wit, suffering the women neither to follow nor to stay, nor to reach forth any help, to the perishing infants, some of whom were killed falling out of the carts, others run over. So they drove them in (as so many sheep which butchers drive along), hauling and whipping them as they thronged upon one another, till they had crowded them all into a prison; but their goods they returned to Aristotimus. The people of Elis taking these things very heinously, the priestesses devoted to Bacchus (which they call the Sixteen), taking with them their suppliant boughs and wreaths belonging to the service of their God, went to meet Aristotimus in the market-place; the guards, out of a reverential awe, stood off and gave way to their approach. These priestesses stood still at first with silence, solemnly reaching forth their supplicatory rods; but as soon as they appeared as petitioners and deprecators of his wrath against the women, he fell into a great rage at the guards, exclaiming against them that they had suffered the priestesses to approach his presence, and he caused some to be thrust away, others to be beaten and dragged through the market-place, and fined them two talents apiece.

These things being transacted in this manner, one Helanicus moved a conspiracy against this tyrant. He was a man who, by reason of old age and the loss of two sons by death, was unsuspected of the tyrant, as being altogether unlikely for action. In the meantime also the exiles waft themselves over from Ætolia, and take Amymona, a very convenient place on the borders to intrench a camp in, where they received great numbers of the citizens who made their escape by flight from Elis. Aristotimus being startled at these things went in to the imprisoned women, and thinking to work them to his pleasure more by fear than by favor, charged them to send letters to their husbands, enjoining them to depart out of the coasts; if they would not write, he threatened them to slay their children before their eyes, and then put them (the mothers) to death by torments. Whilst he was long provoking and urging them to declare whether they would

obey his mandates or not, most of them answered him nothing, but looked with silence one upon another, signifying by nods and gestures that they were not at all affrighted at his threat. But Megisto the wife of Timocleon, who both in respect of her husband and her own excellent accomplishments carried the port of a princess among them, would not vouchsafe to rise off her seat to him nor permit the rest so to do, but as she sat, she gave him this answer: —

“Verily if thou wert a discreet man, thou wouldst not after this manner discourse with women about their husbands, but wouldst send to them as to our lords, finding out better language than that by which thou hast deluded us. But if thou thyself despairst to prevail with them, and therefore undertakest to win them by our means, do not hope to put a cheat upon us again. And may they never be guilty of such baseness, that for the saving their wives and little ones they will sacrifice the liberty of their native country; for it is not so great an evil to them to lose us, whom even now they are deprived of, as it will be benefit to set the citizens at liberty from thy cruelty and oppression.”

Aristotimus, being not able to refrain himself at this speech of Megisto, required that her son should be brought, as if it were to slay him before her eyes; but whilst the officer was seeking out the child, that was in the company of other children playing and wrestling together, his mother called him by his name, and said: Come hither, my child; before thou hast any sense and understanding, be thou delivered from bitter tyranny; for it would be much more grievous to me to see thee basely enslaved than to see thee die. At which Aristotimus drawing his sword upon the mother herself, and transported with rage, was going to fall upon her, when one of his favorites, Cylon by name (esteemed his trusty confidant, but in reality a hater of him, and a confederate with Hellanicus in the conspiracy), put a stop to him, and averted him in an humble manner, telling him: This is an ignoble and woman-like carriage, not at all becoming a person of a princely mind and a statesman. Hereupon Aristotimus scarcely coming to his senses departed. Now observe what an ominous prodigy happened to him. It was about noon, when he was taking some repose, his wife sitting by; and whilst his

servants were providing dinner, an eagle was seen in the air floating over the house, which did, as it were considerably and on purpose, let fall a stone of an handsome bigness upon that part of the roof of the house which was over the apartment where Aristotimus lay. At the same time there was also a great rattling from above, together with an outcry made by the people that were abroad looking upon the bird. Upon which Aristotimus, falling into a great consternation and examining the matter, sent and called his soothsayer which he usually consulted in his public concerns, and being in great perplexity, desired to be satisfied what that prodigy meant. The soothsayer bade him be of good cheer, for it signified that Jupiter now wakened and assisted him. But to the citizens that he could confide in he said, that vengeance would no longer be delayed from falling on the tyrant's head. Wherefore it was concluded by Hellanicus and his friends not to defer any longer, but to bring matters to an issue the next day. At night Hellanicus imagined in his sleep that he saw one of his dead sons stand by him saying, What is the matter with thee, O father! that thou sleepest? To-morrow thou shalt be governor of this city. Being animated by his vision, he encouraged the rest concerned with him. Now Aristotimus was informed that Craterus, coming to his aid with great forces, was encamped in Olympia; upon which he became so confidently secure, that he ventured to go without his guards into the market-place, Cylon only accompanying him. Wherefore Hellanicus, observing this opportunity, did not think good to give the signal to those that were to undertake the enterprise with him, but with a clear voice and lifting up both his hands, he spake saying: O ye good men! why do ye delay? Here is a fair theatre in the midst of your native country for you to contend in for the prize of valor. Whereupon Cylon in the first place drawing his sword smote one of Aristotimus's waiting gentlemen; but Thrasybulus and Lampis making a brisk opposition, Aristotimus escaped by flight into the temple of Jupiter. Here slaying him, they dragged forth his corpse into the market-place, and proclaimed liberty to the citizens. Neither were the men there much before the women, who immediately ran forth with joyful acclamations, environing the men and binding triumphant garlands about their heads. The multitude presently rushed

on upon the tyrant's palace, where his wife shutting herself into her bed-chamber hanged herself. He had also two daughters, maidens of most beautiful complexions, ripe for marriage. Those they laid hands on, and haled forth, with a desperate resolution to slay them, but first to torment and abuse them. But Megisto, with the rest of the women, meeting them called out with a loud voice: Will they perpetrate such enormities who reckon themselves a free people, in imitation of the practices of audacious and libidinous tyrants? The multitude reverencing the gravity of this matron, pleading with them so undauntedly as also affectionately with tears, they resolved to lay aside this opprobrious way of proceeding, and to cause them to die by their own hands. As they were therefore returned into the chamber, they required the maids immediately to be their own executioners. Muro, the eldest, untying her girdle and tying it about her neck, saluted her sister, and exhorted her to be careful and do whatever she saw her do; lest (as she said) we come to our death in a base and unworthy manner. But the younger desiring it might be her lot to die first, she delivered her the girdle, saying: I did never deny thee anything thou didst ever desire, neither will I now; take this favor also. I am resolved to bear and endure that which is more grievous than death to me, to see my most dear sister die before me. Upon this, when she had instructed her sister how to put the girdle so as to strangle her, and perceived her dead, she took her down and covered her. And now the eldest sister, whose turn was next, besought Megisto to take care of her, and not suffer her to lie indecently after she was dead. So that there was not any one present that was so bitter and vehement a tyrant-hater that he did not lament and compassionate these maidens upon their brave and virtuous behavior.

Of the innumerable famous exploits performed by women, these examples may suffice. But as for their particular virtues, we will describe them according as they offer themselves scattered here and there, not supposing that our present history doth necessarily require an exact order of time.



EXAMPLE 16. *Of Pieria.*

Some of the Ionians who came to dwell at Miletus, falling into contention with the sons of Neleus, departed to Myus, and there took up their situation, where they suffered many injuries from the Milesians; for they made war upon them by reason of their revolt from them. This war was not indeed without truces or commerce, but upon certain festival days the women of Myus went to Miletus. Now there was at Myus Pythes, a renowned man among them, who had a wife called Iapygia, and a daughter Pieria. Pythes, when there was a time of feasting and sacrificing to Diana among the Milesians, which they called Neleis, sent his wife and daughter, who desired to participate of the said feast; when one of the most potent sons of Neleus, Phrygius by name, fell in love with Pieria. He desired to know what service he could do which might be most acceptable to her. She told him, that he should bring it to pass that she with many others might have their frequent recourse thither. Hence Phrygius understood that she desired friendship and peace with the citizens of Miletus; accordingly he finished the war. Whence arose that great honor and renown of Pieria in both cities; inso-much that the Milesian women do to this day make use of this benediction to new married wives, that their husbands may love them so as Phrygius loved Pieria.

EXAMPLE 17. *Of Polycrita.*

A war arose between the Naxians and Milesians upon the account of Neæra, the wife of Hypsicreon, a Milesian. For she fell in love with Promedon a Naxian, who was Hypsicreon's guest. Promedon lies with his beloved Neæra; and she, fearing her husband's displeasure, took shipping with her Promedon, who carried her over into Naxos and placed her a supplicant to Vesta. The Naxians not restoring her upon demand, for the sake of Promedon and making her devotion to Vesta their pretence, a war arose. To the assistance of the Milesians came in many others; and of the Ionians the Erythræans were most ready. So that this war was of long continuance, and had great calamities attending it. But as it was begun by the lewd-

ness of a woman, so it was ended by a woman's policy. Diognetus, a colonel of the Erythræans, holding a fortification committed to his keeping, which was cast up against the Naxians, lying naturally to great advantage and well furnished with ammunition, took great spoils from the Naxians; yea, he captivated both free married women and virgins; with one of which, called Polycrita, he fell in love, and treated her not as a captive but after the manner of a married wife. Now a festival coming in turn to be celebrated among the Milesians in the camp, and all of them given to their cups and luxury, Polycrita petitioned Diognetus that he would be pleased to permit her to send some part of the cakes to her brethren. He permitting and bidding her do it, she thrust into a cake a piece of lead engraven with writing, and commanded the bearer to say to her brethren that they alone by themselves should eat up what she had sent. Accordingly they met with the plate of lead, and read Polycrita's hand-writing, advising them that night to fall upon their enemies, who, by reason of excess caused by their feastings, were overcome with wine and therefore in a careless secure condition. They acquainted the officers with it, and urged them to accompany them forth against the enemies. Upon engagement the fortress being gotten and many slain, Polycrita by entreaty of her countrymen obtained the life of Diognetus and preserved him. But she being met by her countrymen at the gate, who received her with acclamations of joy and garlands, and greatly applauded her deed, could not bear the greatness of the joy, but died, falling down at the gate of the citadel, where she was buried; and it is called the Sepulchre of Envy, as though some envious fortune had grudged Polycrita the fruition of so great honor. And thus do the Naxian writers declare the history. But Aristotle saith, that Polycrita was not taken captive, but that by some other way or means Diognetus seeing her fell in love with her, and was ready to give and do all that he could for the enjoying her. Polycrita promised to consent to him, provided she might obtain one only thing of him; concerning which, as the philosopher saith, she required an oath of Diognetus. When he had sworn, she required Delium to be delivered up to her (for the stronghold was called Delium), otherwise she would not yield to go with him. He, being besotted with lust and

for his oath's sake, delivered up the place into the hands of Polycrita, and she to her countrymen. From henceforward they adjusted matters so equally that the Nexians had free converse, as they pleased, with the Milesians.

EXAMPLE 18. *Of Lampsace.*

There were two brethren, Phobus and Blepsus, twins of the stock of Codrus, natives of Phocæa; of which two Phobus, the elder, threw himself from the Leucadian rocks into the sea, as Charon of Lampsacus hath told us in history. This Phobus, having potency and royal dignity, took a voyage into Parium upon the account of his own private concerns; and becoming a friend and guest to Mandron king of the Bebrycians, the same that were called Pituoëssans, he aided and assisted him in the war against those of the bordering inhabitants that molested him. So that when Phobus was returning back by sea, Mandron showed great civility to him, promising to give him a part of his country and city, if he would bring over the Phocæans and plant them as inhabitants in Pituoëssa. Phobus therefore persuading this countrymen sent his brother to conduct them over as planters, and likewise the obligation was performed on Mandron's part according to expectation. But the Phocæans taking great booty, prey, and spoils from the neighboring barbarians, were first envied, and afterwards became a terror to the Bebrycians; and therefore they desired to be rid of them. As for Mandron, being an honest and righteous person, they could not possess him against the Grecians; but he taking a long journey, they provided to destroy the Phocæans by treachery. Mandron had a daughter called Lampsace, a virgin, who was acquainted with the plot; and first she endeavored to take off her friends and familiars from it, admonishing them what a dreadful and ungodly enterprise they were going upon, — to murder men that were benefactors, military auxiliaries, and now citizens. But when she could not prevail with them, she declared to the Grecians secretly what was plotting, and wished them to stand upon their guard. Upon this, the Phocæans provided a sacrifice and feast, and invited the Pituoëssans into the suburbs; on which, dividing themselves into two parts, with

one they surprised the walls of the city, with the other they slew the men. Thus taking the city, they sent to Mandron, desiring him to unite with their own rulers in the government. As for Lampsace, she died of a sickness, and they buried her sumptuously, and called the city Lampsace after her name. But when Mandron, avoiding all suspicion of betraying his people, refused to come to dwell among them, and desired this favor at their hands, that they would send him the wives and children of the deceased, the Phocæans most readily sent them, offering them no injury at all. And ascribing in the first place heroic renown to Lampsace, in the last place they decreed a sacrifice to her as a goddess, which they continue yearly to offer.

EXAMPLE 19. *Aretaphila.*

Aretaphila, a Cyrenæan, was not of ancient time, but lived in the time of the Mithridatic war. She arrived at such a degree of fortitude and experience in counsel as might be compared with the conduct of any heroic ladies. She was the daughter of Æglator and the wife of Phædimus, both renowned men. She was a great beauty, excelling in discretion, and was not unacquainted with the most knotty pieces of policy; but the common disasters of her native country rendered her famous. Nicocrates, having then usurped the tyranny over the Cyrenæans, not only murdered many other citizens, but also assassinated Melanippus, a priest of Apollo, with his own hand, and held the priesthood himself. He slew also Phædimus, the husband of Aretaphila, and married Aretaphila against her will. Unto a thousand other villanies he added this, that he set guards at the gates, who mangled the dead corpses as they were carrying forth, pricking them with their daggers and clapping hot irons to them, lest any citizen should be carried out privily under pretence of being a dead corpse. Aretaphila's own proper calamities were very grievous to her, although the tyrant, for the love that he bare to her, suffered her to enjoy a great part of his regal power; for his love had subjected him unto her, and to her alone was he gentle and manageable, being very rude and savage in his behavior to others. But that which troubled her more than other things was to see her miserable country suffer-

ing such horrid things in so base a manner; one citizen being slaughtered after another, without any hopes of a vindictive justice from any. The exiles also were altogether enfeebled, affrighted, and scattered here and there. Aretaphila therefore supposed herself to be the only hope remaining for the state; and emulating the famous and brave enterprises of Thebe of Pheræ, although she was devoid of the faithful friends and helpers which circumstances afforded to Thebe, she devised a plan to despatch her husband by poison. But in setting herself about it, providing the materials, and trying many experiments with poisons, the matter could not be hid, but was discovered; and there being proof made of the attempt, Calbia, Nicocrates's mother, being naturally of a murdering implacable spirit, presently adjudged Aretaphila to torments and then to death. But love abated the rage of Nicocrates, and put him upon delay; and the vigorous way in which Aretaphila met the accusation and defended herself gave some good ground for his hesitation. But when she was convicted by the plainest proofs, and the preparation she had made for the poison was even in sight, admitting no denial, she confessed that she provided poison, but not deadly poison. But truly, O sir, she said, I am contending for matters of great concern, no less indeed than the honor and power which by thy gracious favor I reap the fruit of. I am maligned by many ill women, whose poisons and treacheries I stand in fear of, and therefore have been persuaded to contrive something on the other side in my own defence. These are haply foolish and woman-like plots, but not such as deserve death, unless it seem good to thee as judge to take away thy wife's life on account of love-potions and enchantments, which she has used because she wishes to be loved by thee more than thou wouldst have her. Notwithstanding this defence which Aretaphila had made for herself, Nicocrates thought good to commit her to torments; and Calbia presided in the judicature, rigid and inexorable. But Aretaphila bore up invincibly under her tortures, till Calbia herself was tired, sore against her will. But Nicocrates being pacified discharged her, and was sorry he had tortured her. And it was not very long ere he went in again unto her, being highly transported with affection, renewing his favor towards her with honors and courteous

behavior. But she would not be brought under by flattery, who had held out so stoutly under tortures and pains; and an emulation of victory, conjoined with the love of honesty, made her betake herself to other measures.

She had a daughter marriageable, an excellent beauty. Her she presented for a bait to the tyrant's brother, a young stripling and lasciviously addicted. There was a report, that Aretaphila used such enchantments and witchcrafts towards the maid, that she plainly charmed and destroyed the young man's reason. He was called Leander. After he was entangled, he petitioned his brother and accomplished the marriage. Now the maid, being instructed by her mother, instigated and persuaded him to set the city at liberty, insinuating that he himself could not live long free under an arbitrary government, nor could he marry a wife or reserve her to himself. Also some friends, Aretaphila's favorites, suggested to him continually some accusations or surmises concerning his brother. But as soon as he perceived that Aretaphila was counselling and aiding in these matters, he undertook the business, and excited Daphnis a household servant, who slew Nicocrates by his command. In what followed, he attended not so much to Aretaphila, but presently manifested by his actions that he was rather a fratricide than a tyrannicide; for he managed his affairs perversely and foolishly. But yet he had some honor for Aretaphila, and she had some influence with him; neither did she manage any enmity or open opposition against him, but ordered her affairs privily. First of all, she stirred up an African war against him, and incited Anabus, a certain duke, to invade his borders and approach the city; and then she insinuated into Leander's head suspicions against the favorites and officers, saying that they were not anxious to fight but rather ambitious of peace and tranquillity, which indeed (she said) the state of affairs and the safety of his dominion required of him if he would hold his subjects in firm subjection; and she would effect a cessation of arms and bring Anabus to a parley with him, if he would permit it, before an incurable war should break forth. Leander gave her commission. First she treated with the African, and with the promise of great presents and treasures begged that he would seize Leander when he came to treat with him. The African was per-

suaded, but Leander was backward to it; only for the respect that he bore to Aretaphila, who said that she would be present, he went unarmed and unguarded. But as he came nigh and saw Anabus, he made a halt, and would have waited the coming of his guards; only Aretaphila being present sometimes encouraged him, sometimes reviled him. But at last, when he still hesitates, she undauntedly lays hold on him, and dragging him resolutely along, delivers him to the barbarian. He was immediately seized, confined, and bound, and kept prisoner by the African, until Aretaphila's friends, with other citizens, procured the treasures promised. Many people acquainted with this ran forth to the parley; and as soon as they saw Aretaphila, they were so transported that they had like to have forgot their indignation against the tyrant, and reckoned the punishing him of no great concern. But the first work after the enjoyment of their liberty was the saluting Aretaphila, between acclamations of joy and weeping, and falling down before her, as before the statue of one of the gods. And the people flocked in one after another, so that they scarcely had time that evening to receive Leander again and return into the city. When they had satisfied themselves in honoring and applauding Aretaphila, they turned themselves to the tyrants; and Calbia they burnt alive, Leander they sewed up in a sack and threw him into the sea, but they voted that Aretaphila should bear her share in the government together with the statesmen, and be taken into counsel. But she, by great sufferings having acted a tragi-comedy consisting of various parts, and at last obtained the reward of the garland, as soon as she saw the city set at liberty, betook herself to her private house; and casting off all multiplicity of business, she led the rest of her time in spinning, and finished her days in tranquillity among her friends and acquaintance.

EXAMPLE 20. *Camma.*

There were two most potent persons among the tetrarchs of Galatia, allied by kin to each other, Sinatus and Synorix; one of which, Sinatus, took a maid to wife, Camma by name, very comely to behold for person and favor, but principally to be admired for virtue. For she was not

only modest and loving to her husband, but discreet and of a generous mind. And by reason of her gentle and courteous behavior she was extremely acceptable to her inferiors; yea, that which rendered her more eminently renowned was, that being a priest of Diana (for the Galatians worship that goddess most) she did always appear magnificently adorned in all sacred processions and at the sacrifices. Wherefore Synorix, falling in love with her, could not prevail either by persuasions or violence, whilst her husband lived. He commits a horrid crime, — he slays Sinatus treacherously, — and not long after accosts Camma, whilst she dwelt within the temple, and bore Synorix's crime not in an abject and despondent manner, but with a mind intent upon revenge on Synorix, and only waiting an opportunity. He was importunate in this humble addresses, neither did he seem to use arguments that were without all show of honesty. For as in other things he pretended that he far excelled Sinatus, so he slew him for the love he bare to Camma and for no other wicked design. The woman's denials were at first not very peremptory, and then by little and little she seemed to be softened towards him. Her familiars and friends also lay at her in the service and favor of Synorix, who was a man of great power, persuading and even forcing her. In fine therefore she consented, and accordingly sent for him to come to her, that the mutual contract and covenant might be solemnized in the presence of the goddess. When he came, she received him with much courtesy, and bringing him before the altar and pouring out some of the drink-offering upon the altar out of the phials, part of the remainder she drank herself and part she gave him to drink. The cup was poisoned mead. As she saw him drink it all up, she lifted up a shrill loud voice, and fell down and worshipped her goddess, saying: I call thee to witness, O most reverend Divinity! that for this very day's work's sake I have over-lived the murder of Sinatus, no otherwise taking any comfort in this part of my life but in the hope of revenge that I have had. And now I go down to my husband. And for thee, the lowdest person among men, let thy relations prepare a sepulchre, instead of a bride-chamber and nuptials. When the Galatian heard these things, and perceived the poison to wamble up and down and indispose his body, he ascended



his chariot, hoping to be cured by the jogging and shaking. But he presently alighted, and put himself into a litter, and died that evening. Camma continued all that night, and being told that he had ended his life, she comfortably and cheerfully expired.

EXAMPLE 21. *Stratonica.*

Galatia also produced Stratonica the wife of Deiotarus, and Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon, both of them women worth remembrance. Stratonica knowing that her husband wanted children of his own body to succeed in his kingdom, she being barren persuaded him to beget a child on another woman, and subject it to her tutelage. Deiotarus admiring her proposal, committed all to her care upon that account. She provided a comely virgin for him from among the captives, Electra by name, and brought her to lie with Deiotarus. The children begotten of her she educated very tenderly and magnificently, as if they had been her own.

EXAMPLE 22. *Chiomara.*

It fell out that Chiomara, the wife of Ortiagon, was taken captive with other women, in the time when the Romans under Cneus Manlius overcame the Galatians of Asia in battle. The centurion that took her made use of his fortune soldier-like and defiled her; for he was, as to voluptuousness and covetousness, an ill-bred and insatiable man, over whom avarice had gotten an absolute conquest. A great quantity of gold being promised by the woman for her ransom, in order to her redemption he brought her to a certain bank of a river. As the Galatians passed over and paid him the money in gold, and received Chiomara into their possession, she gave an intimation of her pleasure to one of them by nod, — to smite the Roman while he was kissing and taking his leave of her. He obeyed her commands and cut off his head. She takes it, wraps it up in her apron, and carries it with her; and as she comes to her husband, she casts down the head before him, at which being startled he said, O wife! thy fidelity is singular. Yea, verily, replied she, it is a more

singular thing that there is now but one man alive that hath ever lain with me. Polybius saith that he discoursed with this woman at Sardis, and admired her prudence and discretion.

EXAMPLE 23. *Of the Woman of Pergamus.*

When Mithridates sent for sixty noblemen of Galatia as friends, he seemed to carry himself abusively and imperiously towards them, which they were all mightily provoked at. Poredorix, a man of a robust body and lofty mind, who was no less than tetrarch of the Tosiopæ, designed to lay hold on Mithridates, seizing him when he should be determining causes on the bench of judicature, and to force him into the ditch; but by a certain chance he went not up to the place of judicature that day, but sent for the Galatians to come home to him to his house. Poredorix encouraged them all to be of good courage, and when they should be all come together there, to fall upon him on every side, slay him, and cut his body in pieces. This conspiracy was not unknown to Mithridates, an intimation of it being given him; accordingly he delivers up the Galatians one by one to be slain. But calling to mind a young man among them, who excelled in comeliness and beauty all whom he knew, he commiserated him and repented himself and was apparently grieved, supposing him slain among the first, and also sent his command, that if he were alive he should remain so. The young man's name was Bepolitanus. There was a strange accident befell this man. When he was apprehended, he had on very gay and rich apparel, which the executioner desired to preserve clean from being stained with blood; and undressing the young man leisurely, he saw the king's messengers running to him and calling loudly the name of the youth. So that covetousness, which is the ruin of many, unexpectedly saved the life of Bepolitanus. But Poredorix being slain was cast forth unburied, and none of his friends did dare to come near him; only a certain woman of Pergamus, that was conversant with him while he lived at Galatia, attempted to cover his corpse and bury it. But when the guards perceived her, they laid hold on her and brought her before the king. And it is reported

that Mithridates was much affected at the sight of her, the young maid seeming altogether harmless, and the more so, as it seemed, because he knew that love was the reason of her attempt. He gave her leave therefore to take away the corpse and bury it, and to take grave-clothes and ornaments at his cost.

EXAMPLE 24. *Timoclea.*

Theagenes the Theban, who held the same principles with regard to his country's welfare with Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and the other worthy Thebans, was slain in Chæronea, in the common ruin of Greece, even then when he had conquered his enemies and was in pursuit of them. For it was he that answered one who cried out aloud to him, How far wilt thou pursue? Even (saith he) to Macedonia. When he was dead, his sister survived him, who gave testimony that he was nobly descended, and that he was naturally a great man and excellently accomplished. Moreover, this woman was so fortunate as to reap a great benefit by her prowess, so that the more public calamities fell upon her, so much the easier she bore them. For when Alexander took Thebes and the soldiers fell a plundering, some in one part and some in another, it happened that a man, neither civil nor sober but mischievous and mad, took up his quarters in Timoclea's house. He was a captain to a Thracian company, and the king's namesake, but nothing like him; for he having no regard either to the family or estate of this woman, when he had swilled himself in wine after supper, commanded her to come and lie with him. Neither ended he here, but inquired for gold and silver, whether she had not some hid by her; sometimes threatening as if he would kill her, sometimes flattering as if he would always repute her in the place of a wife. She, taking the occasion offered by him, said: "Would God I had died before this night came, rather than lived to it; that though all other things had been lost, I might have preserved my body free from abuse. But now seeing it is thus come to pass, and Divine Providence hath thus disposed of it that I must repute thee my guardian, lord, and husband, I will not hold anything from thee that is thine own. And as for

myself, I see I am at thy disposition. As for corporeal enjoyments, the world was mine; I had silver bowls, I had gold, and some money; but when this city was taken, I commanded my maids to pack it up altogether, and threw it, or rather put it for security, into a well that had no water in it. Neither do many know of it, for it hath a covering, and nature hath provided a shady wood round about it. Take then these things, and much good may they do thee; and they shall lie by thee, as certain tokens and marks of the late flourishing fortune and splendor of our family."

When the Macedonian heard these things, he stayed not for day, but presently went to the place by Timoclea's conduct, commanding the garden-door to be shut, that none might perceive what they were about. He descended in his morning vestment. But the revengeful Clotho brought dreadful things upon him by the hand of Timoclea, who stood on the top of the well; for as soon as she perceived by his voice that he reached the bottom, she threw down abundance of stones upon him, and her maids rolled in many and great ones, till they had dashed him to pieces and buried him under them. As soon as the Macedonians came to understand this and had taken up the corpse, there having been late proclamation that none of the Thebans should be slain, they seized her and carried her before the king and declared her audacious exploit; but the king, who by the gravity of her countenance and stateliness of her behavior did perceive in her something that savored of the greatest worth and nobility, asked her first, What woman art thou? She courageously and undauntedly answered: Theagenes was my brother, who was a commander at Charonea, and gave his life fighting against you in defence of the Grecian liberty, that we might not suffer any such thing; and seeing I have suffered things unworthy of my rank, I refuse not to die; for it is better so to do than to experience another such a night as the last, which awaits me unless thou forbid it. All the most tender-spirited persons that were present broke out into tears; but Alexander was not for pitying her, as being a woman above pity. But he admired her fortitude and eloquence, which had strongly affected him, and charged his officers to have a special care and look to the guards, lest any such abuse be offered again to any renowned

family; and dismissed Timoclea, charging them to have a special regard to her and all that should be found to be of her family.

EXAMPLE 25. *Eryxo.*

Arcesilaus was the son of Battus who was surnamed Felix, not at all like to his father in his conversation. His father, when he lived, laid a fine of a talent upon him for making fortifications about his house. After his father's death, he being of a rugged disposition (therefore surnamed the Severe), and following the advice of Laarchus, an ill friend, became a tyrant instead of a king. For Laarchus affecting the government for himself, either banished or slew the noblemen of Cyrene, and charged the fault upon Arcesilaus; and at last casting him into a wasting and grievous disease, by giving him the sea-hare in his drink, he deprived him of his life. So that Laarchus assumed the government, under pretence of being protector to Arcesilaus's young son Battus; but the youth, by reason either of his lameness or youthful age, was contemned. As for his mother, many addressed her, being a modest and courteous woman, and she had many of the commons and nobility at her devotion. Therefore Laarchus, pretending to be her humble servant, would needs marry her, and thereby take Battus to the dignity of being son and then allow him a share in the government. But Eryxo (for that was the woman's name), taking counsel of her brethren, bade Laarchus treat with them as if she had designed marriage; Laarchus accordingly treating with Eryxo's brethren, they on purpose delay and prolong the business. Eryxo sends one of her maid-servants acquainting him, that for the present her brethren did oppose the match, but if they could but accomplish it so as to lie together once, her brethren would cease arguing the matter any further, and would give their consent. He should therefore come to her by night, if he pleased; an entrance being once made in a business, the rest will succeed well enough. These things were mighty pleasing to Laarchus, and he was much inflamed by the woman's obliging carriage towards him, and declared that he would come to whatever place she should command him. These things Eryxo transacted with the privity of Polyarchus, her eldest

brother. A time being now appointed for the congress, Polyarchus placed himself in his sister's bed-chamber, together with two young men that were sword-men, all out of sight, to revenge the death of his father, whom Laarchus had lately murdered. Eryxo sending at the time to acquaint him, he entered without his guard, and the young men falling upon him, he was wounded with the sword and died; the corpse immediately they threw over the wall. Battus they brought forth and proclaimed king over his father's dominions, and Polyarchus restored to the Cyrenæans their ancient constitution of government. There were present at that time many soldiers of Amasis, the Egyptian king; whom Laarchus had employed and found faithful, and by whose means he had been not a little formidable to the citizens. These sent messengers to accuse Polyarchus and Eryxo to Amasis. At this the king was greatly incensed, and determined to make war upon the Cyrenæans. But it happened that his mother died, and while he was celebrating her funeral, ambassadors came and brought the news of his purpose to Cyrene. Wherefore it was thought best by Polyarchus to go and apologize for himself. Eryxo would not desert him, but was resolved to accompany him and run the same hazard with him. Nor would his mother Critola leave him, though she was an old woman; for great was her dignity, she being the sister of old Battus, surnamed Felix. As soon as they came into Egypt, as others with admiration approved of the exploit, so even Amasis himself did not a little applaud the chastity and fortitude of Eryxo, honoring her with presents and royal attendance, with which he sent back Polyarchus and the ladies into Cyrene.

EXAMPLE 26. *Xenocrita.*

Xenocrita of Cumæ deserves no less to be admired for her exploits against Aristodemus the tyrant, whom some have supposed to be surnamed the Effeminate, being ignorant of the true story. He was called by the barbarians Malakos (that is soft and effeminate) with regard merely to his youth; because, when he was a mere stripling, with other companions of the same age who wore long hair (whence they were called Coronistæ, as it seems from their

long hair), he became famous in the war against the barbarians. He was also not only renowned for resolution and activity, but very exceedingly remarkable for his discretion and providence; insomuch that being admired by the citizens he proceeded to the highest dominion among them. He was to bring aid to the Romans when they were in war with the Etrurians, who engaged to restore Tarquinius Superbus to his kingdom; in all which expedition, that was very long, he managed all affairs so as to ingratiate himself with the military part of the citizens, aiming more at the making himself head of a popular faction than general of the army. He accordingly prevails with them to join with him in attacking the senate, and in casting out the citizens of highest rank and most potent into exile. Afterwards becoming absolute in power, he was flagitious in his carriage towards women and free-born youth, and exceeded even himself in vileness. For history reports of him how that he accustomed the boys to wear their hair long and set with golden ornaments, and the girls he compelled to be polled round, and to wear youths' jerkins and short-tailed petticoats. Notwithstanding, he had a peculiar affection for Xenocrita, a girl of Cumæ, left behind by her exiled father. Her he kept, but could not bring over to his humor by any insinuations or persuasions, neither had he gained her father's consent; however, he reckoned the maid would be brought to love him by constant conversation with him, since she would be envied and reputed very happy by the citizens. But these things did not at all besot the maid; but she took it heinously that she must be constrained to dwell with him, not espoused or married. Neither did she the less long for the liberty of her native country than did those who were hated by the tyrant.

It happened about that time that Aristodemus was casting up an intrenchment about the borders of Cumæ, a work neither necessary nor profitable, only because he was resolved to tire out the citizens with hard toil and labor; for every one was required to carry out a stinted number of baskets of earth daily, in order to the delving this ditch. A certain maid, as she saw Aristodemus approaching, ran aside and covered her face with her apron; but when Aristodemus was withdrawn, the young men would sport and jest with her, asking her whether out of modesty she

avoided only the sight of Aristodemus and was not so affected towards other men. She made answer designedly, rather than otherwise, that of the Cumæans Aristodemus was the only man. This sentence thus spoken verily touched them all very near, for it provoked the generous-minded men among them for very shame to the recovering of their liberties. And it is said that Xenocrita was heard to say, that she had rather carry earth for her father, if he were at home, than participate in the great luxury and pomp of Aristodemus. These things added courage to them that were about to make an insurrection against Aristodemus, which Thymoteles had the chief management of; for Xenocrita providing them safe admittance, they easily rushed in upon Aristodemus, unarmed and unguarded, and slew him. In this manner the city of Cumæ gained its liberty, by the virtue of two women; one by suggesting and invigorating the enterprise, the other by bringing it to an issue. When honors and great presents were tendered to Xenocrita, she refused all; but requested one thing, that she might bury the corpse of Aristodemus. This they delivered her, and made her a priestess of Ceres; reckoning that, as it was a deserved honor bestowed on her, so she would be no less acceptable to the goddess.

EXAMPLE 27. *The Wife of Pythes.*

It is reported that the wife of Pythes, who lived at the time of Xerxes, was a wise and courteous woman. Pythes, as it seems, finding by chance some gold mines, and falling vastly in love with the riches got out of them, was insatiably and beyond measure exercised about them; and he brought down likewise the citizens, all of whom alike he compelled to dig or carry or refine the gold, doing nothing else; many of them dying in the work, and all being quite worn out. Their wives laid down their petition at his gate, addressing themselves to the wife of Pythes. She bade them all depart and be of good cheer; but those goldsmiths which she confided most in she required to wait upon her, and confining them commanded them to make up golden loaves, all sorts of junkets and summer-fruits, all sorts of fish and flesh meats, in which she knew Pythes was most delighted. All things being provided, Pythes coming home then (for he happened to go a long journey) and



asking for his supper, his wife set a golden table before him, having no edible food upon it, but all golden. Pythes admired the workmanship for its imitation of nature. When, however, he had sufficiently gloated his eyes, he called in earnest for something to eat; but his wife, when he asked for any sort, brought it of gold. Whereupon being provoked, he cried out, I am an hungered. She replied: Thou hast made none other provisions for us; every skilful science and art being laid aside, no man works in husbandry; but neglecting sowing, planting, and tilling the ground, we delve and search for useless things, killing ourselves and our subjects. These things moved Pythes, but not so as to give over all his works about the mine; for he now commanded a fifth part of the citizens to that work, the rest he converted to husbandry and manufactures. But when Xerxes made an expedition into Greece, Pythes, being most splendid in his entertainments and presents, requested a gracious favor of the king, that since he had many sons, one might be spared from the camp to remain with him, to cherish his old age. At which Xerxes in a rage slew this son only which he desired, and cut him in two pieces, and commanded the army to march between the two parts of the corpse. The rest he took along with him, and all of them were slain in the wars. At which Pythes fell into a despairing condition, so that he fell under the like suffering with many wicked men and fools. He dreaded death, but was weary of his life; yea, he was willing not to live, but could not cast away his life. He had this project. There was a great elevation of earth in the city, and a river running by it, which they called Pythopolites. In that mound he prepared him a sepulchre, and diverted the stream so as to run just by the side of the mound, the river lightly washing the sepulchre. These things being finished, he enters into the sepulchre, committing the city and all the government thereof to his wife; commanding her not to come to him, but to send his supper daily laid on a sloop, till the sloop should pass by the sepulchre with the supper untouched; and then she should cease to send, as supposing him dead. He verily passed in this manner the rest of his life; but his wife took admirable care of the government, and brought in a reformation of all things amiss among the people.

THE FIRST ORATION OF PLUTARCH CONCERNING THE FORTUNE, OR VIRTUE, OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THIS is the oration of Fortune, asserting and challenging Alexander to be her masterpiece, and only hers. In contradiction to which it behooves us to say something on the behalf of philosophy, or rather in the defence of Alexander himself, who cannot choose but spurn away the very thought of having received his empire as a free gift at the hands of Fortune, knowing that it was so dearly bought with the price of his lost blood and many wounds, and that in winning it,

Full many a bloody day  
In toilsome fight he spent,  
And many a wakeful night  
In battle's management;<sup>1</sup>

and all this in opposition to armies almost irresistible, numberless nations, rivers before impassable, and rocks impenetrable; choosing, however, for his chiefest guides and counsellors, prudence, endurance, fortitude, and steadiness of mind.

And now, methinks, I hear him speaking thus to Fortune, when she signalizes herself with his successes:—

Envy not my virtue, nor go about to detract from my honor. Darius was a fabric of thy own rearing, who of a servant and the king's messenger was by thee advanced to be monarch of all Persia. The same was Sardanapalus, who from a comber of purple wool was raised by thee to wear the royal diadem. But I, subduing as I marched, from Arbela forced my passage even to Susa itself. Cilicia opened me a broad way into Egypt; and the Granicus, o'er which I passed without resistance, trampling under foot the slain carcasses of Mithridates and Spithridates, opened up the way into Cilicia. Pamper up thyself, and boast thy kings that never felt a wound nor ever saw a finger bleed; for they were fortunate, it is true, — thy

<sup>1</sup> II. IX. 325.

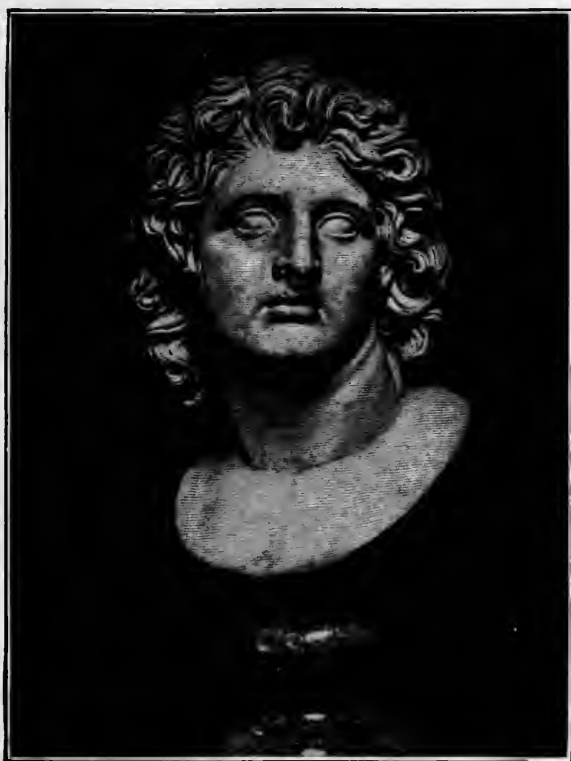
Ochi and thy Artaxerxes, — who were no sooner born but they were by thee established in the throne of Cyrus. But my body carries many marks of Fortune's unkindness, who rather fought against me as an enemy than assisted me as her friend. First, among the Illyrians I was wounded in the head with a stone, and received a blow in the neck with an iron mace. Then, near the Granicus my head was a second time gashed with a barbarian scimitar; at Issus I was run through the thigh with a sword; at Gaza I was shot in the ankle with a dart; and not long after, falling heavy from my saddle, I forced my shoulder out of joint. Among the Maracadartæ my shinbone was split with an arrow. The wounds I received in India and my strenuous acts of daring courage will declare the rest. Then among the Assacani I was shot through the shoulder with another arrow. Encountering the Gandridæ, my thigh was wounded; and one of the Mallotes drew his bow with that force, that the well-directed arrow made way through my iron armor to lodge itself in my breast; besides the blow in my neck, when the scaling-ladders brake that were set to the walls, and Fortune left me alone, to gratify with the fall of so great a person not a renowned or illustrious enemy, but ignoble and worthless barbarians. So that had not Ptolemy covered me with his shield, and Limnæus, after he had received a thousand wounds directed at my body, fallen dead before me; or if the Macedonians, breathing nothing but courage and their prince's rescue, had not opened a timely breach, that barbarous and nameless village might have proved Alexander's tomb.

Take the whole expedition together, and what was it but a patient endurance of cold winters and parching droughts; depths of rivers, rocks inaccessible to the winged fowl, amazing sights of strange wild beasts, savage diet, and lastly revolts and treasons of far-controlling potentates. As to what before the expedition befell me, it is well known that all Greece lay gasping and panting under the fatal effects of the Philippic wars. But then the Thebans, raising themselves upon their feet again after so desperate a fall, shook from their arms the dust of Chæroneia; with them also joined the Athenians, reaching forth their helping hands. The treacherous Macedonians, studying nothing but revenge, cast their eyes upon the sons of Æropus; the Illyrians brake out into an open

war; and the Scythians hung in an uncertain state, seeing their neighbors meditating new revolutions; while Persian gold, liberally scattered among the popular leaders of every city, put all Peloponnesus into motion.

King Philip's treasuries were at that time empty, and besides he was in debt, as Onesicritus relates, two hundred talents. In the midst of so much pressing want and such menacing troubles, a youth but new past the age of childhood durst aspire to the conquest of Babylon and Susa, or rather project in his thoughts supreme dominion over all mankind; and all this, trusting only to the strength of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. For so many there were, by the account which Aristobulus gives; by the relation of King Ptolemy, there were five thousand horse; from both which Anaximenes varying musters up the foot to three and forty thousand, and the horse to five thousand five hundred. Now the glorious and magnificent sum which Fortune had raised up to supply the necessities of so great an expedition was no more than seventy talents, according to Aristobulus; or, as Duris records it, only thirty days' provision.

You will say therefore that Alexander was too rash and daringly inconsiderate, with such a slender support to rush upon so vast an opposition. By no means: for who was ever better fitted than he for splendid enterprises, with all the choicest and most excelling precepts of magnanimity, consideration, wisdom, and virtuous fortitude, with which a philosophical training largely supplied him for his expedition? So that we may properly affirm that he invaded Persia with greater assistance from Aristotle than from his father Philip. As for those who write how Alexander was wont to say that the Iliad and Odyssey had always followed him in his wars, in honor to Homer I believe them. Nevertheless, if any one affirm that the Iliad and Odyssey were admitted of his train merely as the recreation of his wearied thoughts or pastime of his leisure hours, but that philosophical learning, and commentaries concerning contempt of fear, fortitude, temperance, and nobleness of spirit, were the real cabinet provision which he carried along for his personal use, we condemn their assertion. For he was not a person that ever wrote concerning arguments or syllogisms; none of those who observed walks in the Lyceum, or held disputes in the



ALEXANDER THE GREAT AS HELIOS

Marble bust in the Capitoline  
Museum, Rome.



Academy; for they who thus circumscribe philosophy believe it to consist in discoursing, not in action. And yet we find that neither Pythagoras nor Socrates, Arcesilaus nor Carneades, was ever celebrated for their writings, though they were the most approved and esteemed among all the philosophers. Yet no such busy wars as these employed their time in civilizing wild and barbarous kings, in building Grecian cities among rude and unpolished nations, nor in settling government and peace among people that lived without humanity or control of law. They only lived at ease, and surrendered the business and trouble of writing to the more contentious Sophists. Whence then came it to pass that they were believed to be philosophers? It was either from their sayings, from the lives they led, or from the precepts which they taught. Upon these grounds let us take a prospect of Alexander, and we shall soon find him, by what he said, by what he acted, and by the lessons he gave, to be a great philosopher. And first, if you please, consider that which seems the farthest distant of all from the common received opinion, and contrast the disciples of Alexander with the pupils of Plato and Socrates. The latter instructed persons ingenuous, such as speak the same speech, well understanding (if nothing else) the Grecian language. But there were many with whom their precepts did not prevail; for men like Critias, Alcibiades, and Cleitophon threw off their doctrine like a bridle, and followed the conduct of their own inclinations.

On the other side, take a view of Alexander's discipline, and you shall see how he taught the Hyrcanians the conveniency of wedlock, introduced husbandry among the Arachosians, persuaded the Sogdians to preserve and cherish — not to kill — their aged parents; the Persians to reverence and honor — not to marry — their mothers. Most admirable philosophy! which induced the Indians to worship the Grecian deities, and wrought upon the Scythians to bury their deceased friends, not to feed upon their carcasses. We admire the power of Carneades's eloquence, for forcing the Carthaginian Clitomachus, called Asdrubal before, to embrace the Grecian customs. No less we wonder at the prevailing reason of Zeno, by whom the Babylonian Diogenes was charmed into the love of philosophy. Yet no sooner had Alexander subdued Asia,

than Homer became an author in high esteem, and the Persian, Susian, and Gedrosian youth sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. Among the Athenians, Socrates, introducing foreign deities, was condemned to death at the prosecution of his accusers. But Alexander engaged both Bactria and Caucasus to worship the Grecian gods, which they had never known before. Lastly, Plato, though he proposed but one single form of a commonwealth, could never persuade any people to make use of it, by reason of the austerity of his government. But Alexander, building above seventy cities among the barbarous nations, and as it were sowing the Grecian customs and constitutions all over Asia, quite weaned them from their former wild and savage manner of living. The laws of Plato here and there a single person may peradventure study, but myriads of people have made and still make use of Alexander's. And they whom Alexander overcame were more greatly blessed than they who fled his conquests. For these had none to deliver them from their ancient state of misery; the others the victor compelled to better fortune. True therefore was that expression of Themistocles, when he was a fugitive from his native country, and the king entertained him with sumptuous presents, assigning him three stipendiary cities to supply his table, one with bread, a second with wine, a third with all manner of costly viands; Ah! young men, said he, had we not got the worst, we had surely been worse. It may, however, be more justly averred of those whom Alexander subdued, had they not been vanquished, they had never been civilized. Egypt had not vaunted her Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia her Seleucia; Sogdiana had not gloried in her Prothasia, nor the Indians boasted their Bucephalia, nor Caucasus its neighboring Grecian city; by the founding of all which barbarism became extinct and custom changed the worse into better.

If then philosophers assume to themselves their highest applause for cultivating the most fierce and rugged conditions of men, certainly Alexander is to be acknowledged the chiefest of philosophers, who changed the wild and brutish customs of so many various nations, reducing them to order and government.

It is true indeed that the so-much-admired commonwealth of Zeno, first author of the Stoic sect, aims singly



at this, that neither in cities nor in towns we should live under laws distinct one from another, but that we should look upon all men in general to be our fellow-countrymen and citizens, observing one manner of living and one kind of order, like a flock feeding together with equal right in one common pasture. This Zeno wrote, fancying to himself, as in a dream, a certain scheme of civil order, and the image of a philosophical commonwealth. But Alexander made good his words by his deeds; for he did not, as Aristotle counselled him, rule the Grecians like a moderate prince and insult over the barbarians like an absolute tyrant; nor did he take particular care of the first as his friends and domestics, and scorn the latter as mere brutes and vegetables; which would have filled his empire with fugitive incendiaries and perfidious tumults. But believing himself sent from heaven as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and subduing those by force whom he could not associate to himself by fair offers, he labored thus, that he might bring all regions, far and near, under the same dominion. And then, as in a festival goblet, mixing men, manners, customs, wedlock, all together, he ordained that every one should take the whole habitable world for his country, of which his camp and army should be the chief metropolis and garrison; that his friends and kindred should be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious only should be accounted foreigners. Nor would he that Greeks and barbarians should be distinguished by long garments, targets, scimitars, or turbans; but that the Grecians should be known by their virtue and courage, and the barbarians by their vices and their cowardice; and that their habit, their diet, their marriage and custom of converse, should be everywhere the same, engaged and blended together by the ties of blood and pledges of offspring.

Therefore it was that Demaratus the Corinthian, an acquaintance and friend of Philip, when he beheld Alexander in Susa, bursting into tears of more than ordinary joy, bewailed the deceased Greeks, who, as he said, had been bereaved of the greatest blessing on earth, for that they had not seen Alexander sitting upon the throne of Darius. Though most assuredly, for my part, I do not envy the beholders this show, which was only a thing of chance and a happiness of more ordinary kings. But I

would gladly have been a spectator of those majestic and sacred nuptials, when, after he had betrothed together a hundred Persian brides and a hundred Macedonian and Greek bridegrooms, he placed them all at one common table within the compass of one pavilion embroidered with gold, as being all of the same family; and then, crowned with a nuptial garland, and being himself the first to sing an epithalamium in honor of the conjunction between two of the greatest and most potent nations in the world, of only one the bridegroom, of all the bridegroom, father, and moderator, he caused the several couples to be severally married. Had I but beheld this sight, ecstasied with pleasure I should have then cried out: "Barbarous and stupid Xerxes, how vain was all thy toil to cover the Hellespont with a floating bridge! Thus rather wise and prudent princes join Asia to Europe. They join and fasten nations together not with boards or planks, or surging brigandines, not with inanimate and insensible bonds, but by the ties of legitimate love, chaste nuptials, and the infallible gage of progeny."

But then, when he considered the Eastern garments, Alexander preferred the Persian before the Median habit, though much the meaner and more frugal of the two. Therefore rejecting the gaudy and scenical ornament of barbarian gallantry, such as were the tiara and candys, together with the upper breeches, according to the report of Eratosthenes, he ordered a mixture of the Macedonian and Persian modes to be observed in all the garments which he wore. As a philosopher, he contented himself with mediocrity; but as the common chieftain of both and as a mild and affable prince, he was willing to gain the affection of the vanquished by the esteem which he showed to the mode of the country; that so they might continue the more steadfast and loyal to the Macedonians, not hating them as their enemies, but loving them as their own princes and rulers. This behavior was contrary to that of persons insipid and puffed up with prosperity, who wedded to their own humors admire the single colored robe but cannot endure the tunic bordered with purple, or else are well pleased with the latter and hate the former, like young children, in love with the mode in which, as another nurse, their country's custom first apparelled them. And yet we see that they who hunt wild beasts clothe

themselves with their hairy skins; and fowlers make use of feathered jerkins; nor are others less wary how they show themselves to wild bulls in scarlet or to elephants in white; for those creatures are provoked and enraged at the sight of these colors. If then this potent monarch, designing to reclaim and civilize stubborn and warlike nations, took the same method to soften and allay their inbred fury which others take with wild beasts, and at length brought them to be tame and tractable by making use of their familiar habits and by submitting to their customary course of life, thereby removing animosity from their breasts and sour looks from their countenances, shall we censure his management; or rather must we not admire the wisdom of him who by so minor a change of apparel ruled all Asia, subduing their bodies with his arms and vanquishing their minds with his habit? It is a strange thing; we applaud Socratic Aristippus, because, being sometimes clad in a poor threadbare cloak, sometimes in a Milesian robe, he kept a decency in both; but they censure Alexander, because he gave some respect to the garb and mode of those whom he had vanquished, as well as to that of his native country; not considering that he was laying the foundation of vast achievements. It was not his design to ransack Asia like a robber, or to despoil and ruin it, as the prey and rapine of unexpected good fortune, as later on Hannibal pillaged Italy, and before him the Treres ravaged Ionia and the Scythians harassed Media,—but to subdue all the kingdoms of the earth under one form of government, and to make one nation of all mankind. So that if the same deity which hither sent the soul of Alexander had not too soon recalled it, one law would have overlooked all the world, and one form of justice had been as it were the common light of one universal government; while now that part of the earth which Alexander never saw remains without a sun.

Thus, in the first place, the very scope and aim of Alexander's expedition speaks him a philosopher, as one that sought not to win for himself luxurious splendor or riches, but to establish concord, peace, and mutual community among all men.

Next, let us consider his sayings, seeing that the souls of other kings and potentates reveal their conditions and

inclinations by their expressions. Antigonus the Aged, having heard a certain poet sing before him a short treatise concerning justice, said, Thou art a fool to mention justice to me, when thou seest me thundering down the cities belonging to other people about their ears. Dionysius the Tyrant was wont to say that children were to be cheated with dice, but men with oaths. Upon the monument of Sardanapalus this inscription is to be seen:—

All I did eat, and all that lust  
To me vouchsafed, I have.

What now can a man say of these apothegms, but that the first denotes injustice and immoderate desire of sovereignty; the next impiety; and the third sensual passions? But as for the sayings of Alexander, set aside his diadem, his claimed descent from Ammon, and the nobility of his Macedonian extraction, and you would believe them to have been the sayings of Socrates, Plato, or Pythagoras. For we omit the swelling hyperboles of flattery which poets have inscribed under his images and statues, studying rather to extol the power of Alexander than his moderation and temperance; as, for example,—

The statue seems to look to Jove and say,  
Have thou Olympus; under me I place the Earth!

and that other,—

This is Alexander the son of Jove.

But these, as I said, were only the flashes of poetic adulation magnifying his good success. Let us therefore come to such sentences as were really uttered by Alexander himself, beginning first with the early blossoms of his childhood.

It is well known that for swiftness in running he exceeded all that were of his years; for which reason some of his most familiar playfellows would have persuaded him to show himself at the Olympic games. He asked them whether there were any kings to contend with him. And when they replied that there were none, he said, The contest then is unequal, for I can be the victor only over private men, while they may conquer a king.

His father, King Philip, being run through the thigh in a battle against the Triballi, and, though he escaped the danger, being not a little troubled at the deformity of his limping; Be of good cheer, father, said he, and show yourself in public, that you may be reminded of your bravery at every step.

Are not these the products of a mind truly philosophical, which by an inspired inclination to what is noble already contemns the disfigurings of the body? Nor can we otherwise believe but that he himself gloried in his own wounds, which every time he beheld them called to his remembrance the vanquished nation and the victory, what cities he had taken, what kings had surrendered themselves; never striving to conceal or cover those indelible characters and scars of honor, which he always carried about him as the engraven testimonies of his virtue and fortitude.

Then again, if any dispute arose or judgment were to be given upon any of Homer's verses, either in the schools or at meals, this that follows he always preferred above the rest, —

Both a good king, and far renowned in war;<sup>1</sup>

believing that the praise which another by precedency of time had anticipated was to be a law also to himself, and declaring that Homer in the same verse had extolled the fortitude of Agamemnon and prophesied of Alexander's. Crossing therefore the Hellespont, he viewed the city of Troy, revolving in his mind the heroic acts of antiquity. At this time one of the chief citizens proffering to him Paris's harp, if he pleased to accept it; I need it not, said he, for I have that with which Achilles pleased himself already,

When he the mighty deeds of heroes sung,  
Whose fame so loudly o'er the world has rung;<sup>2</sup>

but as for Paris, his soft and effeminate harmony was devoted only to the pleasures of amorous courtship. Now it is part of a true philosopher's soul to love wisdom and chiefly to admire wise men; and this was Alexander's

<sup>1</sup> Il. III. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Il. IX. 189.

praise beyond all other princes. His high esteem for his master Aristotle we have already mentioned. No less honor did he give to Anaxarchus the musician, whom he favored as one of his choicest friends. To Pyrrhon the Elean, the first time he saw him, he gave a thousand crowns in gold. To Xenocrates, the companion of Plato, he sent an honorary present of fifty talents. Lastly, it is recorded by several that he made Onesicratus, the disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, chief of his pilots. But when he came to speak with Diogenes himself at Corinth, he was struck in such a manner with wonder and astonishment at the life and sententious learning of the person, that frequently calling him to mind he was wont to say, Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. That is, I would have devoted myself to the study of words, had I not been a philosopher in deeds. He did not say, "Were I not a king, I would be Diogenes; nor, Were I not wealthy, an Argeades. For he did not prefer fortune before wisdom, nor the purple robe or regal diadem before the beggar's wallet and threadbare mantle; but he said, Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. That is, —

"Had I not designed to intermix barbarians and Greeks and to civilize the earth as I marched forward, and had I not proposed to search the limits of sea and land, and so, extending Macedon to the land-bounding ocean, to have sown Greece in every region all along and to have diffused justice and peace over all nations, I would not have sat yawning upon the throne of slothful and voluptuous power, but would have labored to imitate the frugality of Diogenes. But now pardon us, Diogenes. We follow the example of Hercules, we emulate Perseus, and tread in the footsteps of Bacchus, our divine ancestor and founder of our race; once more we purpose to settle the victorious Greeks in India, and once more to put those savage mountaineers beyond Caucasus in mind of their ancient Bacchanalian revels. There, by report, live certain people professing a rigid and austere philosophy, and more frugal than Diogenes, as going altogether naked; pious men, governed by their own constitutions and devoted wholly to God. They have no occasion for scrip or wallet, for they never lay up provision, having always fresh and new gathered from the earth. The rivers afford them drink, and at night they rest upon the grass and the leaves that fall

from the trees. By our means shall they know Diogenes, and Diogenes them. But it behooves us also, as it were, to make a new coin, and to stamp a new face of Grecian civility upon the barbarian metal."

Tell me now; can such generous acts of Alexander as these be thought to speak the spontaneous favors of Fortune, only an impetuous torrent of success and strength of hand? Do they not rather demonstrate much of fortitude and justice, much of mildness and temperance, in one who conducted all things with decorum and consideration, with a sober and intelligent judgment? Not that I (believe me) go about to distinguish between the several acts of Alexander, and to ascribe this to fortitude, that to humanity, another to temperance; but I take every act to be an act of all the virtues mixed together. This is conformable to that Stoic sentence, "What a wise man does he does by the impulse of all the virtues together; only one particular virtue seems to head every action, and calling the rest to her assistance drives on to the end proposed." Therefore we may behold in Alexander a warlike humanity, a meek fortitude, a liberality poised with good husbandry, anger easily appeased, chaste amours, a busy relaxation of mind, and labor not wanting recreation. Who ever like him mixed festivals with combats, revels and jollity with expeditions, nuptials and bacchanals with sieges and difficult attempts? To those that offended against the law who more severe? To the unfortunate who more pitiful? To those that made resistance who more terrible? To prisoners who more merciful? This gives me an occasion to insert here the saying of Porus. For he being brought a captive before Alexander, and being asked by Alexander how he expected to be treated, Royally, said he, O Alexander. And being further asked whether he desired no more, he replied, Nothing; for all things are comprehended in that word "royally." And for my part, I know not how to give a greater applause to the actions of Alexander, than by adding the word "philosophically," for in that word all other things are included. Being ravished with the beauty of Roxana, the child of Oxyarthes, dancing among the captive ladies, he never assailed her with injurious lust, but married her philosophically. Beholding Darius stuck to the heart with several arrows, he did not presently sacrifice to the gods or sing

triumphal songs to hail the close of so long a war, but unclasping his own cloak from his shoulders he threw it over the dead corpse philosophically, as it were to cover the shame of royal calamity. Another time, as he was perusing a private letter sent him by his mother, he observed Hephæstion, who was sitting by him, to read it along with him, little understanding what he did. For which unwary act Alexander forbore to reprove him; only clapping his signet to his mouth, he thus kindly admonished him that his lips were then sealed up to silence by the friendly confidence which he reposed in him, — all this philosophically. And indeed if these were not acts done philosophically, where shall we find them?

Let us contrast with his some few actions of those who are by all allowed to be philosophers. Socrates yielded to the lustful embraces of Alcibiades. Alexander, when Philoxenus, governor of the sea-coasts, wrote to him concerning an Ionian lad that had not his equal for youthful beauty, and desired to know whether he should be sent to him or not, returned him this nipping answer: Vilest of men, when wast thou ever privy to any desires of mine, that thou shouldst think to flatter me with these abhorred allurements? We admire the abstinency of Xenocrates for refusing the gift of fifty talents which Alexander sent him; but do we take no notice of the munificence of the giver? Or is the bountiful person not to be thought as much a contemner of money as he that refuses it? Xenocrates needed not riches, by reason of his philosophy; but Alexander wanted wealth, by reason of the same philosophy, that he might be more liberal to such persons. . . . How often has Alexander borne witness to this in the midst of a thousand dangers? It is true, we believe that it is in the power of all men to judge rightly of things; for nature guides us of herself to virtue and bravery. But herein philosophers excel all others, since they have by education acquired a fixed and solid judgment to encounter whatever dangers they meet with. For most men have no such maxims to protect them as this in Homer, —

Without a sign his sword the brave man draws,  
And needs no omen but his country's cause.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II. XII. 243.



And that other of Demosthenes, —

Death is the certain end of all mankind.<sup>1</sup>

But sudden apparitions of imminent danger many times break our resolutions; and the fancy troubled with the imagination of approaching peril chases away true judgment from her seat. For fear not only astonishes the memory, according to the saying of Thucydides,<sup>2</sup> but it dissipates all manner of consideration, sense of honor, and resolution; while philosophy binds and keeps them together. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes on the Crown, p. 258, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. II. 87.

THE SECOND ORATION OF PLUTARCH CONCERNING THE FORTUNE, OR VIRTUE, OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

WE forgot in our yesterday's discourse to tell you, that the age wherein Alexander flourished had the happiness to abound in sciences and in persons of transcending natural endowments. Yet this is not to be ascribed to Alexander's but their own good fortune, which favored them with such a judge and such a spectator of their particular excellencies as was both able rightly to discern and liberally to reward their understood deserts. Therefore it is recorded of Arcestratus, born some ages after, an elegant poet but buried in his own extreme poverty, that a certain person meeting him said, Hadst thou but lived when Alexander lived, for every verse he would have gratified thee with an island of Cyprus or a territory fair as that of Phœnicia. Which makes me of opinion that those former famous artists and soaring geniuses may not so properly be said to have lived in the time of Alexander as by Alexander. For as the temperature of the season and limpid thinness of the surrounding air produce plenty of grain and fruit; so the favor, the encouragement, and benignity of a prince increase the number of aspiring geniuses, and advance perfection in sciences. And on the other side, by the envy, covetousness, and moroseness of those in power, whatever soars to the height of true bravery or invention is utterly quelled and extinguished. Therefore it is reported of Dionysius the Tyrant that, being pleased with the music of a certain player on a harp, he promised him a talent for his reward; but when the musician claimed his promise the next day, Yesterday, said he, by thee delighted, while thou sangest before me, I gave thee likewise the pleasure of thy hopes; and thence immediately didst thou receive the reward of thy delightful pastime, enjoying at the same time the charming expectation of my promise. In like manner Alexander tyrant of the

Pheræans (for it behooves us to distinguish him by that addition, lest we should dishonor his namesake), sitting to see a tragedy, was so affected with admiration at the acting, that he found himself moved to a more than ordinary compassion. Upon which, leaping suddenly from his seat, as he hastily flung out of the theatre, How poor and mean it would look, said he, if I, that have massacred so many of my own citizens and subjects, should be seen here weeping at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Polyxena! And it was an even lay but that he had punished the tragedian for having mollified his cruel and merciless disposition, like iron softened by fire. Timotheus also, singing to Archelaus who seemed too parsimonious in remuneration, frequently upbraided him with the following sarcasm:—

Base earth-bred silver thou admirest.

To whom Archelaus not unwittily reparteed,—

But thou dost beg it.

Ateas, king of the Scythians, having taken Ismenias the musician prisoner, commanded him to play during one of his royal banquets. And when all the rest admired and applauded his harmony, Ateas swore that the neighing of a horse was more delightful to his ears. So great a stranger was he to the habitations of the Muses; as one whose soul lodged always in his stables, fitter however to listen to asses bray than horses neigh. Therefore, among such kings, what progress or advancement of noble sciences or esteem for learning can be expected? And surely no more can be expected from such as are rivals, who therefore persecute real artists with all the hatred and malice imaginable. In the number of these was Dionysius before mentioned, who condemned Philoxenus the poet to labor in the quarries, because, being by the tyrant commanded only to revise a tragedy by him written, he struck out every line from the beginning to the end. Nay, I must needs say that Philip, who became a student not till his latter years, in these things descended beneath himself. For it being once his chance to enter into a dispute about sounds with a musician whom he thought he had foiled in his art, the person modestly and with a smile replied, May never so

great a misfortune befall thee, O King, as to understand these things better than I do.

But Alexander, well considering of what persons and things it became him to be the hearer and spectator, and with whom to contend and exercise his strength, made it his business to excel all others in the art of war, and according to Æschylus, to be

A mighty warrior, terrible to his foes.

For having learned this art from his ancestors, the Æacidæ and Hercules, he gave to other arts their due honor and esteem without the least emulation; embracing and favoring what was in them noble and elegant, but never suffering himself to be carried away with the pleasure of being a practitioner in any. In his time flourished the two tragedians, Thessalus and Athenodorus, who contending for the prize, the Cyprian kings supplied the charges of the theatre, and the judges were to be the most renowned captains of the age. But at length Athenodorus being adjudged the victor; I could have wished, said Alexander, rather to have lost a part of my kingdom than to have seen Thessalus vanquished. Yet he neither interceded with the judges nor anywhere disapproved or blamed the judgment; believing it became him to be superior to all others, only to submit to justice. To the comedian Lyco of Scarphe, who had inserted into one of his scenes certain verses in the nature of a begging petition, he gave ten talents, laughing heartily at the conceit. Aristonicus was in the number of the most famous musicians of those times. This man being slain in battle, strenuously fighting to assist and save his friend, Alexander commanded his statue to be made in brass and set up in the temple of Pythian Apollo, holding his harp in one hand and his spear upright in the other, not only in memory of the person, but in honor of music itself, as inciting to fortitude and inspiring those who are rightly and generously bred to it with a kind of supernatural courage and bravery.

Even Alexander himself, when Antigenides played before him in the Harmatian mood, was so transported and warmed for battle by the charms of lofty airs, that leaping from his seat all in his clattering armor he began to lay about him and strike at those who stood next him, thereby

verifying to the Spartans what was commonly sung among themselves,—

The masculine touches of the well-tuned lyre  
Unsheathe the sword and warlike rage inspire.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, there were also Apelles the painter and Lysippus the statuary both living under the reign of Alexander. The first of which painted him grasping Jupiter's thunderbolt in his hand, so cleverly and in such lively colors, that it was said of the two Alexanders that Philip's was invincible, but Apelles's inimitable. Lysippus, when he had finished the first statue of Alexander looking up with his face to the sky (as Alexander was wont to, with his neck slightly bent), not improperly added to the pedestal the following lines:—

The statue seems to look to Jove and say,  
Have thou Olympus; under me I'll place the Earth!

For which Alexander gave to Lysippus the sole patent for making all his statues; because he alone expressed in brass the vigor of his mind, and in his lineaments represented the lustre of his virtue; while others, who strove to imitate the turning of his neck and mildness and brightness of his eyes, failed to observe the manliness and lion-like fierceness of his countenance.

Among the great artists of that time was Stasicrates, who never studied elegance nor what was sweet and alluring to the eye, but only bold and lofty workmanship and design, becoming the munificence of royal bounty. He attended upon Alexander, and found fault with all the paintings, sculptures, and cast figures that were made of his person, as the works of mean and slothful artificers. "But I," said he, "will undertake to fix the likeness of thy body on matter incorruptible, such as has eternal foundations and a ponderosity steadfast and immovable. For the mountain Athos in Thrace, where it rises largest and most conspicuous, having a just symmetry of breadth and height, with members, limbs, and distances answerable to the shape of the human body, may be so wrought and formed as to be, not only in imagination and fancy but really, the effigy and statue of Alexander; with feet reach-

<sup>1</sup> Alcman, Frag. 27.

ing to the seas, grasping in his left hand a fair and populous city, and with his right pouring forth an ever-flowing river into the ocean from a bowl, as an everlasting drink-offering. But as for gold, brass, ivory, wood, colored figures, and little wax images, toys which may be bought or stolen, I despise them all." When Alexander heard this discourse, he admired and praised the spirit and confidence of the artist; "But," said he, "let Athos alone; for it is sufficient that it is the monument of the vanquished folly and presuming pride of one king already. Our portraiture the snowy Caucasus, and towering Emodon, Tanais, and the Caspian Sea shall draw. They shall remain eternal monuments of our renown."

But grant that so vast an undertaking should have been brought to perfection; is there any person living, do ye think, that would have believed such a figure, such a form, and so great a design, to be the spontaneous and accidental production of fantastic Nature? Certainly, not one. What may we think of the statue representing him grasping thunder, and that other with his spear in his hand? Is it possible that a Colossus of a statue should ever be made by Fortune without the help of art; nay, though she should profusely afford all the materials imaginable of gold, brass, ivory, or any other substance whatever? Much less, is it probable that so great a personage, and indeed the greatest of all who have ever lived, should be the workmanship of Fortune without the assistance of virtue? And all this, perhaps, because she has made him the potent master of arms, horses, money, and wealthy cities? — which he who knows not how to use shall rather find to be destructive and dangerous than aids to advance his power and magnificence, as showing proofs of his weakness and pusillanimity. Noble therefore was the saying of Antisthenes, that we ought to wish an enemy all things beneficial to mankind save fortitude; for so these blessings will belong not to their possessors but to the conqueror. Therefore it was, they say, that Nature provided for the hart, one of the most timorous of creatures, such large and branchy horns, to teach us that strength and weapons nothing avail where conduct and courage are wanting. In like manner, Fortune frequently bestowing wealth and empire upon princes simple and faint-hearted, who blemish their dignity by misgovernment, dignifies

and more firmly establishes virtue, as being that which alone makes a man most truly beautiful and majestic. For indeed, according to Epicharmus,

'Tis the mind only sees, the mind  
That hears; the rest are deaf and blind.

For as for the senses, they seem only to have their proper opportunities to act.

But that the mind alone is that which gives both assistance and ornament, the mind that overcomes, that excels, and acts the kingly part, while those other blind, deaf, and inanimate things do but hinder, depress, and disgrace the possessors void of virtue, is easily made manifest by experience. For Semiramis, but a woman, set forth great navies, raised mighty armies, built Babylon, covered the Red Sea with her fleets and subdued the Ethiopians and Arabians. On the other side, Sardanapalus possessing the same power and dominion, though born a man, spent his time at home combing purple wool, lying among his harlots in a lascivious posture upon his back, with his heels higher than his head. After his decease, they made for him a statue of stone, resembling a woman dancing, who seemed to snap with her fingers as she held them over her head, with this inscription, —

Eat, drink, indulge thy lust; all other things are nothing.

Whence it came to pass that Crates, seeing the golden statue of Phryne the courtesan standing in the temple of Delphi, cried out, There stands a trophy of the Grecian luxury. But had he viewed the life or rather burial (for I find but little difference) of Sardanapalus, would he have imagined that statue to have been a trophy of Fortune's indulgences? Shall we suffer the fortune of Alexander to be sullied by the touch of Sardanapalus, or endure that the latter should challenge the majesty and prowess of the former? For what did Sardanapalus enjoy through her favor, more than other princes receive at her hands — arms, horses, weapons, money, and guards of the body? Let Fortune, with all these assistances, make Aridæus famous, if she can; let her, if she can, advance the renown of Ochus, Amasis, Oarses, Tigranes the Armenian, or Nicomedes the Bithynian. Of which last two, the one, casting

his diadem at Pompey's feet, ignominiously surrendered up his kingdom a prey to the victor; and as for Nicomedes, he, after he had shaved his head and put on the cap of liberty, acknowledged himself no more than a freed vassal of the Roman people.

Rather let us therefore affirm that Fortune makes her favorites little, poor-spirited, and pusillanimous cowards. But it is not just to ascribe vice to misfortune, fortitude and wisdom to prosperity. Fortune indeed was herself given distinction by Alexander's reign; for in him she appeared illustrious, invincible, magnanimous, merciful, and just. Insomuch that after his decease Leosthenes likened this vast bulk of power — wandering as in a mist, and sometimes violently rushing one part against the other — to the giant Cyclops, who after he had lost his eye went feeling and groping about with his hands before him, not knowing where to place them. So strangely did that vast pile of dominion roll and tumble about in the dark of confusion, when shattered into anarchy by the loss of its supreme head. Or rather, as dead bodies, when the soul takes her flight, no longer grow together, no longer act together, but are broken up and destroyed, and finally disappear; thus Alexander's empire, wanting his enlivening conduct, panted, gasped, and boiled with fever, struggling with Perdicas, Meleager, Seleucus, and Antigonus, — as with spirits still remaining hot, and with irregular and intermittent pulses, — till at length, totally corrupted and expiring, it produced a sort of degenerate kings and faint-hearted princes, like so many worms. This he himself seemed to prophesy, reproving Hephæstion for quarrelling with Craterus: What power, said he, or signal achievement couldst thou pretend to, should any one deprive thee of thy Alexander? The same will I be bold to say to the Fortune of that time: Where would have been thy grandeur, where thy glory, where thy vast empire, thy invincibility, should any one have bereaved thee of thy Alexander? — that is, should any one have deprived thee of thy skill and dexterity in war, thy magnificence in expense, thy moderation in the midst of so much affluence, thy prowess in the field, thy meekness to the vanquished? Frame, if thou canst, another piece like him, that missing all his noble qualities shall neither be magnificently liberal nor foremost in battle, that shall not regard nor esteem his



friends, that shall not be compassionate to his captives, that shall not moderate his pleasures, that shall not be watchful to take all opportunities, whom victory shall make inexorable and prosperity insolent; and try if thou canst make him another Alexander. What ruler ever obtained renown by folly and improbity? Separate virtue from the fortunate, and he everywhere appears little;— among those that deserve his bounty, for his close-handed illiberality; among the laborious, for his effeminacy; among the gods, for his superstition; among the good, for his envious conditions; among men, for his cowardice; among women, for his inordinate lust. For as unskilful workmen, erecting small figures upon huge pedestals, betray the slightness of their own understandings; so Fortune, when she brings a person of a poor and narrow soul upon the stage of weighty and glorious actions, does but expose and disgrace him, as a person whom the vanity of his own ill conduct has rendered worthless.

So that true grandeur does not consist in the possession but in the use of noble means. For new-born infants frequently inherit their father's kingdoms and empires. Such an one was Charillus, whom Lycurgus carried in his swaddling-bands to the public table, and resigning his own authority proclaimed king of Lacedæmon. Yet was not the infant thereby the more famous, but he who surrendered to the infant his paternal right, scorning fraud and usurpation. But who could make Aridæus great, whom Meleager seated in Alexander's throne, differing from a child only in being swaddled in purple? Prudently done, that so in a few days it might appear how men govern by virute, and how by fortune. For after the true prince who swayed the empire, he brought in a mere player; or rather he produced the empty diadem of the habitable world on the stage.

Women may bear the burden of a crown,  
When a renowned commander puts it on.<sup>1</sup>

Yet some may say, it is not impossible for women and children to confer dignity, riches, and empire upon others. Thus the eunuch Bagoas took the diadem of Persia, and set it upon the head of Oarses and Darius. But for a man

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, Knights, 1056.

to take upon him the burden of a vast dominion, and so to manage his ponderous affairs as not to suffer himself to sink and be overwhelmed under the immense weight of wakeful cares and incessant labor, that is the character which signalizes a person endued with virtue, understanding, and wisdom. All these royal qualities Alexander had, whom some accuse of being given to wine. But he was a really great man, who was always sober in the heat of action and never drunk with the pride of his conquests and vast power; while others intoxicated with the smallest part of his prosperity have ceased to be masters of themselves. For, as the poet sings, —

The vainer sort, that view their heaps of gold,  
Or else advanced at court high places hold,  
Grow wanton with those unexpected showers  
That Fortune on their happy greatness pours.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Clitus, having sunk some three or four of the Grecian galleys near the island Amorgus, called himself Neptune and carried a trident. So Demetrius, to whom Fortune vouchsafed a small portion of Alexander's power, assumed the title of Kataibates (as if descended from heaven), to whom the several cities sent their ambassadors, by the name of god-consulters, and his determinations were called oracles. Lysimachus, having made himself master of some part of the skirts of Alexander's empire, viz., the region about Thrace, swelled to such excess of pride and vain-glory as to break forth into this ranting expression: Now the Byzantines make their addresses to me, because I touch heaven with my spear. At which words, Pasiades of Byzantium being then present said, Let us be gone, lest he pierce heaven with the point of his lance.

What shall we, in the next place, think of those who dared, as imitators of Alexander, to have high thoughts of themselves? Clearchus, having made himself tyrant of Heraclea, carried a sceptre like that of Jupiter's in his hand, and named one of his sons Thunderbolt. Dionysius the Younger called himself the son of Apollo in this inscription: —

The son of Doris, yet from Phœbus sprung.

His father put to death above ten thousand of his subjects, betrayed his brother out of envy to his enemies, and

<sup>1</sup> From the Erechtheus of Euripides.

not enduring to expect the natural death of his mother, at that time very aged, caused her to be strangled, writing in one of his tragedies, —

For tyranny of injustice is the mother.

Yet after all this, he named one of his daughters Virtue, another Temperance, and a third Justice. Others there were that assumed the titles of benefactors, others of glorious conquerors, others of preservers, and others usurped the title of great and magnificent. But should we go about to recount their promiscuous marriages like horses, their continual herding among impudent and lawless women, their contaminations of boys, their drumming among effeminate eunuchs, their perpetual gaming, their piping in theatres, their nocturnal revels, and days consumed in riot, it would be a task too tedious to undertake.

As for Alexander, he breakfasted by break of day, always sitting; and supped at the shutting in of the evening; he drank when he had sacrificed to the gods. With his friend Medius he played for diversion when he was convalescent from a fever. He also played upon the road as he marched, learning between whiles to throw a dart and leap from his chariot. He married Roxana merely for love; but Statira, the daughter of Darius, upon the account of state-policy, for such a conjunction of both nations strengthened his conquest. At to the other Persian women, he was superior to them in chastity and continence as far as he surpassed the men in valor. He never desired the sight of any virgin that was unwilling; and those he saw, he regarded less than if he had not seen them; mild and affable to all others, proud and lofty only to fair youth. As for the wife of Darius, a woman most beautiful, he never would endure to hear a word spoken in commendation of her features. When she was dead, he graced her funeral with such a regal pomp, and bewailed her death so piteously, that his benevolence cast discredit upon his chastity, and his very courtesy incurred the stigma of injustice. Indeed, Darius himself had been moved with suspicion at first, when he thought of the power and the youth of the conqueror; for he was one of those who thought Alexander to be only the darling of Fortune. But when he understood the truth,

"Well," said he, "I do not yet perceive the condition of the Persians so deplorable, since the world can never tax us now with imbecility or effeminacy, whose fate it was to be vanquished by such a person. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and that he may be still victorious in war; to the end that in well-doing I may surpass Alexander. For my emulation and ambition lead me in point of honor to show myself more cordial and friendly than he. If then the Fates have otherwise determined as to me and mine, O Jupiter preserver of the Persians, and you, O deities, to whom the care of kings belongs, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but Alexander to sit upon the throne of Cyrus." This was the manner in which Darius adopted Alexander, after he had called the gods to witness the act.

So true it is that virtue is the victor still. But now, if you please, let us ascribe to Fortune Arbela and Cilicia, and those other acts of main force and violence; say that Fortune thundered down the walls of Tyre, and that Fortune opened the way into Egypt. Believe that by Fortune Halicarnassus fell, Miletus was taken, Mazæus left Euphrates unguarded, and the Babylonian fields were strewn with the carcasses of the slain. Yet was not his prudence the gift of Fortune, nor his temperance. Neither did Fortune, as it were empaling his inclinations, preserve him impregnable against his pleasures or invulnerable against the assaults of his fervent desires. These were the weapons with which he overthrew Darius. Fortune's advantages, if so they may be called, were only the fury of armed men and horses, battles, slaughters, and flights of routed adversaries. But the great and most undoubted victory which Darius lost was this, that he was forced to yield to virtue, magnanimity, prowess, and justice, while he beheld with admiration his conqueror, who was not to be overcome by pleasure or by labor, nor to be matched in liberality.

True, it is that among the throngs of shields and spears, in the midst of war-like shouts and the clashing of weapons, Tarrius the son of Dinomenes, Antigenes the Pellenian, and Philotas the son of Parmenio were invincible; but in respect of their inordinate debauchery, their love of women, their insatiable covetousness, they were nothing superior to the meanest of their captives. For the last of these

vices Tarrias was particularly noted; and when Alexander set the Macedonians out of debt and paid off all their creditors, Tarrias pretended among the rest to owe a great sum of money, and brought a suborned person to demand the sum as due to him; but being discovered, he would have laid violent hands upon himself, had not Alexander forgiven him and ordered him the money, remembering that at the battle of Perinthus fought by Philip, being shot into the eye with a dart, he would not suffer the head of it to be pulled out till the field was clear of the enemy. Antigenes, when the sick and maimed soldiers were to be sent back into Macedon, made suit to be registered down in the number, pretending himself utterly disabled in the wars; which very much troubled Alexander, who was well acquainted with his valor and knew that he wore the scars about him of many a bloody field. But the fraud being detected, that was concealed under some little present infirmity, Alexander asked him the reason of his design; and he answered, he did it for the love of Telesippe, that he might accompany her to the sea, not being able to endure a separation from her. Presently the King demanded to whom the wench belonged, and who was to be approached with in regard to her. To which he replied, she was free from any tie. Well, then, said the King, let us persuade her to stay, if promises or gifts will prevail. So ready was he to pardon the dotages of love in others, so rigorous to himself. But Philotas the son of Parmenio exercised his incontinency after a more offensive manner. Antigona was a Pellæan virgin among the captives taken about Damascus, a prisoner before to Autophradates, who took her going by sea into Samothrace. The beauty of this damsel was such as kept Philotas constant to her embraces. Nay, she had so softened and mellowed this man of steel, I know not how, that he was not master of himself in his enjoyments, but told her the very secrets of his breast; among other things he said: What had Philip been, but for Parmenio? And what would Alexander now be, but for Philotas? What would become of Ammon and the dragons, should we be once provoked? These words Antigona prattled to one of her companions, and she told them to Craterus. Craterus brings Antigona privately to Alexander, who forbore to offer her the least incivility, but by her means piercing into Philotas's

breast, he detected the whole. Yet for seven years after he never discovered so much as the least sign of jealousy, either talking in wine or in anger; nor did he ever disclose it to any friend; even to Hephæstion, from whom he never concealed the most inward of his counsels and designs. For it is said that once, when Alexander had just opened a private letter from his mother and was quietly reading it, Hephæstion looked over his shoulder and began to read it likewise; but Alexander forbore to reprove him, and only took off his signet and clapped it to Hephæstion's mouth.

These recitals may suffice, without being tedious, to show that he exercised his authority according to all the most illustrious and royal methods of government. To which grandeur if he arrived by the assistance of Fortune, he is to be acknowledged the greater, because he made so glorious a use of her. So that the more any man extols his fortune, the more he advances his virtue, which made him worthy of such fortune.

But now I shall return to the beginnings of his advancement and the early dawns of his power, and endeavor to discover what was there the great work of Fortune, which rendered Alexander so great by her assistance. First then, how came it to pass that some neighing barb did not seat him in the throne of Cyrus, free from wounds, without loss of blood, without a toilsome expedition, as formerly it happened to Darius Hystaspes? Or that some one flattered by a woman, as Darius by Atossa, did not deliver up his diadem to him, as the other did to Xerxes, so that the empire of Persia came home to him, even to his own doors? Or why did not some eunuch aid him, as Bagoas did the son of Parysatis, who, only throwing off the habit of a messenger, immediately put on the royal turban? Or why was he not chosen on a sudden and unexpectedly by lot to the empire of the world, as at Athens the lawgivers and rulers are wont to be chosen? Would you know how men come to be kings by Fortune's help? At Argos the whole race of the Heraclidæ happened to be extinct, to whom the sceptre of that kingdom belonged. Upon which consulting the oracle, answer was made to them that an eagle should direct them. Within a few days the eagle appeared towering aloft, but stooping he at length lighted upon Ægon's house; thereupon

Ægon was chosen king. Another time in Paphos, the king that there reigned being an unjust and wicked tyrant, Alexander resolved to dethrone him, and therefore sought out for another, the race of the Kinyradæ seeming to be at an end. They told him there was one yet in being, a poor man and of no account, who lived miserable in a certain garden. Thereupon messengers were sent, who found the poor man watering some few small beds of pot-herbs. The miserable creature was strangely surprised to see so many soldiers about him, but go he must; and so being brought before Alexander in his rags and tatters, he caused him presently to be proclaimed king and clad in purple; which done, he was admitted into the number of those who were called the king's companions. The name of this person of Alynomus. Thus Fortune creates kings suddenly, easily changing the habits and altering the names of those that never expected or hoped for any such thing.

All this while, what favors did Fortune shower upon Alexander but what he merited, what he sweat for, what he bled for? What came gratis? What without the price of great achievements and illustrious actions? He quenched his thirst in rivers mixed with blood; he marched over bridges of slain carcasses; he grazed the fields to satisfy his present hunger; he dug his way to nations covered with snow and cities lying under ground; he made the hostile sea submit to his fleets; and, marching over the thirsty and barren sands of the Gedrosians and Arachosians, he discovered green at sea before he saw it at land. So that if I might use the same liberty of speech for Alexander to Fortune as to a man, I would thus expostulate with her:—

“Insulting Fortune, when and where didst thou make an easy way for Alexander's vast performances? What impregnable rock was ever surrendered to him without a bloody assault, by thy favor? What city didst thou ever deliver unguarded into his hands? Or what unarmed battalion of men? What faint-hearted prince, what negligent captain, or sleepy sentinels did he ever surprise? When didst thou ever befriend him with so much as a fordable river, a mild winter, or an easy summer? Get thee to Antiochus the son of Seleucus, to Artaxerxes the brother of Cyrus. Get thee to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Their fathers

proclaimed them kings in their own lifetime; they won battles which no mothers wept for; they spent their days in festivals, admiring the pomp of shows and theatres; and still more happy, they prolonged their reigns till scarce their feeble hands could wield their sceptres. But if nothing else, behold the body of Alexander wounded by the enemy, mangled, battered, bruised, from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet,

With spears, and swords, and mighty stones.<sup>1</sup>

At the battle of the Granicus his helmet was cleft to his very skull; at Gaza he was wounded in the shoulder with a dart. Among the Maragandi he was shot in the shin so desperately, that the bone of his shank was broken and started out of the skin. In Hyrcania he was struck in the neck with a stone, which caused such a dimness in his eyes that for many days he was in danger of losing his sight. Among the Assaracans he was wounded in the heel with an Indian dart; at which time he thus derided his flatterers with a smiling countenance, saying, This is blood, and no celestial ichor, —

Such stream as issues from a wounded god.<sup>2</sup>

At Issus he was run through the thigh with a sword by Darius (as Chares relates), who encountered him hand to hand. Alexander also himself, writing the truth with all sincerity to Antipater, said, It was my fortune to be wounded with a poniard in the thigh, but no ill symptoms attended it either when it was newly done or afterwards during the cure. Another time, among the Malli he was wounded with an arrow two cubits in length, that went in at his breast and came out at his neck, as Aristobulus relates. Crossing the Tanais against the Scythians and winning the field, he pursued the flying enemy a hundred and fifty furlongs, though at the same time laboring with a dysentery.

“Well contrived, vain Fortune! to advance and aggrandize Alexander by lancing, broaching, boring every part of his body. Not like Minerva, — who, to save Menelaus, directed the dart against the most impenetrable

<sup>1</sup> II. XI. 265.

<sup>2</sup> II. V. 340.



parts of his armor, blunting the force of the weapon with his breastplate, belt, and scarf, so that it only glanced upon his skin, and drew forth two or three drops of blood, — but contrariwise, thou hast exposed his principal parts naked to mischief, driving the wounds through the very bones, rounding every corner of his body, besieging the eyes, undermining the pursuing feet, stopping the torrent of victory, and disappointing the prosecution of noble designs. For my part, I know no prince to whom Fortune ever was more unkind, though she has been envious and severe enough to several. However, other princes she destroyed with a swift and rapid destruction, as with a whirlwind; but in her hatred against Alexander she prolonged her malice, and persisted still implacable and inexorable, as she showed herself to Hercules. For what Typhons and monstrous giants did she not oppose against him? Which of his enemies did she not fortify with store of arms, deep rivers, steep mountains, and the foreign strength of massy elephants? Now had not Alexander been a personage of transcending wisdom, actuated by the impulse of a more than ordinary virtue, but had he been supported only by Fortune, he would have trusted to her as her favorite, and spared himself the labor and the turmoil of ranging so many armies and fighting so many battles, the toil of so many sieges and pursuits, the vexations of revolting nations and haughty princes not enduring the curb of foreign dominion, and all his tedious marches into Bactria, Maracanda, and Sogdiana, among faithless and rebellious nations, who were ever breaking out afresh with new wars, like the Hydra putting forth a new head so soon as one was cut off."

And here I may seem to utter an absurdity, but I will venture to speak it, as being an undoubted truth; that it was by Fortune that he very nearly lost the reputation of being the son of Jupiter Ammon. For who but one sprung from the gods, Hercules excepted, would ever have undertaken and finished those hazardous and toilsome labors which he did? Yet what did Hercules do but terrify lions, pursue wild boars, and scare birds; enjoined thereto by one evil man, that he might not have leisure for those greater actions of punishing Antæus and putting an end to the murders of Busiris. But it was virtue that enjoined Alexander to undertake that godlike

labor, not covetousness of the golden burden of ten thousand camels, not the possession of the Median women or glorious ornaments of Persian luxury, not greediness of the Chalybonian wine or the fish of Hyrcania, but that he might reduce all mankind as it were into one family, under one form of government and the same custom of intercourse and conversation. This love of virtue was thoroughly inbred, and increased and came to maturity as he grew in years; so that once having to entertain the Persian ambassadors in his father's absence, he never asked them any questions that savored of boyish imbecility, — never troubled them to answer any questions about the golden vine, the pendent gardens, or what habit the king wore, — but still desired to be satisfied in the chiefest concerns of the empire, what force the Persians brought into the field, and in what part of the army the king fought; as Ulysses asked,

Where are the magazines of arms? And where  
The barbed steeds provided for the war?<sup>1</sup>

He also inquired which were the nearest roads for them that travelled from the sea up into the country; at all of which the ambassadors were astonished, and said, This youth is a great prince, but ours a rich one. No sooner was Philip interred, but his resolution hurried him to cross the sea; and having already grasped it in his hopes and preparations, he made all imaginable haste to set foot in Asia. But Fortune opposed him, diverted him, and kept him back, creating a thousand vexatious troubles to delay and stop him. First, she contrived the Illyrian and Triballic wars, exciting to hostility the neighboring barbarians. But they, after many dangers run and many terrible encounters, being at length chased even as far as Scythia beyond the river Ister, he returned back to prosecute his first design. But then again spiteful Fortune excited the Thebans against him, and entangled him in the Grecian war, and in the dire necessity of defending himself against his fellow-countrymen and relations with fire and sword and hideous slaughter. Which war being brought to a dreadful end, away he presently crossed into Asia, — as Phylarchus relates, with only

<sup>1</sup> II. X. 407.

thirty days' provision; as Aristobulus reports, with seventy talents, — having before sold and divided among his friends his own revenues and those of his crown. Only Perdicas refused what he offered him, asking him at the same time what he had left for himself. And when Alexander replied, Nothing but hopes, Then, said he, we will be satisfied with the same; for it is not just to accept of thy goods, but we must wait for those of Darius.

What were then the hopes with which Alexander passed into Asia? Not a vast power mustered out of populous cities, nor fleets sailing through mountains; not whips and fetters, the instruments of barbarians' fury, to curb and manacle the sea. But in his small army there was surpassing desire of glory, emulation among those of equal age, and a noble strife to excel in honor and virtue among friends. Then, as for himself, he carried with him all these great hopes, — piety towards the gods, fidelity to his freinds, generous frugality, temperance, beneficence, contempt of death, magnanimity, humanity, decent affability, candid integrity, constancy in counsel, quickness in execution, desire of precedence in honor, and an effectual purpose to follow the steps of virtue. And though Homer, in describing the beauty of Agamemnon, seems not to have observed the rules of decorum or probability in any of his three similitudes, —

Like thundering Jove's, his awful head and eyes  
The gazing crowd with majesty surprise;  
In every part with form celestial graced,  
His breast like Neptune's, and like Mars' his waist; <sup>1</sup>

yet as for Alexander, if his celestial parents formed and composed him of several virtues, may we not conclude that he had the wisdom of Cyrus, the temperance of Agesilaus, the foresight of Themistocles, the skill of Philip, the daring courage of Brasidas, the shrewdness and political instinct of Pericles? Certainly, if we compare him with the most ancient heroes, he was more temperate than Agamemnon, who preferred a captive before his lawful wife, though but newly wedded, while Alexander, before he was legally married, abstained from his prisoners. He was more magnanimous than Achilles, who accepted a

<sup>1</sup> II. II. 478.

small sum of money for the redemption of Hector's dead body, while Alexander spared no expense to adorn the funeral of Darius. Achilles accepted gifts and bribes from his friends, as the atonement of his wrath; Alexander, when once a victor, enriched his enemies. He was much more pious than Diomedes, who scrupled not to fight against the gods, while Alexander ascribed to heaven all his successes. Finally, he was more bewailed of his relations than Ulysses, whose mother died for grief, while the mother of Alexander's enemy, out of affection, bare him company in his death.

In short, if Solon proved so wise a ruler by Fortune, if Miltiades led his armies by Fortune, if Aristides was so renowned for his justice by Fortune, then there is nothing that can be called the work of virtue. Then is virtue only an airy fiction, and a word that passes with some pretence of glory through the life of man, but feigned and magnified by Sophists and lawgivers. But if every one of these whom we have mentioned was wealthy or poor, weak or strong, deformed or beautiful, long or short lived, by Fortune, but made himself a great captain, a great lawgiver, famous for governing kingdoms and commonwealths, by virtue and reason; then in God's name let us compare Alexander with the best of them. Solon by a law made a great abatement upon the payment of the Athenians' private debts, which he called his burden-easing law; Alexander discharged the debts of his Macedonians at his own expense. Pericles, laying a tax upon the Greeks, expended the money in building temples to beautify the citadel of Athens; Alexander sent home ten thousand talents out of the spoils of the barbarians, for the building of temples to the gods all over Greece. Brasidas advanced his fame all over Greece, by breaking through the enemy's army lying encamped by the seaside near Methone; but when you read of that daring jump of Alexander's (so astonishing to the hearers, much more to them that beheld it) when he threw himself from the walls of the Oxydracian metropolis among the thickest of the enemy, assailing him on every side with spears, darts, and swords, tell me where you meet with such an example of matchless prowess, or to what you can compare it but to a gleam of lightning violently flashing from a cloud, and impetuously driven by the wind? Such was the appearance of

Alexander, as he leaped like an apparition to the earth, glittering in his flaming armor. The enemy, at first amazed and struck with horror, retreated and fell back; till seeing him single they came on again with a redoubled force.

Now was this not a great and splendid testimony of Fortune's kindness, to throw him into an inconsiderable and barbarous town, and there to enclose and immure him a prey to worthless enemies? And when his friends made haste to his assistance, to break the scaling-ladders, and to overthrow and cast them down? Of three that got upon the walls and flung themselves down in his defence, endearing Fortune presently despatched one; the other, pierced and struck with a shower of darts, could only be said to live. Without, the Macedonians foamed and filled the air with helpless cries, having no engines at hand. All they could do was to dig down the walls with their swords, tear out the stones with their nails, and almost to rend them out with their teeth. All this while, Alexander, Fortune's favorite, whom she always covered with her protection, like a wild beast entangled in a snare, stood deserted and destitute of all assistance, not laboring for Susa, Babylon, Bactria, or to vanquish the mighty Porus. For to miscarry in great and glorious attempts is no reproach; but so malicious was Fortune, so kind to the barbarians, such a hater of Alexander, that she aimed not only at his life and body, but at bereaving him of his honor and sully-ing his renown. For Alexander's fall had never been so much lamented had he fallen near Euphrates or Hydaspes by the hand of Darius, or by the arms of the Persians fighting with all their might and main in defence of their king, or had he tumbled from the walls of Babylon, and all his hopes together. Thus Pelopidas and Epaminondas fell; whose death was to be ascribed to their virtue, not to such a poor misfortune as this. But what was the singular act of Fortune's favor which we are now inquiring into? What indeed, but in the farthest corner of a barbarous country, on the farther side of a river, within the walls of a miserable village, to pen up and hide the lord and king of the world, that he might there expire shamefully at the hands of barbarians, who should knock him down and overwhelm him with whatever came next to hand? There the first blow he received with a battle-

axe cleft his helmet and entered his skull; at the same time another shot him with an Indian arrow in the breast near one of his paps, the head being four fingers broad and five in length, which, together with the weight of the shaft which projected from the wound, did not a little torment him. But, what was worst of all, while he was thus defending himself from his enemies before him, when he had laid a bold attempter that approached his person sprawling upon the earth with his sword, a slave from a mill close by came behind him, and with a great iron pestle gave him such a bang upon the neck as deprived him for the present both of his senses and his sight. However, his virtue did not yet forsake him, but supplied him still with courage, infusing strength withal and speed into those about him. For Ptolemy, Limnæus, and Leonnatus, and some others who had mounted or passed through the wall, made to his succor, and stood about him like so many bulwarks of his virtue; out of mere affection and kindness to their sovereign exposing their bodies, their faces, and their lives in his defence. For it is not Fortune that overrules men to run the hazard of death for brave princes; but the love of virtue allures them — as natural affection attracts and entices bees — to surround and guard their chief commander.

What person then, at that time beholding in security this strange adventure, would not have confessed that he had seen a desperate combat of Fortune against virtue, and that the barbarians were undeservedly superior through Fortune's help, but that the Greeks resisted beyond imagination through the force of virtue? So that if the barbarians had vanquished, it had been the act of Fortune or of some evil genius or divine retribution; but as the Greeks became the victors, they owed their conquest to their virtue, their prowess, their friendship and fidelity to each other. For these were all the life-guard Alexander had at that time; Fortune having interposed a wall between him and all his other forces, so that neither fleets nor armies, cavalry nor infantry, could stand him in any stead. Therefore the Macedonians routed the barbarians, and buried those that fell under the ruins of their own town. But this little availed Alexander; for he was carried off with the dart sticking in his breast, having now a conflict in his own bowels, while the arrow in his bosom was a kind

of cord, or rather nail, that was driven through his breast-plate and secured it to his body. When they went about to dress him, the forked shape of the iron head would not permit the surgeons to draw it forth from the root of the wound, being fixed in the solid parts of the breast that fortify the heart. Nor durst they attempt to cut away the shaft that stuck out, fearing they should put him to an excess of torment by the motion of the iron in the cleft of the bone, and cause a new flux of blood not easy to be stopped. Alexander, observing their hesitation and delay, endeavored himself with a little knife to cut off the shaft close to the skin; but his hand failed him, being seized with a heavy numbness by reason of the inflammation of the wound. Thereupon he commanded the surgeons and those that stood about him to try the same thing themselves and not to be afraid, giving them all the encouragement he could. Those that wept he upbraided for their weakness; others he called deserters, that refused him their assistance in such a time of need. At length, calling to his friends, he said: Let none of you fear for me; for how shall I believe you to be contemners of death, when you betray yourselves to be afraid of mine?

## ROMAN QUESTIONS.

*Question 1.* Wherefore do the Romans require a new-married woman to touch fire and water?

*Solution.* Is it not for one of these reasons; amongst elements and principles, one is masculine and the other feminine; — one (fire) hath in it the principles of motion, the other (water) hath the faculty of a subject and matter? Or is it because fire refines and water cleanseth, and a married wife ought to continue pure and chaste? Or is it because fire without moisture doth not nourish, but is impotent, and water destitute of heat is barren and sluggish; so both the male and female apart are of no force, but a conjunction of both in marriage completes society? Or is the meaning that they must never forsake each other, but must communicate in every fortune, and although there be no goods, yet they may participate with each other in fire and water?

*Question 2.* Why do they light at nuptials five torches, neither more nor less, which they call waxen tapers?

*Solution.* Whether it be (as Varro saith) that the Prætors use three, but more are permitted to the Ædiles, and married persons do light the fire at the Ædiles' torches? Or is it that, employing many numbers, the odd number was reckoned better and perfecter upon other accounts, and therefore more adapted to matrimony? For the even number admits of division, and the equal parts of opposition and repugnancy, whenas the odd cannot be divided, but being divided into parts leaves always an inequality. The number five is most matrimonial of uneven numbers, for three is the first odd and two is the first even, of which five is compounded, as of male and female.

Or rather, because light is a sign of generation, and it is natural to a woman, for the most part, to bring forth so far as five successively, and therefore they use five torches? Or is it because they suppose that married persons have occasion for five gods, Jovial Jupiter, Jocund Juno,



Venus, Suada, and above all the rest Diana, whom women invoke in their travail and child-bed sickness?

*Question 3.* What is the reason that, seeing there are so many of Diana's temples in Rome, the men refrain going into that only which stands in Patricius Street?

*Solution.* Is it upon the account of the fabulous story, that a certain man, ravishing a woman that was there worshipping the goddess, was torn in pieces by dogs; and hence this superstitious practice arose, that men enter not in?

*Question 4.* Why do they in all other temples of Diana nail up stags' horns against the wall, whereas in that of the Aventine they nail up the horns of cattle?

*Solution.* Was it to put them in mind of an old casualty? For it is said, that among the Sabines one Antro Coratius had a very comely ox, far excelling all others in handsomeness and largeness, and was told by a certain diviner that whoever should offer up it in sacrifice to Diana on the Aventine, his city was determined by fate to be the greatest in the world and have dominion over all Italy. This man came to Rome, with an intention to sacrifice his ox there; but a servant acquainted King Servius privately with this privacy, and the king making it known to Cornelius the priest, Cornelius strictly commands Antro to wash in Tiber before he sacrificed, for the law requires men so to do who would sacrifice acceptably. Wherefore, whilst Antro went to wash, Servius took the opportunity to sacrifice the ox to the goddess, and nailed up the horns to the wall in the temple. These things are storied by Juba and Varro, only Varro hath not described Antro by that name, neither doth he say that the Sabine was hoodwinked by Cornelius the priest, but by the sexton.

*Question 5.* Wherefore is it that those that are falsely reported to be dead in foreign countries, when they return, they receive not by the doors, but getting up to the roof of the house, they let them in that way?

*Solution.* Verily the account which Varro gives of this matter is altogether fabulous. For he saith, in the Sicilian war, when there was a great naval fight, and a very false report was rumored concerning many as if they were slain, all of them returning home in a little time died. But as one of them was going to enter in at his doors,

they shut together against him of their own accord, neither could they be opened by any that attempted it. This man, falling in a sleep before the doors, saw an apparition in his sleep advising him to let himself down from the roof into the house, and doing so, he lived happily and became an old man; and hence the custom was confirmed to after ages. But consider if these things be not conformable to some Greek usages. For they do not esteem those pure nor keep them company nor suffer them to approach their sacrifices, for whom any funeral was carried forth or sepulchre made as if they were dead; and they say that Aristinus, being subjected to this sort of superstition, sent to Delphi to beg and beseech of the god a resolution of the anxieties and troubles which he had by reason of the custom then in force. Pythia answered thus:—

The sacred rites t' which child-bed folks conform,  
See that thou do to blessed gods perform.

Aristinus, well understanding the meaning of the oracle, puts himself into the women's hands, to be washed and wrapped in swaddling clouts, and sucks the breasts, in the same manner as when he was newly born; and thus all others do, and such are called *Hysteropotmi* (*i.e.* those for whom a funeral was made while living). But some say that these ceremonies were before Aristinus, and that the custom was ancient. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if the Romans, when once they suppose a man buried and to have his lot among the dead, do not think it lawful for him to go in at the door whereat they that are about to sacrifice do go out or those that have sacrificed do enter in, but bid them ascend aloft into the air, and thence descend into the atrium. For they constantly offer their sacrifices of purification in the open air.

*Question 6.* Wherefore do women salute their relations with their mouth?

*Solution.* What if it should be (as many suppose) that women were forbid to drink wine; therefore that those that drank it might not be undiscovered, but convicted when they met with their acquaintance, kissing became a custom? Or is it for the reason which Aristotle the philosopher hath told us? Even that thing which was com-

monly reported and said to be done in many places, it seems, was enterprised by the Trojan women in the confines of Italy. For after the men arrived and went ashore, the women set the ships on fire, earnestly longing to be discharged of their roving and seafaring condition; but dreading their husbands' displeasure, they fell on saluting their kindred and acquaintance that met them, by kissing and embracing; whereupon the husbands' anger being appeased and they reconciled, they used for the future this kind of compliment towards them. Or rather might this usage be granted to women as a thing that gained them reputation and interest, if they appeared hereby to have many and good kindred and acquaintance? Or was it that, it being unlawful to marry kinswomen, a courteous behavior might proceed so far as a kiss, and this was retained only as a significant sign of kindred and a note of a familiar converse among them? For in former time they did not marry women nigh by blood, — as now they marry not aunts or sisters, — but of late they allowed the marrying of cousins for the following reason. A certain man, mean in estate, but on the other hand an honest and a popular man among the citizens, designed to marry his cousin being an heiress, and to get an estate by her. Upon this account he was accused; but the people took little notice of the accusation, and absolved him of the fault, enacting by vote that it might be lawful for any man to marry so far as cousins, but prohibited it to all higher degrees of consanguinity.

*Question 7.* Why is a husband forbid to receive a gift from his wife, and a wife from her husband?

*Solution.* What if the reason be as Solon writes it, — describing gifts to be peculiar to dying persons, unless a man being entangled by necessity or wheedled by a woman be enslaved to force which constrains him, or to pleasure which persuades him, — that thus the gifts of husbands and wives became suspected? Or is it that they reputed a gift the basest sign of benevolence (for strangers and they that have no love for us do give us presents), and so took away such a piece of flattery from marriage, that to love and be beloved should be devoid of mercenariness, should be spontaneous and for its own sake, and not for anything else? Or because women, being corrupted by receiving gifts, are thereby especially brought to admit

strangers, did it seem to be a weighty thing to require them to love their own husbands that give them nothing? Or was it because all things ought to be common between them, the husbands' goods being the wives', and the wives' goods the husbands'? For he that accepts that which is given learns thereby to esteem that which is not given the property of another; so that, by giving but a little to each other, they strip each other of all.

*Question 8.* Why were they prohibited from taking a gift of a son-in-law or of a father-in-law?

*Solution.* Is it not of a son-in-law, that a man may not seem to convey a gift to his wife by his father's hands? and of a father-in-law, because it seems just that he that doth not give should not receive?

*Question 9.* Wherefore is it that they that have wives at home, if they be returning out of the country or from any remote parts, do send a messenger before, to acquaint them that they be at hand?

*Solution.* Is not this an argument that a man believes his wife to be no idle gossip, whereas to come upon her suddenly and unexpectedly has a show as though he came hastily to catch her and observe her behavior? Or do they send the good tidings of their coming beforehand, as to them that are desirous of them and expect them? Or rather is it that they desire to inquire concerning their wives whether they are in health, and that they may find them at home looking for them? Or because, when the husbands are wanting, the women have more family concerns and business upon their hands, and there are more dissensions and hurly-burly among those that are within doors; therefore, that the wife may free herself from these things and give a calm and pleasant reception to her husband, she hath forewarning of his coming?

*Question 10.* Wherefore do men in divine service cover their heads; but if they meet any honorable personages when they cloak their heads, they are uncovered?

*Solution.* This question seems to augment the difficulty. If now the story told of Æneas be true, that whilst Diomedes was passing by he offered a sacrifice with his head covered, it is rational and consequent that, while we cover our heads before our enemies, when we meet our friends and good men we should be uncovered. This

behavior before the gods therefore is not their due, but accidental, continuing to be observed from Æneas.

If there is anything further to be said, consider whether we ought not to inquire only after the reason why men in divine service are covered, the rest being the consequence of it. For they that are uncovered before men of greater power do not thereby ascribe honor unto them, but rather remove envy from them, that they might not appear to demand or to endure the same kind of reverence which the gods have, or to rejoice that they are served in the same manner as they. But they worship the gods in this manner, either showing their unworthiness in all humility by the covering of the head, or rather fearing that some unlucky and ominous voice should come to them from abroad whilst they are praying; therefore they pluck up their cloaks about their ears. That they strictly observed these things is manifest in this, that when they went to consult the oracle, they made a great din all about by the tinkling of brass kettles. Or is it as Castor saith, that the Roman usages were conformable to the Pythagoric notion that the dæmon within us stands in need of the gods without us, and we make supplication to them with a covered head, intimating the body's hiding and absconding of the soul?

*Question 11.* Why do they sacrifice to Saturn with an uncovered head?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that, whereas Æneas hath instituted the covering of the head in divine service, Saturn's sacrifice was much more ancient? Or is it that they are covered before celestial gods, but reckon Saturn infernal and terrestrial? Or is it that nothing of the truth ought to be obscure and darkened and the Romans repute Saturn to be the father of truth?

*Question 12.* Why do they esteem Saturn the father of truth?

*Solution.* Is it not the reason that some philosophers believe that Κρόνος (*Saturn*) is the same with Χρόνος (*time*), and time finds out truth? Or is it for that which was fabled of Saturn's age, that it was most just and most likely to participate of truth?

*Question 13.* Why do they sacrifice to Honor (a god so-called) with a bare head?

*Solution.* Is it because glory is splendid, illustrious,

and unveiled, for which cause men are uncovered before good and honorable persons; and for this reason they thus worship the God that bears the name of honor?

*Question 14.* Why do sons carry forth their parents at funerals with covered heads, but the daughters with uncovered and dishevelled hair?

*Solution.* Is the reason because fathers ought to be honored by their sons as gods, but be lamented by their daughters as dead, and so the law hath distributed to both their proper part? Or is it that what is not the fashion is fit for mourning? For it is more customary for women to appear publicly with covered heads, and for men to be uncovered. Yea, among the Greeks, when any sad calamity befalls them, the women are polled close but the men wear their hair long, because the usual fashion for men is to be polled and for women to wear their hair long. Or was it enacted that sons should be covered, for the reason we have above mentioned (for verily, saith Varro, they surround their fathers' sepulchres at funerals, reverencing them as the temples of the gods; and having burnt their parents, when they first meet with a bone, they say the deceased person is deified), but for women was it not lawful to cover their heads at funerals? History now tells us that the first that put away his wife was Spurius Carbilus, by reason of barrenness; the second was Sulpicius Gallus, seeing her pluck up her garments to cover her head; the third was Publius Sempronius, because she looked upon the funeral celebrations.

*Question 15.* What is the reason that, esteeming Terminus a god (to whom they offer their Terminalia), they sacrifice no living creature to him?

*Solution.* Was it that Romulus set no bounds to the country, that it might be lawful for a man to make excursions, to rob, and to reckon every part of the country his own (as the Lacedæmonian said) wherever he should pitch his spear; but Numa Pompilius, being a just man and a good commonwealthsman and a philosopher, set the boundaries towards the neighboring countries, and dedicated those boundaries to Terminus as the bishop and protector both of friendship and of peace, and it was his opinion that it ought to be preserved pure and undefiled from blood and slaughter?

*Question 16.* Why is not the temple of Matuta to be gone into by maid-servants; why do the ladies bring in one only, and her they box and cuff?

*Solution.* If to baste this maid be a sign that they ought not to enter, then they prohibit others according to the fable. For Ino, being jealous of her husband's loving the servant-maid, is reported to have fell outrageously upon her son. The Grecians say the maid was of an Ætolian family, and was called Antiphæra. Therefore with us also in Chæronea the sexton, standing before the temple of Leucothea (Matuta) holding a wand in his hand, makes proclamation that no man-servant nor maid-servant, neither man nor woman Ætolian, should enter in.

*Question 17.* Why do they not supplicate this goddess for good things for their own children, but for their brethren's and sisters' children?

*Solution.* Was it because Ino was a lover of her sister and nursed up her children, but had hard fortune in her own children? Or otherwise, in that it is a moral and good custom, and makes provision of much benevolence towards relations?

*Question 18.* Why do many of the richer sort pay tithe of their estates to Hercules?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that Hercules sacrificed the tenth part of Geryon's oxen at Rome? Or that he freed the Romans from the decimation under the Etrurians? Or that these things have no sufficient ground of credit from history, but that they sacrificed to Hercules, as to a certain monstrous glutton and gormandizer of good cheer? Or did they rather do it, restraining extravagant riches as a nuisance to the commonwealth, as it were to diminish something of that thriving constitution that groweth up to the highest pitch of corpulency; being of opinion that Hercules was most of all honored with and rejoiced in these frugalities and contractions of abundance, and that he himself was frugal, content with a little, and every way sparing in his way of living?

*Question 19.* Why do they take the month of January for the beginning of the new year?

*Solution.* Anciently March was reckoned the first, as is plain by many other marks and especially by this, that the fifth month from March was called Quintilis, and the sixth Sextilis, and so forward to the last. December was

so called, being reckoned the tenth from March; hence it came to pass that some are of opinion and do affirm that the Romans formerly did not complete the year with twelve months, but with ten only, allotting to some of the months above thirty days. But others give us an account that, as December is the tenth from March, January is the eleventh and February the twelfth; in which month they use purifications, and perform funeral rites for the deceased upon the finishing of the year; but this order of the months being changed, they now make January the first, because on the first day of this month (which day they call the Kalends of January) the first consuls were constituted, the kings being deposed. But some speak with a greater probability, which say that Romulus, being a warlike and martial man and reputed himself the son of Mars, set March in the front of all the months, and named it from Mars; but Numa again, being a peaceable prince and ambitious to bring off the citizens from warlike achievements, set them upon husbandry, gave the præminence to January, and brought Janus into a great reputation, as more addicted to civil government and husbandry than to warlike affairs. Now consider whether Numa hath not pitched upon a beginning of the year most proper to our natural disposition. For there is nothing at all in the whole circumvolution of things naturally first or last, but by law or institution some appoint one beginning of time, some another; but they do best who take this beginning from after the winter solstice, when the sun, ceasing to make any further progress, returns and converts his course again to us. For there is then a kind of tropic in nature itself, which verily increaseth the time of light to us and shortens the time of darkness, and makes the Lord and Ruler of the changing of nature to approach nearer to us.

*Question 20.* When the women beautify the temple of the goddess appropriate to women, which they call Bona, why do they bring no myrtle into the house, although they be zealous of using all budding and flowering vegetables?

*Solution.* Is not the reason (as the fabulose write the story) this, that the wife of Faulius a diviner, using wine secretly and being discovered, was whipped by her husband with myrtle rods; hence the women bring in no myrtle, but offer to her a drink-offering of wine, which



they call milk? Or is it this, that, as they abstain from many things, so especially they reserve themselves chaste from all things that appertain to venery when they perform that divine service; for they do not only turn their husbands out-of-doors but banish from the house every male kind, when they exercise this canonical obedience to their goddess. They therefore reject myrtle as an abomination, it being consecrated to Venus; and the Venus whom now they call Murcia they anciently called Myrtia, as it would seem.

*Question 21.* Why do the Latins worship a woodpecker, and all of them abstain strictly from this bird?

*Solution.* Is it because one Picus by the enchantments of his wife transformed himself, and becoming a woodpecker uttered oracles, and gave oraculous answers to them that inquired? Or, if this be altogether incredible and monstrous, there is another of the romantic stories more probable, about Romulus and Remus, when they were exposed in the open field, that not only a she-wolf gave them suck, but a certain woodpecker flying to them fed them; for even now it is very usual that in meads and groves where a woodpecker is found there is also a wolf, as Nigidius writes. Or rather, as they deem other birds sacred to other gods, so do they deem this sacred to Mars? For it is a daring and fierce bird, and hath so strong a beak as to drill an oak to the heart by pecking.

*Question 22.* Why are they of opinion that Janus was double-faced, and do describe and paint him so?

*Solution.* Was it because he was a native Greek of Perrhæbia (as they story it), and going down into Italy and cohabiting with the barbarians of the country, changed his language and way of living? Or rather because he persuaded the people of Italy that were savage and lawless to a civil life, in that he converted them to husbandry and formed them into commonwealths?

*Question 23.* Why do they perform funeral rites in the temple of Libitina, seeing they are of opinion that Libitina is Venus?

*Solution.* Was it that this was one of the wise institutions of King Numa, that they might learn not to esteem these things irksome nor fly from them as a defilement? Or rather is it to put us in mind that whatever is born must die, there being one goddess that presides over them that

are born and those that die? And at Delphi there is the statue of Venus Epitymbia (on a tomb), to which at their drink-offerings they call forth the ghosts of the deceased.

*Question 24.* Why have they three beginnings and fixed periods in the months which have not the same interval of days between?

*Solution.* What if it be this (as Juba writes), that on the Kalends the magistrates called (*καλεῖν*) the people, and proclaimed the Nones for the fifth, while the Ides they esteemed an holy day? Or rather they who define time by the variations of the moon have observed that the moon comes under three greatest variations monthly; the first is when it is obscured, making a conjunction with the sun; the second is when it gets out of the rays of the sun and makes her first appearance after the sun is down; the third is at her fulness, when it is full moon. They call her disappearance and obscurity the Kalends, for everything hid and privy they call *clam*, and *celare* is to hide. The first appearance they call the Nones, by a most fit notation of names, it being the new moon (novilunium); for they call it new moon as we do. Ides are so called either by reason of the fairness and clear form (*εἶδος*) of the moon standing in her complete splendor, or from the name of Jupiter (*Διός*). But in this matter we are not to search for the exact number of days, nor to abuse this approximate system of reckoning; seeing that even at this day, when the science of astronomy has made so great progress, the inequality of the motion and course of the moon surpasseth all skill of mathematicians and cannot be reduced to any certain rule.

*Question 25.* Why do they determine that the days after the Kalends, Nones, and Ides are unfit to travel or go a long journey in?

*Solution.* Was it (as most men think, and Livy tells us) because on the next day after the Ides of Quintilis (which they now call July), the tribunes of the soldiery marching forth, the army was conquered by the Gauls in a battle about the river Allia and lost the city, whereupon this day was reckoned unlucky; and superstition (as it loves to do) extended this observation further, and subjected the following days after the Nones and Kalends to the same scrupulosity? Or what if this notion meet with much contradiction? For it was on another day they were

defeated in battle, which they call *Alliensis* (from the river) and greatly abominate as unsuccessful; and whereas there be many unlucky days, they do not observe them in all the months alike, but every one in the month it happens in, and it is most improbable that all the next days after the *Nones* and *Kalends* simply considered should contract this superstition. Consider now whether — as they consecrated the first of the months to the Olympic gods, and the second to the infernal gods, wherein they solemnize some lustrations and funeral rites to the ghosts of the deceased — they have so constituted the three mentioned, as it were, the chief and principal days for festival and holy days, destining the next following these to *dæmons* and deceased persons, which days they judged unfortunate and unfit for action. And also the Grecians, worshipping their Gods at the new of the moon, dedicated the next day to heroes and *dæmons*, and the second of the cups was mingled on the behalf of the male and female heroes. Moreover, time is altogether a number; and unity, which is the foundation of a number, is of a divine nature. The number next is two, contrary to the first, and is the first of even numbers. But an even number is defective, imperfect, and indefinite; as again an odd number is determinate, definite, and complete. Therefore the *Nones* succeed the *Kalends* on the fifth day, the *Ides* follow the *Nones* on the ninth, for odd numbers do determine the beginnings. But those even numbers which are next after the beginnings have not that preëminence nor influence; hence on such days they take not any actions or journey in hand. Wherefore that of *Themistocles* hath reason in it. “The Day after the feast contended with the Feast-day, saying that the Feast-day had much labor and toil, but she (the Day after the feast) afforded the fruition of the provision made for the Feast-day, with much leisure and quietness. The Feast-day answered after this wise: Thou speakest truth; but if I had not been, neither hadst thou been.” These things spake *Themistocles* to the Athenian officers of the army, succeeding him, signifying that they could never have made any figure in the world had not he saved the city.

Since therefore every action and journey worth our diligent management requires necessary provision and

preparation, but the Romans of old made no family provision on feast-days, nor were careful for anything but that they might attend divine service, — and this they did with all their might, as even now the priests enjoin them in their ascriptions when they proceed to the sacrifices, — in like manner they did not rush presently after their festival solemnities upon a journey or any enterprise (because they were unprovided), but finished that day in contriving domestic affairs and fitting themselves for the intended occasion abroad. And as even at this day, after they have said their prayers and finished their devotion, they are wont to stay and sit still in the temples, so they did not join working days immediately to holy days, but made some interval and distance between them, secular affairs bringing many troubles and distractions along with them.

*Question 26.* Why do women wear for mourning white mantles and white kerchiefs?

*Solution.* What if they do this in conformity to the Magi, who, as they say, standing in defiance of death and darkness, do fortify themselves with bright and splendid robes? Or, as the dead corpse is wrapped in white, so do they judge it meet that the relations should be conformable thereto? For they beautify the body so, since they cannot the soul; wherefore they follow it as having gone before, pure and white, being let go after it hath fought a great and various warfare. Or is it that what is very mean and plain is most becoming in these things? For garments dyed of a color show either luxury or vanity. Neither may we say less of black than of sea-green or purple, "Verily garments are deceitful, and so are colors." And a thing that is naturally black is not dyed by art but by nature, and is blended with an intermixed shade. It is white only therefore that is sincere, unmixed, free from the impurity of a dye, and inimitable; therefore most proper to those that are buried. For one that is dead is become simple, unmixed, and pure, freed from the body no otherwise than from a tingeing poison. In Argos they wear white in mourning, as Socrates saith, vestments rinsed in water.

*Question 27.* Why do they repute every wall immaculate and sacred, but the gates not so?

*Solution.* Is it (as Varro hath wrote) that the wall is

to be accounted sacred, that they might defend it cheerfully and even lay down their lives for it? Upon this very account it appears that Romulus slew his brother, because he attempted to leap over a sacred and inaccessible place, and to render it transcendent and profane; but it could not possibly be that the gates should be kept sacred, through which they carried many things that necessity required, even dead corpses. When they built a city from the foundation, they marked out the place on which they intended to build it with a plough, yoking a bull and a cow together; but when they did set out the bounds of the walls, measuring the space of the gates, they lifted up the ploughshare and carried the plough over it, that all the ploughed part should be sacred and inviolable.

*Question 28.* Why do they prohibit the children to swear by Hercules within doors, but command them to go out of doors for it?

*Solution.* Is the reason (as some say) that they are of opinion that Hercules was not delighted in a domestic life, but chose rather to live abroad in the fields? Or rather, because he was none of their native country gods, but a foreigner? For neither do they swear by Bacchus within doors, he being a foreigner, if it be he whom the Greeks call Dionysus. Or what if these things are uttered in sport to amuse children; and is this, on the contrary, for a restraint of a frivolous and rash oath, as Favorinus saith? For that which is done, as it were, with preparation causes delay and deliberation. If a man judges as Favorinus doth of the things recorded about Hercules, this was not common to other gods, but peculiar to him; for history tells us that he had such a religious veneration for an oath, that he swore but once only to Phyleus, son of Augeas. Wherefore the Pythia upbraids the Lacedæmonians with such swearing, as though it would be more laudable and better to pay their vows than to swear.

*Question 29.* Why do they not permit the new married woman herself to step over the threshold of the house, but the bridemen lift her over?

*Solution.* What if the reason be that they, taking their first wives by force, brought them thus into their houses, when they went not in of their own accord? Or is it that they will have them seem to enter into that place as by

force, not willingly, where they are about to lose their virginity? Or is it a significant ceremony to show that she is not to go out or leave her dwelling-place till she is forced, even as she goes in by force? For with us also in Bœotia they burn the axletree of a cart before the doors, intimating that the spouse is bound to remain there, the instrument of carriage being destroyed.

*Question 30.* Why do the bridemen that bring in the bride require her to say, "Where thou Caius art, there am I Caia"?

*Solution.* What if the reason be that by mutual agreement she enters presently upon participation of all things, even to share in the government, and that this is the meaning of it, Where thou art lord and master of the family, there am I also dame and mistress of the family; these common names they use promiscuously, as the lawyers do Caius, Seius, Lucius, Titius, and the philosophers use the names of Dion and Theon? Or is it that Caia Secilia, an honest and good woman, married to one of Tarquinius's sons, who had her statue of brass erected in the temple of Sancus? On this were formerly hanged sandals and spindles, as significant memorials of her housewifery and industry.

*Question 31.* Why is that so much celebrated name Thalassius sung at nuptials?

*Solution.* Is it not from wool-spinning? For the Romans call the Greek *τάλαπος* (*wool-basket*) *talasus*. Moreover, when they have introduced the bride, they spread a fleece under her; and she, having brought in with her a distaff and a spindle, all behangs her husband's door with woollen yarn? Or if it be true, as historians report, that there was a certain young man famous in military achievements, and also an honest man, whose name was Thalassius; now when the Romans seized by force on the Sabine daughters coming to see the theatric shows, a comely virgin for beauty was brought to Thalassius by some of the common sort of people and retainers to him, crying out aloud (that they might go the more securely, and that none might stop them or take the wench from them) that a wife was being brought to Thalassius; upon which the rest of the rabble, greatly honoring Thalassius, followed on and accompanied them with their loud acclamations, praying for and praising Thalassius; that proving a for-

tunate match, it became a custom to others at nuptials to call over Thalassius, as the Greeks do Hymenæus.<sup>1</sup>

*Question 32.* Why do they that throw the effigies of men from a wooden bridge into the river, in the month of May, call those images Argives?

*Solution.* Was it that the barbarians that of old inhabited about that place did in this manner destroy the Grecians which they took? Or did their so much admired Hercules reform their practice of killing strangers, and teach them this custom of representing their devilish practice by casting in of images? The ancients have usually called all Grecians Argives. Or else it may be that, since the Arcadians esteemed the Argives open enemies by reason of neighborhood, they that belonged to Evander, flying from Greece and taking up their situation among the Italians, kept up that malignity and enmity.

*Question 33.* Why would they not in ancient times sup abroad without their sons, whilst they were in nonage?

*Solution.* Was not this custom brought in by Lycurgus, when he introduced the boys to the public clubs, that they might be inured to use of pleasures modestly, not savagely and rudely, having their superiors by them as overseers and observers? Verily it is of no small concernment that parents should carry themselves with all gravity and sobriety in the presence of their children. For when old men are debauched, it will necessarily follow (as Plato saith) that young men will be most debauched.

*Question 34.* What is the reason that, when the other Romans did offer their offerings and libations to the dead in the month of February, Decimus Brutus (as Cicero saith) did it in December? He verily was the first who, entering upon Lusitania, passed from thence with his army over the river Lethe.

*Solution.* May it not be that, as many were wont to perform funeral rites in the latter part of the day and end of the month, it is rational to believe that at the return of the year and end of the month also he would honor the dead? For December is the last month. Or were those adorations paid to the infernal deities, and was it the season of the year to honor them with all sorts of fruits that had attained ripeness? Or is it because they move the earth at the beginning of seed-time, and it is

<sup>1</sup> See Livy, I. 9, 12.

most meet then to remember the ghosts below? Or is it that this month is by the Romans consecrated to Saturn, whom they reckon to be one of the infernal gods and not of the supernal? Or that whilst the great feast of Saturnals did last, thought to be attended with the greatest repasts and voluptuous enjoyments, it was judged meet to crop off some first-fruits of these for the dead? Or what if it be a mere lie that only Brutus did make sacrifice to the dead in this month, since they solemnize funeral rites for *Laurentia* and offer drink-offerings at her tomb in the month of December?

*Question 35.* Why do they adore *Laurentia* so much, seeing she was a strumpet?

*Solution.* They say that *Acca Laurentia*, the nurse of *Romulus*, was diverse from this, and her they ascribe honor to in the month of April. But this other *Laurentia*, they say, was surnamed *Fabula*, and she became noted on this occasion. A certain sexton that belonged to *Hercules*, as it seems, leading an idle life, used to spend most of his days at chess and dice; and on a certain time, when it happened that none of those that were wont to play with him and partake of his sport were present, being very uneasy in himself, he challenged the god to play a game at dice with him for this wager, that if he got the game he should receive some boon from the god, if he lost it he would provide a supper for the god and a pretty wench for him to lie with. Whereupon choosing two dice, one for himself and the other for the god, and throwing them, he lost the game; upon which, abiding by his challenge, he prepared a very splendid table for the god, and picking up *Laurentia*, a notorious harlot, he set her down to the good cheer; and when he had made a bed for her in the temple, he departed and shut the doors after him. The report went that *Hercules* came, but had not to do with her after the usual manner of men, and commanded her to go forth early in the morning into the market-place, and whomsoever she first happened to meet with, him she should especially set her heart upon and procure him to be her copemate. *Laurentia* accordingly arising and going forth happened to meet with a certain rich man, an old bachelor, whose name was *Taruntius*. He lying with her made her whilst he lived the governess of his house, and his heiress when he died; some time



after, she died and left her estate to the city, and therefore they have her in so great a reputation.

*Question 36.* Why do they call one gate at Rome the Window, just by which is the bed-chamber of Fortune, so called?

*Solution.* Was it because Servius, who became the most successful king, was believed to have conversed with Fortune, coming in to him at a window? Or may this be but a fable; and was it that Tarquinius Priscus the king dying, his wife Tanaquil, being a discreet and royal woman, putting her head out at a window, pronounced Servius to the citizens, and persuaded them to proclaim him king; and that this place had the name of it?

*Question 37.* Why is it that, of the things dedicated to the gods, the law permits only the spoils taken in war to be neglected and by time to fall into decay, and permits them not to have any veneration nor reparation?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that men may be of opinion that the renown of ancestors fades away, and may always be seeking after some fresh monument of fortitude? Or rather because time wears out the marks of contention with our enemies, and to restore and renew them were invidious and malicious? Neither among the Greeks are those men renowned who were the first erectors of stone or brass trophies.

*Question 38.* Why did Q. Metellus, being a high priest and otherwise reputed a wise man and a statesman, prohibit the use of auspices after the Sextile month, now called August?

*Solution.* Is it not that — as we practise this observation about noon or early in the day, and also in the beginning or middle of the month (when the moon is new or increasing), but beware of the times of the days or month's decline as impossible — so he also was of opinion that the time of year after eight months was, as it were, the evening of the year, when it declined and hastened towards an end? Or is it because they must use thriving and full-grown birds? For such are in summer; but towards autumn some are moulting and sickly, others chickens and unfledged, others altogether vanished and fled out of the country by reason of the season of the year.

*Question 39.* Why is it unlawful for such as are not

mustered (although they be otherwise conversant in the army) to slay an enemy or wound him?

*Solution.* This thing Cato Senior hath made clear in a certain epistle, writing to his son and commanding him, if he be discharged of the army having fulfilled his time there, to return; but if he stay, to take commission from the general to march forth in order to wounding and slaying the enemy. Is it the reason, that necessity alone can give warrant for the killing of a man, while he that doth this illegally and without commission is a murderer? Therefore Cyrus commended Chrysantas that, when he was about to slay an enemy and had lifted up his cimeter to take his blow, hearing a retreat sounded, he let the man alone and smote him not, as being prohibited. Or is it that, if a man conflicts and fights with his enemies and falls under a consternation, he ought to be liable to answer for it, and not escape punishment? For verily he doth not advantage his side so much by smiting and wounding him, as he doth mischief by turning his back and flying. Therefore he that is disbanded is freed from martial laws; but when he doth petition to perform the office of a soldier, he doth again subject himself to military discipline and put himself under the command of his general.

*Question 40.* Wherefore was it unlawful for a priest of Jupiter to be anointed abroad in the air?

*Solution.* Was it not because it was neither honest nor decent to strip the sons naked whilst the father looked on, nor the son-in-law whilst the father-in-law looked on? Neither in ancient times did they wash together. Verily Jupiter is the father, and that which is abroad in the open air may be especially said to be as it were in the sight of Jupiter. Or is it thus? As it is a profane thing for him to strip himself naked in the temple or holy place, so did they reverence the open air and firmament, as being full of gods and dæmons? Wherefore we do many necessary things within doors, hiding and covering ourselves in our houses from the sight of the gods. Or is it that some things are enjoined to the priest only, other things to all by a law delivered by the priest? With us (in Bœotia) to wear a crown, to wear long hair, to carry iron arms, and not to enter the Phocian borders are peculiar, proper pieces of the magistrate's command; but not to taste autumnal fruits before the autumnal equinox, and not to

cut a vine before the spring equinox, are things required of all by the magistrate. For each of these has its season. After the same manner (as it appears) among the Romans it is peculiar to the priest neither to make use of a horse, nor to be absent from home in a journey more than three nights, nor to put off his cap, on which account he is called *Flamen*.<sup>1</sup> Many other things are enjoined to all sorts of men by the priest; of which one is not to be anointed abroad in the open air. For the Romans have a great prejudice against dry unction; and they are of opinion that nothing hath been so great a cause to the Grecians of slavery and effeminacy as their fencing and wrestling schools, insinuating so much debauchery and idleness into the citizens, yea, vicious sloth and buggery; yea, that they destroyed the very bodies of youths with sleeping, perambulations, dancing, and delicious feeding, whereby they insensibly fell from the use of arms, and instead of being good soldiers and horsemen, loved to be called agile, good wrestlers, and pretty men. It is hard for them to avoid these mischiefs who are unclothed in the open air; but they that are anointed within doors and cure themselves at home do commit none of these vices.

*Question 41.* Why had the ancient coin on one side the image of double-faced Janus stamped, and on the other side the stern or stem of a ship?

*Solution.* What if it be (as they commonly say) in honor of Saturn, that sailed over into Italy in a ship? Or, if this be no more than what may be said of many others besides (for Janus, Evander, and Æneas all came by sea into Italy), a man may take this to be more probable: whereas some things serve for the beauty of a city, some things for necessary accommodation, the greatest part of the things that beautify a city is a good constitution of government, and the greatest part for necessary accommodation is good trading; whereas now Janus had erected a good frame of government among them, reducing them to a sober manner of life, and the river being navigable afforded plenty of all necessary commodities, bringing them in partly from the sea and partly from the out-borders of

<sup>1</sup> See Varro, *Ling. Lat.* V. 84: *Quod in Latio capite velato erant semper, ac caput cinctum habebant filo, flamines dicti. Festus, s.v. Flamen Dialis: Flamen, quasi filamen.* (G.)

the country, their coin had a significant stamp, on one side the double-headed image of the legislator (as hath been said) by reason of the change made by him in their affairs, and on the other a small ship because of the river. They used also another sort of coin, having engraven on it an ox, a sheep, and a sow, to show that they traded most in such cattle, and got their riches from these; hence were many of the names among the ancients derived, as Suillii, Bubulci, and Porcii, as Fenestella tells us.

*Question 42.* Why do they use the temple of Saturn for a chamber of public treasury, as also an office of record for contracts?

*Solution.* Is not this the reason, because this saying hath obtained credit, that there was no avarice or injustice among men while Saturn ruled, but faith and righteousness? Or was it that this god presided over the fruits of the field and husbandry? For the sickle signified as much, and not, as Antimachus was persuaded and wrote with Hesiod,—

With crooked falk Saturn 'gainst heavens fought,  
Cut off his father's privities, foul bout.

Money is produced from plenty of fruit and the vent of them, therefore they make Saturn the author and preserver of their happiness. That which confirms this is that the conventions assembled every ninth day in the market-place (which they call *Nundinæ*) they reckon sacred to Saturn, because the excellence of fruit gave the first occasion of buying and selling. Or are these things far-fetched, and was the first that contrived this Saturnine chamber of bank Valerius Publicola, upon the suppression of the kings, being persuaded it was a strong place, conspicuous, and not easily undermined by treachery?

*Question 43.* Wherefore did ambassadors, from whence-soever they came to Rome, go to Saturn's temple, and there have their names recorded before the treasurers?

*Solution.* Was this the cause, that Saturn was a foreigner, and therefore much rejoiced in strangers? Or is this better resolved by history? Anciently (as it seems) the quæstors sent entertainment to the ambassadors (they called the present *lautia*), they took care also of the sick, and buried their dead out of their public stock;

but now of late, because of the multitude of ambassadors that come, that expense is left off; yet it remains still in use to bring the ambassadors unto the chamberlains, that their names may be recorded.

*Question 44.* Why is it not lawful for Jupiter's priests to swear?

*Solution.* Is it not the reason, that an oath is a kind of test imposed on a free people, but the body and mind of a priest ought to be free from imposition? Or is it not unlikely that he will be disbelieved in smaller matters, who is intrusted with divine and greater? Or is it that every oath concludes with an execration of perjury? And an execration is a fearful and a grievous thing. Hence neither is it thought fit that priests should curse others. Wherefore the priestess at Athens was commended for refusing to curse Alcibiades, when the common people required her to do it; for she said, I am a praying not a cursing priestess. Or is it that the danger of perjury is of a public nature, if a perjured and impious person presides in offering up prayers and sacrifices on the behalf of the city?

*Question 45.* Why is it that in the solemn feast called Veneralia they let wine run so freely out of the temple of Venus?

*Solution.* Is this the reason (as some say), that Mezentius the Etrurian general sent to make a league with Æneas, upon the condition that he might have a yearly tribute of wine; Æneas refusing, Mezentius engaged to the Etrurians that he would take the wine by force of arms and give it to them; Æneas, hearing of his promise, devoted his wine to the gods, and after the victory he gathered in the vintage, and poured it forth before the temple of Venus? Or is this a teaching ceremony, that we should feast with sobriety and not excess, as if the gods were better pleased with the spillers of wine than with the drinkers of it?

*Question 46.* Wherefore would the ancients have the temple of Horta to stand always open?

*Solution.* Is this the reason (as Antistius Labeo hath told us), that *hortari* signifies to quicken one to an action, that Horta is such a goddess as exhorts and excites to good things, and that they suppose therefore that she ought always to be in business, never procrastinate, there-

fore not to be shut up or locked? Or is it rather that *Hora*, as now they call her (the first syllable pronounced long), being a kind of an active and busy goddess, very circumspect and careful, they were of opinion that she was never lazy nor indifferent to human affairs? Or is it that this is a Greek name, as many others of them are, and signifies a goddess that always oversees and inspects affairs; and that therefore she has her temple always open, as one that never slumbers nor sleeps? But if *Labeo* deduceth *Hora* aright from *hortari*, consider whether *orator* may not rather be said to be derived from thence, — since the orator, being an exhorting and exciting person, is a counsellor or leader of the people, — and not from imprecation and prayer (*orando*), as some say.

*Question 47.* Why did *Romulus* build the temple of *Vulcan* without the city?

*Solution.* What if it were by reason of that fabled grudge which *Vulcan* had against *Mars* for the sake of *Venus*, that *Romulus*, being reputed the son of *Mars*, would not make *Vulcan* a cohabitant of the same house or city with him? Or may this be a silly reason; and was that temple at first built by *Romulus* for a senate house and a privy council, for him to consult on state affairs together with *Tatius*, where they might be retired with the senators, and sit in consultation about matters quietly without interruption from the multitude? Or was it that *Rome* was formerly in danger of being burnt from heaven; and he thought good to adore that God, but to place his habitation without the city?

*Question 48.* Wherefore did they, in the feasts called *Consualia*, put garlands on the horses and asses, and take them from all work?

*Solution.* Was it not because they celebrated that feast to *Neptune* the cavalier, who was called *Consus*, and the ass takes part and share with the horse in his rest from labor? Or was it that, after navigation came in and traffic by sea, there succeeded a kind of ease and leisure to the cattle in some kind or other?

*Question 49.* Wherefore was it a custom among the candidates for magistracy to present themselves in their togas without tunics, as *Cato* tells us?

*Solution.* Was it not that they should not carry money in their bosoms to buy votes with? Or is it that they

preferred no man as fit for the magistracy for the sake of his birth, riches, or honors, but for his wounds and scars; and that these might be visible to them that came about them, they came without tunics to the elections? Or, as by courteous behavior, supplication, and submission, so by humbling themselves in nakedness did they gain on the affections of the common people?

*Question 50.* Why did the Flamen Dialis (Jupiter's priest), when his wife died, lay down his priestly dignity, as Ateius tells us?

*Solution.* Is it not for this reason, because he that marries a wife and loses her after marriage is more unfortunate than he that never took a wife; for the family of a married man is completed, but the family of him that is married and loseth his wife is not only incomplete but mutilated? Or is it because his wife joins with the husband in consecration (as there are many sacred rites that ought not to be performed unless the wife be present), but to marry another immediately after he hath lost the former wife is not perhaps easy to do, and besides is not convenient? Hence it was not lawful formerly to put away a wife, nor is it at this present lawful; except that Domitian in our remembrance, being petitioned, granted it. The priests were present at this dissolution of marriage, doing many terrible, strange, and uncouth actions. But thou wilt wonder less, if thou art informed by history that, when one of the censors died, his partner was required to lay down his place. When Livius Drusus died, Æmilius Scaurus his colleague would not abandon his government before one of the tribunes of the people committed him to prison.

*Question 51.* Why is a dog set before the Lares, which they properly call Præstites, while the Lares themselves are covered with dogs' skins?

*Solution.* Is it that Præstites are they that preside, and it is fit that presidents should be keepers, and should be frightful to strangers (as dogs are) but mild and gentle to those of the family? Or is it rather what some Romans assert, that — as some philosophers who follow Chrysipus are of the opinion that evil spirits wander up and down, which the Gods do use as public executioners of unholy and wicked men — so the Lares are a certain sort of furious and revengeful dæmons, that are watchers of

men's lives and families, and are here clothed with dogs' skins and have a dog sitting by them, as being sagacious to hunt upon the foot and to prosecute wicked men?

*Question 52.* Why do they sacrifice a dog to Mana Geneta, and pray that no home-born should become mild?

*Solution.* Is the reason that Geneta is a god that is employed about the generation and purgation of corruptible things? For this word signifies a certain flux (*i.e.* *Mana* from *manare*) and generation; for as the Greeks do sacrifice a dog to Hecate, so do the Romans to Geneta on the behalf of the natives of the house. Moreover, Socrates saith that the Argives do sacrifice a dog to Eilioneia (*Lucina*) to procure a facility of delivery. But what if the prayer be not made for men, but for dogs puppiet at home, that none of them should be mild; for dogs ought to be currish and fierce? Or is it that they that are deceased are pleasantly called benign; and hence, speaking mystically, they signify their desire that no home-born should die? Neither ought this to seem strange; for Aristotle says that it is written in the agreement of the Arcadians with the Lacedæmonians that none of the Tegeates should be "made good" on account of aid rendered to the party of the Lacedæmonians, *i.e.* that none should be slain.

*Question 53.* Why is it that to this very day, while they give games at the Capitol, they set Sardians to sale by a crier, and a certain old man goes before in way of derision, carrying a child's bauble about his neck, which they call bulla?

*Solution.* Was it because a people of the Tuscans called Veientes maintained a fight a long time with Romulus, and he took this city last of all, and exposed them and their king to sale by an outcry, upbraiding him with his madness and folly? And since the Tuscans were Lydians at first, and Sardis was the metropolis of the Lydians, so they set the Veientes to sale under the name of Sardians, and to this day they keep up the custom in a way of pastime.

*Question 54.* Why do they call the flesh-market *Macellum*?

*Solution.* Was it not by corrupting the word *μάγειρος*, a cook, as with many other words, that the custom hath



prevailed? For *c* and *g* are nigh akin to one another, and *g* came more lately into use, being inserted among the other letters by Sp. Carbilus; and now by lispers and stammerers *l* is pronounced instead of *r*. Or this matter may be made clear by a story. It is reported, that at Rome there was a stout man, a robber, who had robbed many, and being taken with much difficulty, was brought to condign punishment: his name was Macellus, out of whose riches a public meat-market was built, which bare his name.

*Question 55.* Why are the minstrels allowed to go about the city on the Ides of January, wearing women's apparel?

*Solution.* Is it for the following reason? This sort of men (as it seems) had great privileges accruing to them from the grant of King Numa, by reason of his godly devotion; which things afterward being taken from them when the Decemviri managed the government, they forsook the city. Whereupon there was a search made for them, and one of the priests, offering sacrifice without music, made a superstitious scruple of so doing. And when they returned not upon invitation, but led their lives in Tibur, a certain freedman told the magistrates privately that he would undertake to bring them. And providing a plentiful feast, as if he had sacrificed to the gods, he invited the minstrels; women-kind was present also, with whom they revelled all night, sporting and dancing. There on a sudden the man began a speech, and being surprised with a fright, as if his patron had come in upon him, persuaded the pipers to ascend the caravans that were covered all over with skins, saying he would carry them back to Tibur. But this whole business was but a trepan; for he wheeling about the caravan, and they perceiving nothing by reason of wine and darkness, he very cunningly brought them all into Rome by the morning. Most of them, by reason of the night-revel and the drink that they were in, happened to be clothed in flowered women's robes; whereupon, being prevailed upon by the magistrates and reconciled, it was decreed that they should tramp the city on that day, habited after this manner.

*Question 56.* Why are they of opinion that matrons first built the temple of Carmenta, and at this day do they worship her most?

*Solution.* There is a certain tradition that, when the women were prohibited from the use of chariots drawn by a pair of horses, they conspired together not to be got with child and breed children, and in this manner to be revenged on their husbands until they revoked the decree and gratified them; which being done, children were begot, and the women, becoming good breeders and very fruitful, built the temple of Carmenta. Some say that Carmenta was Evander's mother, and going into Italy was called Themis, but as some say, Nicostrata; who, when she sang forth oracles in verse, was called Carmenta by the Latins; for they call verses *carmina*. There are some of opinion that Carmenta was a Destiny, therefore the matrons sacrifice to her. But the etymology of the word is from *carens mente* (*beside herself*), by reason of divine raptures. Hence Carmenta had not her name from *carmina*; but her verses were called *carmina* because being inspired she sang her oracles in verse.

*Question 57.* What is the reason that, when the women do sacrifice to Rumina, they pour forth milk plentifully on the sacrifices, but offer no wine?

*Solution.* Is it because the Latins call a breast *ruma*, and that tree (as they say) is called *ruminalis* under which the she-wolf drew forth her breast to Romulus? And as we call those women that bring up children with milk from the breast breast-women, so did Rumina — who was a wet nurse, a dry nurse, and a rearer of children — not permit wine, as being hurtful to the infants.

*Question 58.* Why do they call some senators *Patres Conscripti*, and others only *Patres*?

*Solution.* Is not this the reason, that those that were first constituted by Romulus they called *Patres* and *Patricians*, as being gentlemen who could show their pedigree; but those that were elected afterwards from among the commonalty they called *Patres Conscripti*?

*Question 59.* Why was one altar common to Hercules and the Muses?

*Solution.* Was it because Hercules taught letters first to Evander's people, as Juba tells us? And it was esteemed a worthy action of those that taught their friends and relations; for it was but of late that they began to teach for hire. The first that opened a grammar school

was Spurius Carbilus, a freeman of Carbilus, the first that divorced his wife.

*Question 60.* What is the reason that, of Hercules's two altars, the women do not partake or taste of the things offered on the greater?

*Solution.* Is it not because Carmenta came after the sacrifices were over? The same thing happened also to the Pinarii; whence they were shut out from the sacrificial banquet, and fasting while others were feasting, they were called Pinarii (from *πεινάω*). Or is it upon the account of that fabulous story of the coat and Dejanaira?

*Question 61.* What is the reason that it's forbidden to mention, inquire after, or name the chief tutelary and guardian god of Rome, whether male or female?—which prohibition they confirm with a superstitious tradition, reporting that Valerius Soranus perished miserably for using that name.

*Solution.* Is this the reason (as some Roman histories tell us), that there are certain kinds of evocations and enchantments, with which they are wont to attract away the gods of their enemies, and to cause them to come and dwell with them; and they feared lest this mischief should befall them from others? As the Tyrians are said to bind fast their images with cords, but others, when they will send any of them to washing or purifying, require sureties for their return; so did the Romans reckon they had their god in most safe and secure custody, he being unexpressible and unknown? Or, as Homer hath versified,

The earth all gods in common have? <sup>1</sup>

that men might worship and reverence all gods that have the earth in common, so did the ancient Romans obscure the Lord of their Salvation, requiring that not only this but all gods should be revered by the citizens?

*Question 62.* Why among them that were called Feciales (in Greek, peace-makers) was he that was named Pater Patratus accounted the chiefest? But this must be one who hath his father living, and children of his own; and he hath even at this time a certain privilege and trust, for the Prætors commit to those men's trust the persons of

<sup>1</sup> II. XV. 193.

those who, by reason of comeliness and beauty, stand in need of an exact and chaste guardianship.

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that they must be such whose children reverence them, and who reverence their parents? Or doth the name itself suggest a reason? For *patratum* will have a thing to be complete and finished; for he whose lot it is to be a father whilst his father liveth is (as it were) perfecter than others. Or is it that he ought to be overseer of oaths and peace, and (according to Homer) must see before and behind? He is such a one especially, who hath a son for whom he consults, and a father with whom he consults.

*Question 63.* Why is he that is called Rex Sacrorum (who is king of priests) forbid both to take upon him a civil office and to make an oration to the people?

*Solution.* Was it that of old the kings did perform the most and greatest sacred rites and offered sacrifices together with the priests; but when they kept not within the bounds of moderation and became proud and insolent, most of the Grecians, depriving them of their authority, left to them only this part of their office, to sacrifice to the gods; but the Romans, casting out kings altogether, gave the charge of the sacrifice to another, enjoining him neither to rule nor to lead the people, so that they might seem to be subject to royalty only in their sacrifices, and to endure the name of kingdom only on account of the gods? Hence there is a certain sacrifice kept by tradition in the market-place near the Comitia, which as soon as the king (*i.e.* the chief priest) hath offered, he immediately withdraws himself by flight out of the market-place.

*Question 64.* Why do they not suffer the table to be quite voided when it's taken away, but will have something always to remain upon it?

*Solution.* What if it be that they would intimate that something of our present enjoyments should be left for the future, and that to-day we should be mindful of to-morrow? Or that they reckon it a piece of manners to repress and restrain the appetite in our present fruitions? For they less desire absent things, who are accustomed to abstain from those that are present. Or was it a custom of courtesy towards household servants? For they do not love so much to take as to partake, deeming that they

hold a kind of communion with their masters at the table. Or is it that no sacred thing ought to be suffered to be empty? And the table is a sacred thing.

*Question 65.* Why doth not a man lie at first with a bride in the light, but when it is dark?

*Solution.* Is it not for modesty's sake, for at the first congress he looks upon her as a stranger to him? Or is it that he may be inured to go into his own wife with modesty? Or, as Solon hath written, "Let the bride go into the bed-chamber gnawing a quince, that the first salutation be not harsh and ungrateful." So the Roman lawgiver saith, if there should be anything absurd and unpleasant in her body, she should hide it. Or was it intended to cast infamy upon the unlawful use of venery by causing that the lawful should have certain signs of modesty attending it?

*Question 66.* Why was one of the horse-race rounds called Flaminia?

*Solution.* Is it because, when Flaminius, one of the ancients, bestowed a field on the city, they employed its revenue on the horse-races, and with the overplus money constructed the way which they call Flaminia?

*Question 67.* Why do they call the rod-bearers lictors?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, because these men were wont to bind desperate bullies, and they followed Romulus carrying thongs in their bosoms? The vulgar Romans say *alligare*, to bind, when the more refined in speech say *ligare*. Or is now *c* inserted, when formerly they called them *litores*, being *liturgi*, ministers for public service? for  $\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\nu$  until this day is writ for *public* in many of the Grecian laws, which scarce any is ignorant of.

*Question 68.* Why do the Luperci sacrifice a dog? The Luperci are they that run up and down naked (saving only their girdles) in the Lupercal plays, and slash all that they meet with a whip.

*Solution.* Is it not because these feats are done for the purification of the city? For they call the month February, and indeed the very day Februatius, and the habit of whipping with thongs they call *februare*, the word signifying to cleanse. And to speak the truth, all the Grecians have used, and some do use to this very day, a slain dog for an expiatory sacrifice; and among other sacrifices of purification, they offer whelps to Hecate, and sprinkle

those that need cleansing with the puppy's blood, calling this kind of purifying puppification. Or is it that *lupus* is *λύκος*, a *wolf*, and Lupercalia are Lycæa; but a dog is at enmity with a wolf, therefore is sacrificed on the Lycæan festivals? Or is it because the dogs do bark at and perplex the Luperci as they scout about the city? Or is it that this sacrifice is offered to Pan, and Pan loves dogs because of his herds of goats?

*Question 69.* Why, upon the festival called Septimontium, did they keep it by abstaining from the use of chariots drawn by a pair of horses; and even until now, do they that respect antiquity still abstain? They do observe the Septimontium feast in honor of the addition of the seventh hill to the city, upon which it became Septicollis, seven-hilled Rome.

*Solution.* What if it be (as some of the Romans conjecture) because the parts of the city are not as yet everywhere connected? Or if this conceit be nothing to the purpose, what if it be that, when the great work of building the city was finished and they determined to cease the increasing of the city any further, they rested themselves and rested the cattle that bore a share in the labor with them, and provided accordingly that they might participate of the holiday by rest from labor? Or was it that they would have all the citizens always present for the solemnity and return of a festival, especially that which was observed in remembrance of the compact uniting the parts of the city; and that none should desert the city for whose sake the feast is kept, they were not allowed to use their yoke chariots that day?

*Question 70.* Why do they call those *Furciferi* which are convict of thefts or any other of those slavish crimes?

*Solution.* Was it this (which was an argument of the severity of the ancients), that whenever any convicted his servant of any villany, he enjoined him to carry the forked piece of timber that is under the cart (the tongue of the cart), and to go with it through the next villages and neighborhood, to be seen of all, that they might distrust him and be aware of him for the future? This piece of wood we call a prop, the Romans call it *furca*, a *fork*; hence he that carries it about is called *furcifer*, a *fork-bearer*.

*Question 71.* Why do they bind hay about the horns of

oxen that are wont to push, that they may be shunned by him that meets them?

*Solution.* Is it that by reason of gormandizing and stuffing their guts oxen, asses, horses, and men become mischievous, as Sophocles somewhere saith,

Like full-fed colt thou kickest up heels,  
From stuffed paunch, cheeks, and full meals?

Therefore the Romans say that M. Crassus had hay about his horns, for they that were turbulent men in the commonwealth were wont to stand in awe of him as a revengeful man and one scarce to be meddled with; although afterwards it was said again, that Cæsar had taken away Crassus's hay, being the first man of the republic that withstood and affronted him.

*Question 72.* Why would they have the lanthorns of the soothsaying priests (which formerly they called Auspices, and now Augures) to be always open at top, and no cover to be put upon them?

*Solution.* Is it as the Pythagoreans do, who make little things symbols of great matters, — as forbidding to sit down upon a bushel and to stir up the fire with a sword, — so that the ancients used many enigmatical ceremonies, especially about their priests, and such was this of the lanthorn? For the lanthorn is like the body encompassing the soul, the soul being the light withinside, and the understanding and judgment ought to be always open and quick-sighted, and never to be shut up or blown out. And when the winds blow, the birds are unsettled and do not afford sound prognostics, by reason of their wandering and irregularity in flying; by this usage therefore they teach that their soothsayers must not prognosticate when there are high winds, but in still and calm weather, when they can use their open lanthorns.

*Question 73.* Why were priests that had sores about them forbid to use divination?

*Solution.* Is not this a significant sign that, whilst they are employed about divine matters, they ought not to be in any pain, nor have any sore or passion in their minds, but to be cheerful, sincere, and without distraction? Or it is but rational, if no man may offer an animal that hath a sore, nor use such birds for soothsaying, that much

more they should themselves be free from these blemishes, and be clean, sincere, and sound, when they go about to inspect divine prodigies; for an ulcer seems to be a mutilation and defilement of the body.

*Question 74.* Why did Servius Tullius build a temple of Small Fortune, whom they call Brevis?

*Solution.* Was it because he was of a mean original and in a low condition, being born of a captive woman, and by fortune came to be king of Rome? Or did not that change of his condition manifest the greatness rather than the smallness of his fortune? But Servius most of all of them seems to ascribe divine influence to Fortune, giving thereby a reputation to all his enterprises. For he did not only erect temples of Hopeful Fortune, of Fortune that averteth evil, of Benign, Primogenial, and Masculine Fortune; but there is a temple also of Private Fortune, another of Regardful Fortune, another of Hopeful Fortune, and the fourth of Virgin Fortune. But why should any one mention any more names, seeing there is a temple also of Ensnaring Fortune, which they name Viscata, as it were ensnaring us when we are as yet afar off, and enforcing us upon business? Consider this now, whether it be that Servius found that great matters are produced by a small fragment of Fortune, and that it often happens that great things are effected by some or fail by a small thing being done or not done. He built therefore a temple of Small Fortune, teaching us to take care of our business, and not contemn things that happen by reason of their smallness.

*Question 75.* Why did they not extinguish a candle, but suffer it to burn out of its own accord?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that they adored it as being related and akin to unquenchable and eternal fire? Or is it a significant ceremony, directing us that we are not to kill and destroy any animated creature that is harmless, fire being as it were an animal? For it both needs nourishment and moves itself, and when it is extinguished it makes a noise as if it were then slain. Or doth this usage instruct us that we ought not to make waste of fire or water, or any other necessary thing that we have a superabundance of, but suffer those that have need to use them, leaving them to others when we ourselves have no further use for them?



*Question 76.* Why do they that would be preferred before others in gentility wear little moons on their shoes?

*Solution.* Is this the reason (as Castor saith), that this is a symbol of the place of habitation that is said to be in the moon, testifying that after death souls should have the moon under their feet again? Or was this a fashion of renown among families of greatest antiquity, as were the Arcadians of Evander's posterity, that were called men born before the moon (*προσέληνοι*)? Or is this, like many other customs, to put men who are lofty and high-minded in mind of the mutability of human affairs to either side, setting the moon before them as an example,

When first she comes from dark to light,  
Trimming, her face becomes fair bright,  
Increasing, till she's full in sight;  
Declining then, leaves nought but night? <sup>1</sup>

Or was this for a doctrine of obedience to authority,—that they would have us not discontented under it; but, as the moon doth willingly obey her superior and conform unto him, always vamping after the rays of the sun (as Parmenides hath it), so they that are subjects to any prince should be contented with their lower station, in the enjoyment of power and dignity derived from him?

*Question 77.* Why are they of an opinion that the year is Jupiter's, but the months Juno's?

*Solution.* Is it because Jupiter and Juno reign over the invisible gods, but the Sun and Moon over the visible? And the Sun verily causeth the year, and the Moon the months. Neither ought we to think that they are bare images of them, but the Sun is Jupiter himself materially, and the Moon Juno herself materially. Therefore they name her Juno (*a juvenescendo*, the name signifying a thing that is new or grows young) from the nature of the Moon; and they call her Lucina (as it were *bright* or *shining*), and they are of opinion that she helps women in childbirth. Whence is that of the poets:

By azure heaven beset with stars,  
By th' moon that hastens births;

for they suppose that women have the easiest travail at the full of the moon.

<sup>1</sup> From Sophocles, Frag. 786.

*Question 78.* What is the reason that a bird called *sinister* in soothsaying is fortunate?

*Solution.* What if this be not true, but the dialect de-  
ludes so many? For they render ἀριστερόν *sinistrum*; but  
to permit a thing is *sinere*, and they say *sine* when they  
desire a thing to be permitted; therefore a prognostic  
permitting an action (being *sinisterium*) the vulgar do  
understand and call amiss *sinistrum*. Or is it as Dio-  
nysius saith, that when Ascanius, the son of Æneas, had  
pitched battle against Mezentius, a flash of lightning por-  
tending victory (as they prognosticated) came on his left  
hand, and for the future they observed it so; or, as some  
others say, that this happened to Æneas? Moreover, the  
Thebans routing and conquering their enemies by the left  
wing of the army at Leuctra, they continued in all battles  
to give the left wing the preëminence. Or is it rather as  
Juba thinks, that to those that look toward the east the  
north is on the left hand, which verily some make the  
right hand and superior part of the world? Consider  
whether the soothsayers do not, as it were, corroborate  
left-hand things, as the weaker by nature, and do inti-  
mate as if they introduced a supply of that defect of power  
that is in them. Or is it that they think that things ter-  
restrial and mortal stand directly over against heavenly  
and divine things, and do conjecture that the things  
which to us are on the left hand the gods send down from  
their right hand?

*Question 79.* Why was it lawful to bring the bones of  
one that had triumphed (after he was dead and burnt)  
into the city and lay them there, as Pyrrho the Liparæan  
hath told us?

*Solution.* Was it for the honor they had for the de-  
ceased? For they granted that not only generals and  
other eminent persons, but also their offspring, should be  
buried in the market-place, for example, Valerius and  
Fabricius. And they say, when the posterity of these  
persons died, they were brought into the market-place,  
and a burning firebrand was put under them and im-  
mediately taken away; so avoiding all that might have  
caused envy, the right to the honor was fully confirmed.

*Question 80.* Why did they that publicly feasted the  
triumphers humbly request the consuls, and by messen-  
gers sent beseech them, not to come to their supper?

*Solution.* Was it that it was necessary to give the supreme place and most honorable entertainment to the triumpher, and wait upon him home after supper; whereas, the consuls being present, they might do such things to none other but them?

*Question 81.* Why did not the tribune of the people wear a purple garment, whenas each of the other magistrates wore one?

*Solution.* What if the tribune is not a magistrate at all? For he neither hath lictors, nor sitting in tribunal doth he determine causes; neither do the tribunes, as the rest, enter upon their office at the beginning of the year, nor do they cease when a dictator is chosen; but as if they translated all magistratic power to themselves, they continue still, being (as it were) no magistrates, but holding another kind of rank. And as some rhetoricians will not have a prohibition to be judicial proceeding, seeing it doth something contrary to judicial proceeding, — for the one brings in an action at law and gives judgment upon it, but the other nonsuits it and dismisseth the cause, — after the like manner they are of opinion that tribuneship is rather a curb to magistracy, and that it is an order standing in opposition to government rather than a piece of government itself; for the tribune's office and authority is to withstand the magistrate's authority, even to curtail his extravagant power. Perhaps these and like reasons may be mere ingenious inventions; but in truth, since tribuneship takes its original from the people, popularity is its stronghold, and it is a great thing not to carry it above the rest of the people, but to be like the citizens they have to do with in gesture, habit, and diet. State indeed becomes a consul and a prætor; but as for a tribune (as Caius Curio saith), he must be one that even is trampled upon, not grave in countenance, nor difficult of access, nor harsh to the rabble, but more tractable to them than to others. Hence it was decreed that the tribune's doors should not be shut, but be open night and day as a haven and place of refuge for distressed people. And to the degree his outward deportment is condescending, by so much doth he increase in his power; for they dignify him as one of public use, and to be resorted to of all sorts even as an altar; therefore by the reverence they give him, he is sacred, holy, and inviolable; and when he

makes a public progress, it is a law that every one should cleanse and purify the body as defiled.

*Question 82.* Why before the chief officers are rods carried bound together, with the axes fastened to them?

*Solution.* What if it be a significant ceremony, to show that a magistrate's anger ought not to be rash and ungrounded? Or is it that, while the rods are leisurely unloosing, they make deliberation and delay in their anger, so that oftentimes they change their sentence as to the punishment? Now, whereas some sort of crimes are curable, some incurable, rods correct the corrigible, but the axes are to cut off the incorrigible.

*Question 83.* What is the reason that the Romans, when they were informed that the barbarians called Bletonesians had sacrificed a man to the gods, sent for their magistrates to punish them; but when they made it appear that they did it in obedience to a certain law, they dismissed them, but prohibited the like action for the future; whenas they themselves, not many years preceding, buried two men and two women alive in the Forum Boarium, of whom two were Greeks and two Gauls? For it seems absurd to do this themselves, and yet to reprimand the barbarians as if they were committing profaneness.

*Solution.* What if this be the reason, that they reckoned it profane to sacrifice a man to the gods, but necessary to the dæmons? Or were they of opinion that they sinned that did such things by custom or law; but as for themselves, they did it being enjoined to it by the Sibylline books? For it is reported that one Elvia, a Vestal, riding on horseback was struck with lightning and cast from her horse, and the horse was found lying uncovered and she naked, as if on set purpose; her clothes had been turned up from her secret parts, also her shoes, rings, and head-gear all lay scattered up and down, here and there; her tongue also was hanging out of her mouth. And when the diviners declared that it was an intolerable disgrace to the holy virgins that it should be published, and that some part of the abuse did touch the Knights, a servant of a certain barbarian Knight informed, that three Vestal Virgins, Æmilia, Licinia, and Martia, about the same time had been deflowered, and for a long time played the whores with some men, among whom was Bute-

tius, the said informer's master. The virgins being convicted were punished; and the fact appearing heinous, it was thought meet that the priest should consult the Sibylline books, where there were oracles found foretelling these things would come to pass for mischief to the republic, and enjoining them — in order to avert the impending calamity — to provide two Grecians and two Gauls, and bury them alive in that place, in order to the appeasing some alien and foreign dæmons.

*Question 84.* Why do they take the beginning of the day from the midnight?

*Solution.* Is the reason that the commonweal had a military constitution at the first? For many matters of concern in war are managed by night. Or did they make sunrising the beginning of business, and the night the preparation for it? For men ought to come prepared to action, and not to be in preparation when they should be doing, — as Myso is reported to have said to Chilo the Wise, when he was making a fan in winter. Or as the noontide to many is the time for finishing public and weighty affairs, so did it seem meet to make midnight the beginning? This hath this confirmation, that a Roman governor would make no league or confederation in the afternoon. Or is it possible to take the beginning and end of the day from sunrising to sunsetting? As the vulgar measure the beginning of the day by sense to be the first appearance of the sun, and take the first beginning of the night to be its complete withdrawment from sight, we shall thus have no equinoctial day; but the night which we suppose comes nearest in equality to the day will be manifestly shorter than the day by the diameter of the sun. Which absurdity the astronomers, going about to solve, have determined that, where the centre of the sun toucheth the horizon, there is the true parting point between day and night. But this contradicts sense; whilst there is much light above the earth, yea, the sun illuminating us, will we not for all this confess it to be day, but must say that it is still night? Whereas then it is hard to take the beginning of the day from the rising and setting of the sun, by reason of the above noted absurdities, it remains to take the zenith and the nadir for the beginning. The last is best, for the sun's course from noon is by way of declination from

us; but from midnight he takes his course towards us, as sunrising comes on.

*Question 85.* Wherefore did they not in ancient times suffer women to grind or act as cook?

*Solution.* Perhaps, because they remembered the covenant that they made with the Sabines; for after they had robbed them of their daughters, and fighting many battles became reconciled, among other articles of agreement this was recorded, that a wife was not to grind nor play the cook for a Roman husband.

*Question 86.* Why do they not marry wives in the month of May?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, because May is between April and June, — concerning which months they have an opinion that that is sacred to Venus, this to Juno, both of them being nuptial goddesses, — they either take an opportunity a little before May, or tarry till it be over? Or is it that in this month they offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice, now casting the images of men from a bridge into the river, and formerly men themselves? Moreover, it is by law required that the Flaminica, who is considered the priestess of Juno, should be most sullen during the time, and neither wash nor ornament herself. Or is it because many of the Latins in this month celebrate the dead? And therefore perhaps they worship Mercury in this month, which from Maia derives its name? Or, as some say, is May derived from the elder time of life (*maior*) and Juno from younger (*iunior*)? For youth is more suitable to matrimony, as Euripides hath said,

Old age the Cyprian queen must ever shun,  
And Venus from old men in scorn doth run.

Therefore they marry not in May, but tarry till June, which is presently after May.

*Question 87.* Why do they part the hair of women when they are married with the point of a spear?

*Solution.* What if it be a significant ceremony, that they took their first wives in marriage by force of arms and war? Or that they may instruct them that they are to dwell with husbands that are soldiers and warriors, that they should put on such ornamental attire that is not luxurious or lascivious, but plain? So Ly-

curgus commanded that all the gates and tops of houses should be built with saw and hatchet, but no other sort of workmen's tool should be used about them; yea, he rejected all gayety and superfluity. Or doth this action parabolically intimate divorce, as that marriage can be dissolved only by the sword? Or it is that most of these nuptial ceremonies are connected with Juno? For a spear is decreed sacred to Juno, and most of her statues are supported by a spear, and she is surnamed Quiritis, and a spear of old was called *quiris*, wherefore they surname Mars Quirinus.

*Question 88.* Why do they call the capital that is laid out upon the public plays *lucar*?

*Solution.* Is it because there are many groves sacred to the gods about the city, which they call *luci*, and the revenue of these they expend upon the said plays?

*Question 89.* Why do they call the Quirinalia the Feast of Fools?

*Solution.* Was it because they set apart that day for those that were unacquainted with their own tribes, as Juba saith? Or was it for them that did not sacrifice, as the rest did, in the Fornicalia, by reason of business or long journeys or ignorance, so that it was allowed to them to solemnize that feast upon this day?

*Question 90.* What is the reason, when there is a sacrifice to Hercules, they mention no other god and no dog appears within the enclosure, as Varro saith?

*Solution.* Is the reason of their naming no other god, because they are of opinion that Hercules was but a half god? And Evander built an altar to him and brought him a sacrifice, whilst he was yet here among men. And of all creatures he had most enmity to a dog, for this creature always held him hard to it, as did Cerberus; and that which most of all prejudiced him was, when Eonus, the son of Licymnius, was slain for a dog's sake by the Hippocoontidæ, he was necessitated to take up the cudgels, and lost many of his friends and his brother Iphicles.

*Question 91.* Why was it unlawful for the patricians to dwell about the Capitol?

*Solution.* Was it because M. Manlius, whilst he dwelt there, affected arbitrary government; upon whose account the family came under an oath of abjuration that no Man-

lius should for the future bear the name of Marcus? Or was this an ancient suspicion? For the potent men would never leave calumniating Publicola, a most popular man, nor would the common people leave suspecting him till he had plucked down his house, which seemed to hang over the forum.

*Question 92.* Why do they put a garland of oaken leaves on him that saves a citizen in battle?

*Solution.* Is it because it is easy to find an oak everywhere in the military expedition? Or is it because a crown is sacred to Jupiter and Juno, who in their opinion are the city guardians? Or was it an ancient custom among the Arcadians, who are something akin to the oak? For they repute themselves the first men produced of the earth, as the oak among the vegetables.

*Question 93.* Why do they for the most part use vultures for soothsaying?

*Solution.* Was this the reason, because twelve vultures appeared to Romulus upon the building of Rome? Or because of all birds this is least frequent and common? For it is not easy to meet with young vultures, but they fly to us unexpectedly from some remote parts; therefore the sight of them is portentous. Or perhaps they learned this from Hercules, if Herodotus speak true that Hercules rejoiced most in the beginning of an enterprise at the sight of a vulture, being of opinion that a vulture was the justest of all birds of prey. For first, he meddles not with any living creature, neither doth he destroy anything that hath breath in it, as eagles, hawks, and owls do that prey by night, but lives only upon dead carcasses; and next, he passeth by all those of his kind, for none ever saw a vulture feeding on a bird, as eagles and hawks do, which for the most part pursue birds like themselves, and slay them, even as Æschylus hath it,

A bird that preys on birds, how can't be clean?

And verily this bird is not pernicious to men, for it neither destroys fruits nor plants, nor is hurtful to any tame animal. Moreover if it be (as the Egyptians fabulously pretend) that the whole kind of them is of the female sex, and that they conceive by the reception of the east wind into their bodies, as the trees do by receiving the west



wind, it is most probable that very certain and sound prognostic may be made from them; whereas in other birds (there being so many rapines, flights, and pursuits about copulation) there are great disturbances and uncertainties attending of them.

*Question 94.* For what reason is Æsculapius' temple placed without the city?

*Solution.* Was it because they reckoned it a wholesomer kind of living without the city than within? For the Greeks have placed the edifices belonging to Æsculapius for the most part on high places, where the air is clean. Or is it that they suppose this god was fetched from Epidaurus? For the temple of Æsculapius is not close by that city, but at a great distance from it. Or is it that, by a serpent that went on shore out of a trireme galley into the island and disappeared, they think the god himself intimated to them the place of building his temple?

*Question 95.* Why was it ordained that they that were to live pure should abstain from pulse?

*Solution.* Did they, like the Pythagoreans, abominate beans, and the lathyrus and erebinthus because named from Lethe and Erebus? Or was it because they used pulse for the most part in their feasts and invocations of the dead? Or rather was it because they should bring empty and slender bodies to their purifications and expiations? For pulse are windy, and cause a great deal of excrements that require purging off. Or is it because they irritate lechery, by reason of their flatulent and windy nature?

*Question 96.* Why do they inflict no other punishment on the Vestal Virgins, when they are defiled, than burying them alive?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, because they burn the dead, and to bury her by fire who hath not preserved sacred the divine fire would be unjust? Or was it that they judged it a wicked act to cut off a person sanctified by the greatest ceremonial purification, and to lay hands on a holy woman; and therefore they contrived a machine for her to die in of herself, and let her down into a vault made under ground, where was placed a candle burning, also some bread and milk and water, and then the den was covered with earth on the top? Neither by this execrable

manner of devoting them are they exempt from dæmon worship; but to this day the priests going to the place perform purgatory rites.

*Question 97.* What is the reason that, at the horse-race on the Ides of December, the lucky horse that beats is sacrificed as sacred to Mars; and a certain man, cutting off his tail, brings it to a place called Regia, and besmears the altar with the blood of it; but for the head, one party coming down from the way called Sacred, and another from the Suburra, do fight?

*Solution.* Whether was it (as some say) that, reckoning that Troy was taken by a horse, they punish a horse, as being the

Renowned Trojan race commixt with Latin boys?

Or is it because a horse is a fierce, warlike, and martial beast, therefore they do sacrifice to the gods the things that are most acceptable and suitable; and he that conquers is offered, because victory and prowess doth belong to that god? Or because to stand in battle is the work of God, and they that keep their ranks and files do conquer those that do not keep them but fly, and swiftness of foot is punished as allied to cowardice; so that hereby it is significantly taught that there is no safety to them that run away?

*Question 98.* What is the reason that the censors entering upon their office do nothing before they have provided meat for the sacred geese, and for polishing the statue?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that they begin with those things that savor of most frugality, and such things as want not much charge and trouble? Or is it in grateful commemoration of what these creatures did of old, when the Gauls invaded Rome and the barbarians scaled the walls of the Capitol by night? The geese were sensible of it when the dogs were asleep, they with their gaggling awaked the watch. Or, seeing the censors are the conservers of such things as are of greatest and most necessary concern, — to oversee and narrowly inspect the public sacrifices, and the lives, manners, and diet of men, — do they presently set before their consideration the most vigilant creature, and by the watchfulness of these

instruct the citizens not to disregard or neglect sacred things? As for the polishing of the statue, it is necessary, for the minium (wherewith they of old colored the statues) soon fades.

*Question 99.* What is the reason that of other priests they depose any one that is condemned or banished, and substitute another in his room; but remove not the augur from his priesthood so long as he lives, though he be convicted of the greatest crimes? They call them augurs who are employed in soothsaying.

*Solution.* Is the reason (as some say) that they will have none to know the mysteries of the priests who is not a priest? Or that the augur is bound by oath to discover to none the management of sacred things; therefore they refuse to absolve him from his oath, when he is reduced to a private capacity? Or is it that the title of augur is not a title of honor and dignity, but of skill and art? It would therefore be the like case to depose a musician from being a musician or a physician from being a physician, with that of prohibiting a diviner from being a diviner; seeing they cannot take away his faculty, though they deprive him of the title. Moreover they do not substitute augurs, because they will keep to the number of augurs that were at the beginning.

*Question 100.* What is the reason that in the Ides of August (which at first they called Sextilis) all the slaves, men and women, do feast, but the free women make it most of their business to wash and purge their heads?

*Solution.* Was it that King Servius about this day was born of a captive maid-servant, and hence the servants have a vacation time from work; and that rinsing the head was a thing that took its original from a custom of the maid-servants upon the account of the feast, and finally was used also by the free women?

*Question 101.* Why do they finify their boys with necklaces, which they call bullæ?

*Solution.* What if this were for the honor of the wives which were taken by force? For as many other things, so this might be one of the injunctions laid on their posterity. Or did they it in honor of Tarquin's manhood? For it is reported of him that, whilst he was but a boy, being engaged in a battle against the Latins and Tuscans, charging his enemies, he fell from his horse; yet animating

those Romans which were engaged in the charge, he led them on courageously. The enemies were put to a remarkable rout, and six thousand were slain; whereupon he had this badge of honor bestowed upon him by his father the king. Or was it that by the ancients it was neither lewd nor dishonorable to love beautiful slaves (as now the comedies testify), but that they resolvedly abstained from free-born servants; and lest, by coming accidentally on naked boys, they should ignorantly transgress, the free boys wore this mark of distinction? Or was this a protection of good order, and after a manner a curb of incontinency; they being ashamed to pretend to manhood before they have put off the badge of children? That which they say who follow Varro is not probable, that *boule* by the Æolians is called *bolla*, and this is put about children as a teaching sign of good counsel. But consider whether they do not wear it for the moon's sake. For the visible face of the moon, when it is halved, is not spherical, but has a form like a lentil or a quoit; and (as Empedocles supposeth) so is also the side that is opposite it.

*Question 102.* Why do they name boys when at nine days old, and girls at eight?

*Solution.* Perhaps it's a natural reason, that girls are forwarder, for the female grows up and comes to full stature and perfection before the male. But they take the days after the seventh, because the seventh is dangerous to infants by reason of the navel-string; for with many it falls off at seven days, and until it falls off, an infant is more like a plant than an animal. Or is it, as the Pythagoreans reckon, that the even number is the feminine, and the odd number the masculine? For it is a fruitful number, and excels the even in respect of its composition. And if these numbers be divided into units, the even, like a female, hath an empty space in the middle; the odd number always leaves a segment in the middle, wherefore this is fit to be compared to the male, that to the female. Or is it thus, that of all numbers nine is the first square number made of three, which is an odd and perfect number, but eight is the first cube made of two, an even number; whence a male ought to be square, superexcelling, and complete; but a woman, like a cube, constant, a good housewife, and no gadding

gossip? This also may be added that, as eight is a cube from the root two, and nine the square of three, so the female makes use of two names, and the males of three.

*Question 103.* Why do they call those whose fathers are not known *Spurius*?

*Solution.* Is it not verily — as the Grecians suppose and as the rhetoricians say in their determinations — because they are begot of some promiscuous and common seed? But *Spurius* is found among first names, as *Sextus*, *Decimus*, *Caius*. But the Romans do not write all the letters of the first name; but either one letter, as *T.* for *Titus*, *L.* for *Lucius*, *M.* for *Marcus*; or two letters, as *Ti.* for *Tiberius*, *Cn.* for *Cnæus*; or three, as *Sex.* for *Sextus*, and *Ser.* for *Servius*. Now *Spurius* is of those that are written with two letters, *Sp.* But with these same letters they write *without father*, *S.* for *sine*, and *P.* for *patre*, which truly hath caused the mistake. Moreover, we may meet with another reason, but it is more absurd. They say, that the Sabines called the privities of a woman *spurius*; and therefore they call him so, by way of reproach, who is born of a woman unmarried and unespoused.

*Question 104.* Why did they call *Bacchus Liber Pater*?

*Solution.* Was the reason because they make him, as it were, the father of liberty to tipplers? For most men become very audacious and are filled with too much licentious prattle, by reason of too much drink. Or is this it, that he hath supplied them with a libamen, a drink-offering? Or is it, as *Alexander* hath said, that *Bacchus* is called *Eleutherius* from his having his abode about *Eleuthera*, a city of *Bœotia*?

*Question 105.* For what cause was it, that on high holidays it was not a custom for virgins to marry, but widows did marry then?

*Solution.* Is the reason, as *Varro* saith, that virgins, forsooth, are married weeping, but widows with joyful glee, and people are to do nothing of a holiday with a heavy heart nor by compulsion? Or rather is it because it is decent for virgins to marry with more than a few present, but for widows to marry with a great many present is indecent? For the first marriage is zealously affected, the second to be deprecated; yea, they are ashamed to marry a second husband while their first hus-

band lives, and they lament them when they die. Hence they are pleased more with silence than with tumults and pompous doings; and the feasts do attract the generality of people to them, so that they cannot be at leisure on holidays for such wedding solemnities. Or was it that they that robbed the Sabines of their daughters that were virgins on the feast-day raised thereby a war, and looked therefore upon it as unlucky to marry virgins on holidays?

*Question 106.* Why do the Romans worship Fortuna Primigenia?

*Solution.* Was it because Servius, being by Fortune born of a servant-maid, came to rule king in Rome with great splendor? And this is the supposition of most Romans. Or rather is it that Fortune hath bestowed on Rome itself its very original and birth? Or may not this matter require a more natural and philosophical reason, even that Fortune is the beginning of all things and that Nature itself is produced out of things that are fortuitous when events that come by chance take an order among themselves?

*Question 107.* Why do the Romans call the artists who appear in the worship of Bacchus *histriones*?

*Solution.* Is it for the reason which C. Rufus tells us? For he says, that in ancient time, C. Sulpicius and Licinius Stolo, being consuls, a pestilence raging in Rome, all the actors upon the stage were cut off; wherefore, upon the request of the Romans, many and good artists came from Etruria, among whom he that excelled in fame and had been longest experienced on the public stages was called Histrus, and from him they named all the stage-players.

*Question 108.* Why do not men marry women that are near akin?

*Solution.* Is this the reason, that they design by marriage to augment their family concerns and to procure many relations, by giving wives to strangers and marrying wives out of other families? Or do they suspect that the contentions that would happen among relations upon marriage would destroy even natural rights? Or is it that, considering that wives by reason of weakness stand in need of many helpers, they would not have near akin marry together, that their own kindred might stand by them when their husbands wrong them?

*Question 109.* Why is it not lawful for the high priest

of Jupiter, which they call Flamen Dialis, to touch meal or leaven?

*Solution.* Is it because meal is imperfect and crude nourishment? For the wheat neither hath continued what it was, neither is it made into bread as it must be; but it hath lost the faculty of seed, and hath not attained to usefulness for food. Wherefore the poet hath named meal, by a metaphor, *destroyed*, as if the corn were spoiled and destroyed by grinding. Leaven, as it is made by corruption, corrupts the mass that it is mingled with, for it is made thereby looser and weaker; and fermentation is a kind of corruption, which, if it be over-much, makes the bread sour and spoils it.

*Question 110.* Why is the same high priest forbid to touch raw flesh?

*Solution.* Is it because custom makes them averse enough to raw flesh? Or for the same reason that makes them averse to meal doth also make them averse to flesh; for it is neither a living creature nor dressed food? Roasting or boiling, being an alteration and change, doth alter its form; but fresh and raw flesh offers not a pure and unpolluted object to the eye, but such as is offensive to the eye, and like that of a raw wound.

*Question 111.* Why do they require the priest to abstain from a dog and a goat, neither to touch nor name them?

*Solution.* Was it that they abominated the lasciviousness and stink of a goat, or that they suspected it to be a diseased creature? For it seems this animal is more seized with the falling sickness than other creatures, and is contagious to them that eat or touch it while it hath this disease; they say, the cause is the straightness of the wind-pipes, often intercepting the breath, a sign of which they make the smallness of their voice to be; for it happens to men that are epileptical, that they utter a voice sounding much like the bleat of a goat. Now in a dog there may be less of lasciviousness and of an ill scent; although some say that dogs are not permitted to go into the high street of Athens — no, not into the island Delos — by reason of their open coition; as if kine, swine, and horses did use coition in bed-chambers, and not openly and lawlessly. The true reason is; — because a dog is a quarrelsome creature; they therefore expel dogs

out of sanctuaries and sacred temples, giving safe access to suppliants for refuge. Wherefore it is very likely that the priest of Jupiter, being (one might say) an animated and sacred image, granted for refuge to petitioners and suppliants, doth banish or fright away none. For which cause a couch was set for him in the porch of the house, and they that fell on their knees before him had immunity from stripes or punishment that day; and if one in fetters addressed him, he was unloosed, and his fetters were not cast down by the door but thrown from the roof. It would be therefore no advantage that he should carry himself so mild and courteous, if there were a dog at the door, scaring and frightening them that petitioned for sanctuary. Neither did the ancients at all repute this creature clean; for he is offered in sacrifice to none of the celestial gods, but being sent to Hecate, an infernal goddess, at the three cross-ways for a supper, takes a share in averting calamities and in expiations. In Lacedæmon they cut puppies in pieces to Mars, that most cruel god. In Bœotia public expiation is made by passing between the parts of a dog divided in twain. But the Romans sacrifice a dog in the cleansing month, on the festival they call Lupercalia. Hence it was not without cause, to prohibit them whose charge it was to worship the highest and holiest god from making a dog familiar and accustomed to them.

*Question 112.* What is the reason that a priest of Jupiter is forbid to touch an ivy, or to pass over that way that is overspread with vine branches?

*Solution.* Is it not of the like nature with those directions of Pythagoras, not to eat in a chair, not to sit upon a measure called a chœnix, and not to cross over a broom? For the Pythagoreans do not fear and refrain from these things, but they forbid other things by these. Now to go under a vine hath reference to wine, because it is not lawful for a priest to be drunk. For the wine is above the heads of those that are drunk, and they are depraved and debased thereby; whereas it is requisite that they should be above pleasure and conquer it, but not be subdued by it. As for the ivy, — it being unfruitful and useless to men, as also infirm, and by reason of its infirmity being in need of other trees to climb upon, though by its shadow and sight of its greenness it doth bewitch the vul-



gar, — what if they judge it not convenient to grow it about a house because it bringeth no profit, or to suffer it to surround anything, seeing it is so hurtful to plants that bear it up, while it occupieth the ground? Hence ivy is forbidden at the Olympic festivals, and neither at Athens in Juno's sacrifices, nor at Thebes in those belonging to Venus, can any wild ivy be seen; though in the Agrionia and Nyctelia (which are services to Bacchus for the most part taking place in the dark) it is to be found. Or was this a symbol of the prohibition of revels and sports of Bacchus? For women that were addicted to Bacchanal sports presently ran to the ivy and plucked it off, tearing it in pieces with their hands and gnawing it with their mouths, so that they are not altogether to be disbelieved that say it hath an infatuating and delirious spirit in it, transporting and bereaving of the senses, and that alone by itself it introduceth drunkenness without wine to those that have an easy inclination to enthusiasm.

*Question 113.* Why are not these priests allowed to take upon them or attempt civil authority, while for honor's sake, they have a lictor and a curule chair, a sort of consolation for their being excluded from magistracies?

*Solution.* Was it because in some places of Greece the dignity of priesthood was equal with kingship, and therefore they designated not ordinary persons to be priests? Or rather, — since they have appointed office-employments, whereas the charge of kings is unmethodical and indefinite, — that it would not be possible, if both fell out at the same time, that he should be able to attend both, but he must of necessity neglect one (both pressing together upon him), sometimes neglecting the worship of God, and sometimes injuring the subjects? Or else, observing that there is no less necessity than power associated with the administration of civil government, and that the ruler of the people (as Hippocrates saith of the physician) doth see serious matters and hath to do with weighty matters, and from other men's calamities is exposed to troubles peculiar to himself, did they think him not sacred enough to sacrifice to the gods and manage the sacrifices who had been present at the condemnation and execution of citizens, and often of some of his own kindred and family, as happened to Brutus?

## GREEK QUESTIONS.

*Question 1.* Who are they at Epidaurus called *Κονίποδες* and *ἄρτυνοι*?

*Solution.* The managers of the affairs of the commonwealth were one hundred and eighty men; out of these they elected senators, which they called *ἄρτυνοι*. The most part of the common people were conversant in husbandry; these they called *κονίποδες*, because (as may be supposed) they were known by their dirty feet when they came into the city.

*Question 2.* What woman was that among the Cumans called Onobatis?

*Solution.* This was one of the women taken in adultery, which they brought into the market-place, and set her upon a certain stone to be seen of all; from thence they took her and set her on ass-back, and led her round about the city, and afterwards set her up again upon the stone; the rest of her life she passed in disgrace. Her they called Onobatis (the woman that rode upon an ass); hence they abominated the stone as unclean. There was also a certain magistrate among them, called Phylactes (a conservator); he that had this office kept the prison for the rest of his time; but at the nocturnal convention of the senators he came into the council, and laying hands on the kings led them forth, and detained them in custody until the senate had determined concerning them, voting secretly, whether they had acted unrighteously or not.

*Question 3.* Who is the *Ἵπεκκάστρα* among the Soleses?

*Solution.* They call the she-priest of Minerva so, because she offers certain sacrifices and oblations for the averting of impending calamities.

*Question 4.* Who are the *Ἀμνήμονες* among the Cnidians, and who is the *Ἀφροστήρ*?

*Solution.* The sixty selected men chosen from among the nobles, whom they used as overseers and principal counsellors for life in matters of greatest concern, they

called Amnemonēs (as a man may suppose) because they were not accountable to any for what they did, or verily (in my opinion) rather because they were men carrying much business in their memories. And he that acted as president was called Apester.

*Question 5.* Who were the *Χρηστοί* among the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians?

*Solution.* When the Lacedæmonians were agreed with the Tegeats, they made a league with them, and set up a common pillar on the river Alpheus, upon which this is written, among other things, "Drive out the Messenians from your borders, and make none of them *χρηστοί*, good." Aristotle interpreting this saith, that none of the Tegeats ought to be slain that endeavored to bring aid to the Lacedæmonians.

*Question 6.* Who is *Κριθολόγος* among the Opuntians?

*Solution.* The most of the Greeks did use barley at their ancient sacrifices, when the citizens offered their first-fruits; now they called him Crithologus who presided over the sacrifices and received the first-fruits. They had two priests, one that had the chief charge of the divine things, the other of dæmonic affairs.

*Question 7.* What sort of clouds are the Ploiades?

*Solution.* Showering clouds which were carried up and down were, for the most part, called Ploiades, as Theophrastus hath said expressly in his fourth book of Meteors: "Whereas indeed the Ploiades are those clouds which have a consistency and are not so movable, but as color white, which discover a kind of different matter, neither very watery nor very windy."

*Question 8.* Who is called *Platychætās* among the Bœotians?

*Solution.* They that had neighboring houses or bordering fields were so called in the Æolic dialect, as having wide estates. I will add one saying out of the Thes-mophylacian law, seeing there are many. . . .

*Question 9.* Who is he among the people of Delphi who is called *Ἄσπιωτήρ*? And why do they call one of the months Bysius?

*Solution.* They call the slain sacrifice *Ἄσπιωτήρ* when the *ἄσιος* (*the holy one*) is declared. There are five of these holy ones for life, and these transact many things with the prophets, and sacrifice together with them, supposing

that they are descended from Deucalion. The month Bysius, as many think, is the same as Φύσιος (*natural*), for it is in the beginning of the spring, when most things do sprout and put forth buds. But this is not the true reason. For the Delphians do not use *b* for *ph* (as the Macedonians, who say Bilippus, Balacrus, and Beronica, for Philippus, Phalacrus, and Pheronica), but instead of *p*; they for the most part saying βαρεῖν for πατεῖν, and βικρόν for πικρόν. Therefore they say Bysius for Pysius, because in that month they inquire of and consult their god Apollo. This is their genuine and country way of speaking. For in that month an oracle is given forth, and they call that week the nativity of Apollo, and the name is Polythous, not because of their baking a sort of cakes called Pthides, but because then their oracle is full of answers and prophecies. For it is but of late that oraculous answers were given to the inquirer every month. In former times Pythia gave answers only once a year, which was in this month, as Callisthenes and Anaxandridas have told us.

*Question 10.* What is Phyxemelum?

*Solution.* It is one of the small plants that creep upon the ground, upon whose branches the cattle treading do hinder, hurt, and spoil their growth. Where therefore they have attained some considerable bigness by growth, and escaped the injury, they are called φεξιμίηλα (*i.e.* that have escaped the danger of cattle), of which Æschylus is witness.

*Question 11.* Who are the Ἀποσφενδόνται?

*Solution.* The Eretrians inhabited the island of Corcyra. But when Charicrates set sail from Corinth with a considerable strength and overcame them in battle, the Eretrians took shipping and sailed to their native country; of which thing the inhabitants of that country having timely notice, gave them a repulse, and by slinging stones at them impeded their landing. Now being not able either to persuade or force their way, seeing the multitude was implacably bent against them, they sailed into Thrace and took possession of that country, where they say Metho first inhabited, of whose offspring Orpheus was. The city therefore they call Methone, and of the neighboring inhabitants the men are called Aposphendoneti, *i.e.* they that were repulsed with sling-stones.

*Question 12.* What was Charila among the Delphians?

*Solution.* The Delphians solemnized three nonennial feasts in consecutive order, of which they call one Stepterium, another Herois, and the third Charila. The Stepterium represents by imitation the fight which Apollo had with Python, and both his flight and pursuit after the fight unto Tempe. For some say that he fled, as needing purification by reason of the slaughter; others say that he pursued Python wounded, and flying along the highway which they now call Sacred, he left him almost dead; for he discovered him just dead of his wound, and buried by his son, whose name was Aix, as they say. Stepterium therefore is the representation of these or some such things. But as to Herois, it hath for the most part a mysterious reason which the Thyades are acquainted with; but by the things that are publicly acted one may conjecture it to be the evocation of Semele from the infernal world. Concerning Charila, they fable some such things as these. A famine by reason of drought seized the Delphians, who came with their wives and children as suppliants to the king's gate, whereupon he distributed meal and pulse to the most notable among them, for there was not sufficient for all. A little orphan girl yet coming and importuning him, he beat her with his shoe, and threw his shoe in her face. She indeed was a poor wandering beggar-wench, but was not of an ignoble disposition; therefore withdrawing herself, she untied her girdle and hanged herself. The famine hereupon increasing and many diseases accompanying it, Pythia gives answer to the king, that the maid Charila who slew herself must be expiated. They with much ado at last discovering that this was the maid's name which was smitten with a shoe, they instituted a certain sacrifice mixed with expiatory rites, which they yet solemnize to this day every ninth year. Whereat the king presides, distributing meal and pulse to all strangers and citizens (for they introduce a kind of an effigy of the wench Charila); and when all have received their doles, the king smites the idol with his shoe. Upon this the governess of the Thyades takes up the effigy and carries it away to some rocky place, and there putting a halter about its neck, they bury it in the place where Charila was buried when she had strangled herself.

*Question 13.* What is the beggars' flesh among the Ænians?

*Solution.* Many have been the removes of the Ænians. First they inhabited the plain of Dotion; thence they were expelled by the Lapithæ to the Æthices; from thence they betook themselves to a region of Molossia about the Aous, where they were called Paravæans; afterward they took possession of Cirrha; they had no sooner landed at Cirrha (Apollo so commanding their king (Enoclus) but they went down to the country bordering on the river Inachus, inhabited by the Inachians and Achæans. There was an oracle given to the last named, that they would lose all their country if they should part with any of it,— and to the Ænians, that they would keep it if they should take it of such as freely resigned it. Temo, a noted man among the Ænians, putting on rags and a scrip, like a beggar, addressed himself to the Inachians; the king, in a way of reproach and scorn, gave him a clod of earth. He receives it and puts it up into his scrip, and absconds himself, making much of his dole; for he presently forsakes the country, begging no more. The old men surprised at this, the oracle came fresh to their remembrance; and going to the king, they told him that he ought not to slight this man, nor suffer him to escape. Temo well perceiving their designs, hastens his flight, and as he fled, vowed a hecatomb to Apollo. Upon this occasion the kings fought hand to hand; and when Phemius, the king of the Ænians, saw Hyperochus, the king of the Inachians, charging him with a dog at his heels, he said he dealt not fairly to bring a second with him to fight him; whereupon Hyperochus going to drive away the dog, and turning himself about in order to throw a stone at the dog, Phemius slays him. Thus the Ænians possessed themselves of that region, expelling the Inachians and Achæans; but they reverence that stone as sacred, and sacrifice to it. And when they offer a hecatomb to Apollo, they sacrifice an ox to Jupiter, a choice part of which they distribute to Temo's posterity, and call it the beggars' flesh.

*Question 14.* Who were the Coliads among the Ithacans? And what was a *φάγλιος*?

*Solution.* After the slaughter of the suitors, some near related to the deceased made head against Ulysses. Neoptolemus, being introduced by both parties as an arbitrator, determined that Ulysses should remove and hasten out of Cephalenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca, because of the blood

that he had shed there; but that the friends and relations of the suitors should pay a yearly mulct to Ulysses, for the wrong done to his family. Ulysses therefore passed over into Italy; the mulct he devoted to his son, and commanded the Ithacans to pay it. The mulct was meal, wine, honey-combs, oil, salt, and for sacrifice the larger of the *phagili*. Aristotle saith *phagilus* was a lamb. And Telemachus, setting Eumæus and his people at liberty, placed them among the citizens; and the family of the Coliads are descendants from Eumæus, and that of the Bucolians from Philœtius.

*Question 15.* What is the wooden dog among the Locrians?

*Solution.* Locrus was the son of Fuscus, the son of Amphictyon. Of him and Cabya came Locrus, with whom his father falling into contention, and gathering after him a great number of citizens, consulted the oracle about transplanting a colony. The oracle told him that there he should build a city, where he should happen to be bit by a wooden dog. He, wafting over the sea unto the next shore, trod upon a cynosbatus (a sweet brier), and being sorely pained with the prick, he spent many days there; in which time considering the nature of the country, he built Phycus and Hyantheia, and other towns which the Ozolian Locrians inhabited. Some say that the Locrians were called Ozolians (strong-scented people) from Nessus — others again from Python the serpent — cast up there by the surf of the sea, and putrefying upon the shore. And some say that the men wore pelts and ram-goat skins, living for the most part among the herds of goats, and therefore were strong-scented. Others contrariwise say that the country brought forth many flowers, and that this name was from their sweet odor; among them that assert this is Archytas the Amphiscean, who hath wrote thus:

Maecyna crowned with vines fragrant and sweet.

*Question 16.* What manner of thing is that among the Megarians called ἀφάβρωμα?

*Solution.* Nisus, of whom Nisæa had its name, in the time of his reign married Abrota of Bœotia, the daughter of Onchestus and sister of Megareus, a woman (as it seems) excelling in prudence and singularly modest.

When she died, the Megarians cordially lamented her; and Nisus, willing to eternalize her memory and renown, gave command that the Megarian women should dress in a garment like unto that which she wore, and that dress they called from her name *aphabroma*. And verily it is manifest that the oracle countenanced the veneration of this woman; for when the Megarian women would often have altered their garments, the oracle prohibited it.

*Question 17.* Who was called *δορύξενος*?

*Solution.* The country of Megaris was anciently settled in villages, the inhabitants being divided into five parts; and they were called Herænians, Pirænians, Megarians, Cynosurians, and Tripodiscæans. These the Corinthians drew into a civil war (for they always contrived to bring the Megarians into their power). Yet they waged war with much moderation and neighborly designs; for no man did at all injure the husbandman, and there was a stated ransom determined for all that were taken captive. And this they received after the release of the prisoner, and not before; but he that took the captive prisoner brought him home, gave him entertainment, and then gave him liberty to depart to his own house. Wherefore he that brought in the price of his ransom was applauded, and remained the friend of him that received it, and was called *doryxenus*, from his being a captive by the spear; but he that dealt fraudulently was reputed an unjust and unfaithful person, not only by the enemy but by the citizens also.

*Question 18.* What is *παλιντοκία*?

*Solution.* When the Megarians had expelled Theagenes the tyrant, they managed the commonweal for some time with moderation. But then (to speak with Plato), when their orators had filled out to them, even to excess, the wine of liberty, they became altogether corrupt, and the poor carried themselves so insolently toward the richer sort, that they entered into their houses and demanded that they might be feasted and sumptuously treated. But where they prevailed not, they used violence and abusive behavior, and at last enacted a law to enable them to fetch back from the usurers the interest which at any time they had paid, calling the execution thereof *palintocia*, i.e. the returning of interest.



*Question 19.* What is the Anthedon of which Pythia speaks,

Drink wine on th' lees, who at Anthedon don't dwell?

For Anthedon in Bœotia did not produce much wine.

*Solution.* Of old they called Calauria Irene from a woman Irena, which they fable to be the daughter of Neptune and Melanthea, the daughter of Alpheus. Afterwards, when the people of Anthes and Hyperes planted there, they called the island Anthedonia and Hyperia. The oracle, as Aristotle saith, was this:

Drink wine on th' lees, who at Anthedon don't dwell,  
Nor sacred Hypera where thou drank'st pure wine.

Thus Aristotle; but Mnasigeiton saith that Anthus, who was brother to Hypera, was lost when he was an infant, and Hypera rambling about to find him, came at Pheræ to Acastus (or Adrastus), where by chance he found Anthus serving as a wine-drawer. While they were feasting, the boy bringing a cup of wine to his sister, he knew her, and said to her softly,

Drink wine on th' lees, who at Anthedon don't dwell.

*Question 20.* What is that darkness at the oak, spoken of in Priene?

*Solution.* The Samians and Prienians waging war with each other, as at other times they sufficiently injured each other, so at a certain great fight the Prienians slew a thousand of the Samians. Seven years after, fighting with the Milesians at the said oak, they lost all the principal and chief of their citizens together, at the time when Bias the Wise (who was sent ambassador from Priene to Samos) was famous. This grievous and sad calamity befalling the women, there was established an execration and oath — to be taken about matters of greatest concern — by “the Darkness at the Oak,” because their children, fathers, and husbands were there slain.

*Question 21.* Who were they among the Cretans called *Κατακῆνται*?

*Solution.* They say that the Tyrrhenians took away by force from Brauron the daughters and wives of the Athe-

nians, at the time when they inhabited Lemnos and Imbros; from whence being driven they came to Laconia, and fell into a commixture with that people, even so far as to beget children on the native women. So, by reason of jealousy and calumnies, they were again constrained to leave Laconia, and with their wives and children to waft over into Crete, having Pollis and his brother their governors. There waging war with the inhabitants of Crete, they were fain to permit many of them that were slain in battle to lie unburied; in that at first they had no leisure, by reason of the war and peril they were in, and afterward they shunned the touching of the dead corpses, being corrupted by time and putrefied. Therefore Pollis contrived to bestow certain dignities, privileges, and immunities, some on the priests of the gods, and some on the buriers of the dead, consecrating their honors to the infernal divinities, that they should remain perpetual to them. Then he divided to his brother a share by lot. The first he named priests, the other *catacautæ* (burners). But as to the government, each of them managed it apart, and had, among other tranquillities, an immunity from those injurious practices which other Cretans were wont to exercise toward one another privily; for they neither wronged them, nor filched or robbed anything from them.

*Question 22.* What was the Sepulchre of the Boys at Chalcedon?

*Solution.* Cothus and Arelus the sons of Zuthus came to Eubœa to dwell, the Æolians possessing the greatest part of the island at that time. The oracle told Cothus, that he should prosper and conquer his enemies if he bought the country. Going ashore a little after, he happened to meet with some children playing by the seaside; whereupon he fell to play with them, conforming himself to their humors and showing them many outlandish toys. Seeing the children very desirous to have them, he refused to give them any upon any other terms than to receive land for them. The boys, taking up some earth from the ground, gave it to him, receiving the toys, and he departed. The Æolians (perceiving what was done, and the enemies sailing in upon them) moved by indignation and grief, slew the children and buried them near the wayside that goes from the city to the Euripus; and that place is called the Sepulchre of the Boys.

*Question 23.* Who is Μιξαρχαγέτας in Argos? And who are the Ἑλάσιοι?

*Solution.* They call Castor Mixarchagetas, and are of opinion that he was buried in the country; but they worship Pollux as one of the celestial deities. Those which they supposed were able to drive away the falling sickness, they called Elasi, esteeming them to be of the posterity of Alexida the daughter of Amphiaraus.

*Question 24.* What is that which is called ἔγκνισμα by the Argives?

*Solution.* It was a custom among those that lost any of their kindred or acquaintance, presently after mourning to sacrifice to Apollo, and thirty days after to Mercury. For they are of opinion that, as the earth receives the bodies of the deceased, so Mercury receives their souls. Giving then barley to Apollo's minister, they take the flesh of the sacrifice, and extinguishing the fire as polluted but kindling it again, they boil this flesh, calling it ἔγκνισμα.

*Question 25.* Who are Ἀλάστωρ, Ἀλιτήριος, and Παλαμναῖος?

*Solution.* For we must not give credit to those that say that such are called *aliterii* who, in the time of dearth, watch the miller and steal the corn. But he was called Alastor who did exploits not to be forgotten but had in remembrance for a long time. Aliterius is to be avoided and observed upon the account of his knavery. Such things (saith Socrates) were engraven in plates of brass.

*Question 26.* What is the meaning of this, that the virgins that follow those that lead the ox from Ænos to Cassiopæa sing, till they approach the borders, in this manner,

To native country dear O may ye ne'er return?

*Solution.* The Ænians, being first driven out by the Lapithæ, took up their habitation about Æthacia, and then about Molossis and Cassiopæa. But the country affording no staple commodity, and being ill bestead with troublesome neighbors, they went into the Cirræan plain, under the conduct of Enoclus their king. There being great droughts there, by warning from an oracle (as they say) they stoned Enoclus; and betaking themselves to ramble again, they came into this country which they now possess, being very pleasant and fruitful. So with good reason they pray to the gods that they may never return

again to their ancient native country, but may abide where they are in prosperity.

*Question 27.* What is the reason that at Rhodes the crier never enters into the temple of Ocridion?

*Solution.* Was it because Ochimus espoused his daughter Cydippe to Ocridion? But Cercaphus, who was brother to Ochimus, falling in love with the maid, persuaded the crier (for it was the custom to fetch a bride by the crier) to bring her to him. This being accordingly done, Cercaphus got the maid and fled; afterward, when Ochimus was grown old, he returned. Wherefore it was enacted by the Rhodians that a crier should not enter into the chapel of Ocridion, because of the injustice done by him.

*Question 28.* What is the reason that at Tenedos a piper might not go into the temple of Tenes, and no mention might be made of Achilles in that temple?

*Solution.* Was it because, after his step-mother accused Tenes that he would have lain with her, Molpus a piper bore false witness against him; whereupon Tenes took occasion to fly into Tenedos with his sister? And they say that Achilles was strictly charged by Thetis his mother not to slay Tenes, as one that was much respected by Apollo, and she committed the trust to one of the household servants that he should take special care and put him in mind of it, lest Achilles should kill Tenes at unawares. But when Achilles made an incursion into Tenedos and pursued the sister of Tenes, being very fair, Tenes met him and defended his sister; whereupon she escaped, but Tenes was slain. Achilles, recognizing him as he fell down dead, slew his own servant, because he being present did not admonish him to the contrary. He buried Tenes, whose temple now remains, into which no piper enters, nor is Achilles named there.

*Question 29.* Who was the *πωλήτης* amongst the Epidamnians?

*Solution.* The Epidamnians, who were neighboring to the Illyrians, perceiving that the citizens that had frequent commerce with them were debauched, and fearing an innovation, made choice of an approved man yearly from amongst them, who should deal as a factor with the barbarians in all matters of trade and traffic, and manage the whole business of dealing and commerce on the behalf of all the citizens; and this man was called *poletes*.

*Question 30.* What is the seashore of Arænus in Thrace?

*Solution.* The Andrians and Chalcidians sailing into Thrace to get them a seat, the city Sane being betrayed was delivered up to them both in common; and being told that Acanthus was deserted by the barbarians, they sent two spies thither. These approaching the city and perceiving all the enemies to be fled, the Chalcidian outruns the other, intending to seize the city for the Chalcidians; but the Andrian, finding himself not able to overtake him, darts his lance and fixeth it exactly in the gates, and saith that he had first seized the city for the Andrians. Hence a great contention arising, they arranged together without a war to make the Erythræans, Samians, and Parians umpires in all matters of controversy between them. The Erythræans and Samians brought in the verdict for the Andrians, but the Parians for the Chalcidians; hence the Andrians about this place bound themselves under a curse, that they would not give wives in marriage to the Parians nor take wives of them. Therefore they called the land the Shore of Arænus (*i.e.* of the curse); before it was called the Shore of the Dragon.

*Question 31.* In the solemn feasts to the honor of Ceres, why do the Eretrian women roast their meat not at the fire, but by the sun; and why do they not call upon Kalligeneia?

*Solution.* Was it because it came in course to the women which Agamemnon carried captive from Troy to solemnize a feast to Ceres here, and while they were celebrating it, a fair wind arose, and they suddenly sailed away, leaving the sacrifices imperfect?

*Question 32.* Who were the *Ἀειβάται* amongst the Milesians?

*Solution.* Thoas and Damasenor the tyrants being deposed, two factions got the government of the city, one of which was called Ploutis, the other Cheiromacha, and the potent men prevailing, they settled the state affairs in the association. And when they would sit in council about matters of greatest concern, they went on ship-board and launched out to a great distance from the shore; after they were agreed upon a point in debate, they sailed back again, and upon this account were called *Ἀειβάται* (*perpetual mariners*).

*Question 33.* Why do the Chalcidians call a certain

place about Pysopius the Ἀκμαίων Λέσχη, the Youth's Conventicle?

*Solution.* They say that Nauplius, being persecuted by the Achæans, addressed himself to the Chalcidians for redress, making his defence against the accusation and recriminating on the Achæans. Whereupon the Chalcidians, refusing to deliver him into their hands lest he should be slain by treachery, granted him a guard of lusty young men, and appointed their post in that place where they had mutual society together and guarded Nauplius.

*Question 34.* Who was he that sacrificed an ox to his benefactor?

*Solution.* In a haven of Ithaca there was a pirate ship, in which happened to be an old man who had earthen pots holding pitch. It fell out that an Ithacan skipper named Pyrrhias put into this port, who ransomed the old man upon free cost, only upon his supplication and out of commiseration toward him, and at the request of the old man he purchased also some of his tar-pots. The pirates departing and all fear of danger over, the old fellow brings Pyrrhias to his earthen pots, and shows him a great deal of gold and silver blended amongst the pitch; whereupon Pyrrhias attaining to great riches treated the old man well, and sacrificed an ox to him. Hence they say proverbially that none hath sacrificed an ox to his benefactor but Pyrrhias.

*Question 35.* Why was there a custom amongst the Bottiæan maids, as they danced, to sing, "Let us go to Athens"?

*Solution.* It is reported that the Cretans (in payment of a vow) sent the firstlings of men to Delphi; but when such as were sent found no plentiful provision there, they departed from thence in search of a plantation, and first sat down at Japygia. From thence they went and possessed that part of Thrace which now they have, Athenians being mixed with them; for it is probable that Minos did not destroy those young men which the Athenians sent in a way of tribute, but only detained them in servitude. Some descendants from these were accounted Cretans and were sent with others to Delphi; so the Bottiæan daughters, in remembrance of their pedigree, sing on their feast-days, "Let us go to Athens."

*Question 36.* Why do the Eleian women in their hymns

beseech Bacchus that he will come to their help with an ox's foot? The hymns run thus: "Come, O hero Bacchus, to thy holy temple placed by the sea; march with the Graces to thy temple with a neat's foot." Then they redouble this, "O worthy Bull!"

*Solution.* Was it because some call Bacchus Bull-begot, and some Bull? Or as some say ox-foot for a great foot; as the poet saith ox-eye for a great eye, and *βουλάϊος* for proud? Or is it rather, because the foot of an ox is innocent and his carrying horns on his head is pernicious, that so they desire the god may come to them mild and harmless? Or is it because many men are of opinion that this god presides over ploughing and sowing?

*Question 37.* What is the meaning of that place at Tanagra, before the city, called Achilleum? For it is reported that the city had rather enmity than kindness for Achilles, in that he took Stratonicæ, the mother of Pœmander, by force of arms, and slew Accestor the son of Ehippus.

*Solution.* Now Pœmander the father of Ehippus (whilst Tanagra was inhabited by villagers), being besieged in Stephon (a village so called) by the Achæans because he refused to aid them in the wars, left that country the same night, and fortified Pœmandria. Polierithus the architect coming in, disparaging his works and making a ridicule of them, leaped over the ditch; Pœmander, falling into a rage, caught up a great stone suddenly to throw at him, which had been hid there a great while, lying over some sacred nocturnal relics. This Pœmander hurling rashly flung, and missing Polierithus, slew his own son Leucippus. He was then forced by law to depart out of Bœotia and become a wandering and begging pilgrim; neither was that easy for him to do, because of the incursions which the Achæans made into the country of Tanagra. Wherefore he sent Ehippus his son to beg aid of Achilles. He by persuasion prevailed with Achilles to come, with Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, and with Peneleos the son of Hippalemus, all of them their kindred. By these Pœmander was introduced into Chalcis, and was absolved by Elephenor from the murder; he ascribed great honor to these men, and assigned groves to each of them, of which this kept the name of Achilles's Grove.

*Question 38.* Who amongst the Bœotians were the *Ψολόεις*, and who the *Ὀλείαι*?

*Solution.* They say that Minos's daughters — Leucippe, Arsinoe, and Alcathoe — falling mad, had a greedy appetite for man's flesh, and accordingly cast lots for their children. Whereupon it fell to Leucippe's lot to produce her son Hippasus to be cut in pieces. The husbands of these women, that were clothed in coarse apparel by reason of sorrow and grief, were called *Ψολοείς*, the women *Ὀλείαι*, that is *ὀλοαί* (*destructive*). And to this day the Orchomenians call their posterity so. And it is so ordered that, in the yearly feast called Agrionia, there is a flight and pursuit of them by the priest of Bacchus, with a drawn sword in his hand. It is lawful for him to slay any of them that he takes, and Zoilus a priest in our day slew one. This proved unlucky to them; for Zoilus, sickening upon a wound that he got, wasted away for a long time and died; whereupon the Orchomenians, falling under public accusations and condemnations, removed the priesthood from their family, and made choice of the best man in the whole multitude.

*Question 39.* Why do the Arcadians stone those that go willingly into the Lycæum, while those that go in unwittingly they carry forth to Eleutheræ?

*Solution.* Is it because that they gained their liberty by being thus absolved, that the story has got credit? And is this expression "to Eleutheræ" the same as "into the region of security," or "thou shalt come to the seat of Aresantis"? Or is the reason to be rendered according to that fabulous story, that of all the sons of Lycaon Eleuther and Lebadus alone were free from that conspiracy against Jupiter, and fled into Bœotia, where the Lebadenses use the like civil polity to that of the Arcadians, and therefore they send them to Eleutheræ that enter unwittingly into the inaccessible temple of Jupiter? Or is it (as Architimus saith in his remarks on Arcadia) that some that went into the Lycæum unawares were delivered up to the Phliasians by the Arcadians, and by the Phliasians to the Megarians, and by the Megarians to the Thebans which inhabit about Eleutheræ, where they are detained under rain, thunder, and other direful judgments from Heaven; and upon this account some say this place was called Eleutheræ? But the report is not true that he that enters into the Lycæum



casts no shadow, though it hath had a firm belief. And what if this be the reason of that report, that the air converted into clouds looks darkly on them that go in? Or that he that goes in falls down dead? — for the Pythagoreans say that the souls of the deceased do neither give a shadow nor wink. Or is it that the sun only makes a shadow, and the law depriveth him that entereth here of the light of the sun? Though this they speak enigmatically; for verily he that goes in is called *Elaphus, a stag*. Hence the Lacedæmonians delivered up to the Arcadians *Cantharion* the Arcadian, who went over to the Eleans (whilst they waged war with the Arcadians) passing with his booty through the inaccessible temple, and fled to Sparta when the war was ended; the oracle requiring them to restore the stag.

*Question 40.* Who is *Eunostus*, the hero of *Tanagra*; and what is the reason that women may not enter into his grove?

*Solution.* *Eunostus* was the son of *Elieus* who came of *Cephisus* and *Scias*, but they say received his name from *Eunosta*, the nymph that brought him up. This man was honest and just, and no less chaste and austere. They say that *Ochna* his niece fell in love with him, who was one of the daughters of *Colonus*; and when he perceived that she tempted him to lie with her, manifesting his indignation he went and accused her to her brethren. But she had cried *Whore* first and provoked her brethren, *Echimus*, *Leon*, and *Bucolus*, to kill *Eunostus*, by her false suggestion that he would have forced her; wherefore these laid wait for the young man and slew him, upon which *Elieus* secured them. Now *Ochna* growing penitent and full of terror, as well to discharge the grief she had for her beloved as out of commiseration towards her brethren, confesses the whole truth to *Elieus*, and he declares it to *Colonus*, who condemned them. Whereupon *Ochna's* brethren fled, but she broke her neck from some high place (as *Myrtis* the *Anthedonian* poetess hath told us). Therefore he kept the tomb and grove of *Eunostus* from the access and approach of women, inasmuch that upon earthquakes, droughts, and other portents that often there happened, the *Tanagrians* made diligent search whether any woman had not by stealth got nigh to that place. And there are some (of whom *Clidamus*, a

man of great fame, is one) who report that Eunostus met them as he was going to the sea to wash himself because a woman had entered into his grove. Diocles also, in his Treatise concerning Shrines, relates the edict of the Tanagrarians upon the things that Clidamus declared.

*Question 41.* Whence is it that in Bœotia there is a river at Eleon called Scamander?

*Solution.* Deimachus, the son of Eleon and intimate friend of Hercules, bore his part in the siege of Troy. But the war proving long (as it seems), he took to him Glaucia the daughter of Scamander who had fallen in love with him, and got her with child: soon after, fighting against the Trojans, he was slain. Glaucia, fearing that she might be apprehended, fled to Hercules, and acquainted him with her late affection towards Deimachus, and the familiarity she had with him. Hercules, both out of commiseration to the woman, as also for joy that there was an offspring left of so good a man and his intimate acquaintance, took Glaucia on shipboard; and when she was delivered of a son, brought her into Bœotia, and committed her and her child to the care of Eleon. The son was named Scamander, and came to reign over that country. He called the river Inachus by his own name Scamander, and the next rivulet he named from his mother Glaucia; but the fountain he called by his own wife's name Acidusa, by whom he had three daughters, which they have a veneration for to this day, styling them virgins.

*Question 42.* Whence was that proverbial speech, "Let this be ratified"?

*Solution.* Dinon the Tarentine prefect, being a man well skilled in military affairs, when the citizens manifested their dislike of a certain opinion of his by lifting up of hands, as the crier was declaring the majority of votes, stretched forth his right hand and said, This is better. Thus Theophrastus hath told the story; and Apollodorus in his Rhytinus adds this: When the crier had said, "These are the most suffrages;" "Aye, but," saith Dinon, "these are the best," and ratifies the suffrages of the minority.

*Question 43.* Why is the city of the Ithacans called Alalcomenæ?

*Solution.* It is affirmed by most, that it was because

Anticlea in the time of her virginity was forcibly seized upon by Sisyphus, and brought forth Ulysses. But Ister the Alexandrian hath acquainted us in his memoirs, that Anticlea was married to Laertes, and being brought to a place about the Alalcōmeneum in Bœotia, was delivered of Ulysses; and therefore Ulysses called the city of Ithaca by the same name.

*Question 44.* Who are the *Monophagi* in Ægina?

*Solution.* Many of the Æginetans that fought against Troy were slain in those wars, but more of them by storm in the voyaging by sea. The relations therefore receiving those few that were left, and observing the other citizens overwhelmed with sorrow and grief, thought it not convenient to make any public appearances of joy or to sacrifice to the gods; but every one received privately in his own house his relations that were escaped with feasts and entertainments, they themselves giving attendance to their fathers, kinsfolks, brethren, and acquaintance, none of other families being admitted thereto. Hence in imitation of these they celebrate a sacrifice to Neptune, which is called the *Thiasi*, in which they revel without any noise, each family apart by itself, for the space of sixteen days, without any servant attending them; then offering sacrifices to Venus, they finish this solemn feast. Upon this account they are called *Monophagi*, *i.e.* such as feed apart by themselves.

*Question 45.* What is the reason that the statue of Labradean Jupiter in Caria is made so as to hold an axe lifted up, and not a sceptre or thunderbolt?

*Solution.* Because Hercules slaying Hippolyta, and taking away from her amongst other weapons her pole-axe, presented it to Omphale. After Omphale the kings of the Lydians carried it, as part of the sacred regalities which they took by succession, until Candaules, disdain- ing it, gave it to one of his favorites to carry. But afterwards Gyges revolting waged war against him; Arselis also came to the aid of Gyges from the Mylassians with a great strength, slew Candaules with his favorite, and carried away the pole-axe into Caria with other spoils; where furbishing up the statue of Jupiter, he put the axe into his hand and called it the Labradean god, — for the Lydians call an axe *labra*.

*Question 46.* What is the reason that the Trallians

call the pulse *ὀροβος καθαρῆς* (i.e. *purifying*), and use it especially in expiations and purifications?

*Solution.* It was because the Leleges and Minyæ, in former times driving out the Trallians, possessed themselves of the city and that country, afterwards the Trallians returned and conquered them; as many of the Leleges as were not slain or fled, but by reason of indigency and weakness were left there, they made no account of whether they lived or died, and therefore enacted a law that any Trallian that slew a Minyas or Lelex should be guiltless, provided that a measure of this pulse was paid to the family of the slain person.

*Question 47.* Why is it spoken by way of proverb amongst the Eleans, "Thou sufferest worse things than Sambicus"?

*Solution.* It is said that one Sambicus an Elean, having many comrades with him, did break off many of the devoted bronze vessels placed in Olympia and disposed of them, and at length robbed the temple of Diana the protector (which temple is in Elis, and is called Aristarchæum). Presently after the committing of this sacrilege, he was taken and tormented the space of a year, being examined concerning all the accessories, and so died; hence this proverb arose from his suffering.

*Question 48.* Why is the temple of Ulysses in Lacedæmon built by the monument of the Leucippides?

*Solution.* One Ergiæus, of the posterity of Diomedes, by the persuasion of Temenus stole the Palladium from Argos, Leager being conscious of and accessory to the felony, for he was one of the intimates of Temenus. Afterward Leager, by reason of a feud betwixt him and Temenus, went over into Lacedæmon and transported the Palladium thither. The kings receive him readily, and place the Palladium next to the temple of the Leucippides, and sending to Delphi consult the oracle about its safety and preservation. The oracle answered that they must make one of them that stole it the keeper of it. So they erected there a monument of Ulysses, since they supposed the hero was related to the city by the marriage of Penelope.

*Question 49.* What is the reason that it is a custom amongst the Chalcedonian women, that, if at any time they happen to meet with other women's husbands, especially magistrates, they cover one cheek?

*Solution.* The Chalcedonians were at war with the Bithynians, being stirred thereto by every kind of outrage. And Zipæetus, king of the Bithynians, brought out all their forces, with the addition of Thracian auxiliaries, and were wasting the country with fire and sword. Zipæetus then pitching his camp against them at a place called Phallium, the Chalcedonians, fighting ill through desperation and disorder, lost about eight thousand soldiers, but were not all cut off, Zipæetus in favor of the Byzantines yielding to a cessation of arms. Now, there being a great scarcity of men in the city of Chalcedon, most of the women were necessitated to marry their slaves and also foreigners; others that chose widowhood rather than marriage to such, if they had any occasion to go before the judges or magistrates, managed their own affairs, only drawing the veil from one side of their face. The married women, imitating their betters, for modesty's sake took up the same custom.

*Question 50.* Why do the Argives bring their sheep to the grove of Agenor to take ram?

*Solution.* Was it because Agenor took care to have the fairest sheep, and of all things possessed the most flocks of sheep?

*Question 51.* Why did the Argive boys on a certain feast-day call themselves Ballacrades in sport?

*Solution.* Was it because they report that the first people that were brought by Inachus out of the countries into the plains, lived upon *ἀχράδες*, i.e. *wild pears*? But wild pears were first discovered by the Grecians in Peloponnesus, while that country was called Apia; hence wild pears came to be called *ἄπριοι*.

*Question 52.* For what reason do the men of Elis lead their mares out of their borders when they would have them leaped by their horses?

*Solution.* Was it that of all kings Enomaus was the greatest lover of horses, and being most fond of this creature, imprecated many and great curses upon horses that should leap mares in Elis; wherefore the people, fearing his curse, do abominate this thing?

*Question 53.* What was the reason of the custom amongst the Gnessians, that those who borrowed money upon interest should snatch it and run away?

*Solution.* Was it that, in case they should attempt to

cheat the usurers, they might be liable for the assault, and thereby receive further punishment?

*Question 54.* What is the cause that in Samos they call upon Venus of Dexicreon?

*Solution.* Was this the reason, that the women of Samos, by lasciviousness and bawdery falling into great debauchery, were reformed by Dexicreon, a mountebank, using some charms toward them? Or was it because Dexicreon, being the master of a ship, and sailing to Cyprus on a trading voyage, and being about to take in his lading, was commanded by Venus to lade with water and nothing else, and sail back with all possible speed? Being persuaded hereto, he took in much water and set sail immediately; still winds and a calm detaining him, he sold his water to merchants and seamen distressed with thirst, whereby he gathered up much money; with this he erected a statue to Venus, and called it by his own name. If this story be true, it is manifest that the goddess intended not only the enriching of one man, but the saving of many alive by one man.

*Question 55.* What is the reason that amongst the Samians, when they sacrifice to Mercury the munificent, they suffer a man to filch and steal garments if he will?

*Solution.* Because, when at the command of the oracle they transplanted themselves from that island into Mycale, they lived ten years upon robbery; and after this, sailing back again into their island, they conquered their enemies.

*Question 56.* Whence is that place in the island Samos called Panæma (Πάναιμα)?

*Solution.* Was it because the Amazons, flying before Bacchus from the coasts of Ephesus, fell upon Samos; thereupon Bacchus rigging up his ships wafted over, and joining battle slew abundance of them about that place, which, by reason of the plenty of blood spilled there, the beholders by way of admiration called Panæma? Some say that this slaughter was about Phlœum, and show their bones there; but others say also that Phlœum was rent off from Samos by the dreadful and hideous cry that was uttered at their death.

*Question 57.* Upon what account was the Andron in Samos called Pedetes?

*Solution.* The Geomori got the government into their

hands, after Demoteles was slain, and after the dissolution of his monarchial constitution. At this period the Megarians waged war with the Perinthians, being a Samian colony, and brought fetters with them (as they say) to put on the captives. When the Geomori were acquainted with these proceedings, they immediately sent aid, sending forth nine generals and filling thirty ships, two of which, launching forth and lying before the haven, were destroyed with lightning. The generals, proceeding on their voyage in the rest, subdued the Megarians, and took six hundred of them alive. They were so elevated with this victory, that they meditated the subversion of this Geomoran oligarchy; but the occasion was given by the states themselves writing to them that they should bring the Megarian captives bound in their own fetters. When they received these letters, they showed them privately to the Megarians, persuading them to concur with them in a conspiracy to procure the people's liberty. A consult was held in common between them about this matter, and they settled that the best way was to beat off the rings from the fetters, and put them on the Megarians, and fasten them with thongs to their girdles, that they might not fall off nor being loose hinder them in their going. Accordingly they accoutred the men in this manner, and giving each of them a scimitar, they soon sailed back to Samos and landed, and accordingly led the Megarians through the market-place to the council-house, where all the Geomori were sitting together. Then, the sign being given, the Megarians fell on and slew those men. Whereupon, the city being set at liberty, they admitted the Megarians (as many as would) into the number of citizens, and erecting a magnificent edifice, hung up the fetters (*πέδαι*) in it. From this the house was named *Πεδήρης*.

*Question 58.* What is the reason that the chief priest of Hercules in Antimachia at Cos, when he manageth the sacrifice, is clothed in women's apparel, and wears a mitre upon his head?

*Solution.* Hercules, setting sail from Troy with six ships, was attacked by a storm, and lost all his ships but one, with which only he was forced by the wind upon the coast of Cos, and fell upon a place called Laceter, saving nothing besides his men and armor. There happening

to meet with a flock of sheep, he requested one ram of the shepherd (the man was called Antagoras), who, being a robust-bodied young man, challenged Hercules to fight with him; and if he were worsted, Hercules should carry away the ram. As soon as this fellow engaged with Hercules, the Meropes came in to the aid of Antagoras; and the Grecians coming in to assist Hercules, a great fight ensued. Whereat (they say) Hercules, overcome by the multitude, betook himself for refuge to a Thracian woman, and was concealed by disguising himself in woman's apparel. But when afterwards, conquering the Meropes and passing under purification, he married the daughter of Alciopus, he put on a flowered garment. Hence the priests offer sacrifices in the place where the battle was fought, and the bridegrooms are clothed in women's apparel when they take their brides.

*Question* 59. Whence was the race of Hamaxocyclists in Megara?

*Solution.* In that licentious democracy which introduced the demanding back of interest money and permitted sacrilege, the Peloponnesians went on a pilgrimage to Delphi through the borders of Megara, and lodged in Ægira by the lake-side with their wives and children, in their caravans. There a resolute drunken company of the Megarians in a riotous and cruel manner overturned their wagons, and overwhelmed them in the lake; so that many of the pilgrims were drowned. The Megarians indeed, by reason of the disorder of the government, neglected the punishment of this wickedness; but the Amphictyons, taking into consideration the religious character of this pilgrimage, punished the actors of this villany, some with banishment, some with death. So the posterity of these villains were called "overturners of wagons."



## THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS.

AMONG the many warm disputes which have often happened between Virtue and Fortune, this concerning the Roman empire is none of the least considerable, whether of them shall have the honor of founding that empire at first, and raising it afterwards to vast power and glory. The victory in this cause will be no small commendation of the conqueror, and will sufficiently vindicate either of the contending parties from the allegations that are usually made against it. For Virtue is accused as unprofitable, though beautiful, and Fortune as unstable, though good; the former as laboring in vain, the latter as deceitful in its gifts. But who can deny but Virtue has been most profitable, if Rome does favor her cause in this contention, since she procured so much good to brave and gallant men; or that Fortune is most constant, if she be victorious in this contest, since she continued her gifts with the Romans for so long a time?

Ion the poet has written somewhere in prose, that Fortune and Wisdom, though they be very much different from one another, are nevertheless the causes of the very same effects. Both of them do advance and adorn men; both do raise them to glory, power, and empire. It were needless to multiply instances by a long enumeration of particulars, when even Nature itself, which produces all things, is by some reputed Fortune, and by others Wisdom. And therefore the present controversy will conciliate great honor and veneration to the city of Rome, since she is thought worthy of the same inquiry which used to be made concerning the earth and seas the heavens and the stars, — whether she owes her being to Fortune or to Providence.

In which question, I think it may be truly affirmed that, notwithstanding the fierce and lasting wars which have been between Virtue and Fortune, they did both amicably conspire to rear up the structure of her vast

empire and power, and join their united endeavors to finish the most beautiful work that ever was of human production. It was the opinion of Plato, that the whole world was composed of fire and earth, as necessary first principles, which being mixed together did render it visible and tangible, — the earth contributing weight and firmness, while the fire gave color, form, and motion to the several parts of matter; but for the tempering and union of these extremes, he thought it necessary that the water and air, being of a middle nature, should mitigate and rebate the contrary force by composition. After the same manner did God and Time, who laid the foundations of Rome, conjoin and mingle Virtue and Fortune together, that by the union of their several powers, they might compose a Vesta, truly sacred and beneficent to all men, which should be a firm stay, an eternal support, and a steady anchor (as Democritus calls it) amidst the fluctuating and uncertain affairs of human life. For as naturalists say, that the world had not that order and structure we now behold, nor would these several elements that compose it unite and mix so that Nature might take a common form, but that all things did abide a long while in confusion, — whilst some bodies were still small and variously moved, and slipped and avoided all attachment and connections, and others which were greater and already compacted, being of opposite natures, did frequently jostle and jar one against another, — and that all was full of destruction and uncertainty and wreck, until such time as the earth, being framed of them both in its due magnitude, was established, and by its stability gave opportunity to all the other bodies either to settle upon it or round about it; just so it happened to the greatest kingdoms and empires of men, which were long tossed with various changes and broken in pieces by mutual clashings. And for want of one supreme ruler over all, because all desired to rule, the world was full of unspeakable violence, confusion, and revolution in all things, until such time as Rome was raised to its just strength and greatness, which, comprehending under her power many strange nations and even transmarine dominions, did lay the foundation of firmness and stability to the greatest of human affairs; for by this vast compass of one and the same empire,

government was secured as in an unmovable circle, resting upon the centre of peace. Whosoever therefore contrived and compassed these great designs must not only have been endowed with all virtues, but likewise have been assisted by Fortune in many things; as will plainly appear from the following discourse.

And now methinks I behold, as from a turret, Virtue and Fortune coming to this conference. As to Virtue, her gait is modest, her countenance grave, the blushing color of her face shows her earnest desire of obtaining victory and honor in this contest. Fortune in her hasty pace, leaves her far behind, but she is led and accompanied by many brave and gallant men,

A martial host, ghastly with bloody arms,

all wounded in the front of their bodies, distilling blood mingled with sweat, and they lean upon the bending spoils of their enemies. If you inquire who they are, they answer, We are of the Fabricii, Camilli, and Lucii and Cincinnati, and Fabii Maximi, and Claudii Marcelli, and the Scipios. I perceive also in the train of Virtue Caius Marius angry with Fortune, and Mucius Scaevola holding out his burning hand and crying with a loud voice, Will ye attribute this to Fortune also? And Marcus Horatius, who behaved himself gallantly at the river Tiber, when he cut the bridge and swam over, being loaded with Tyrrhenian darts, showing his wounded thigh, thus expostulates from out of the deep whirlpool of the river, Was I also thus maimed by mere chance? Such is the company of Virtue, when she comes to the dispute; "a company powerful in arms, terrible to their foes."

But as to Fortune, her gait is hasty, her looks bold, her hope arrogant; and leaving Virtue far behind her, she enters the lists, not, as she is described, with light wings, balancing herself in the air, or lightly tripping with her tiptoes upon the convexity of the globe, as if she were presently to vanish away out of sight. No, she does not appear here in any such doubtful and uncertain posture; but as the Spartans say that Venus, when she

<sup>1</sup>Odys. XI. 41.

passed over the Eurotas, put off her gewgaws and female ornaments, and armed herself with spear and shield for the sake of Lycurgus; so Fortune, having deserted the Persians and Assyrians, did swiftly fly over Macedonia, and quickly threw off her favorite Alexander the Great, and after that, having passed through the countries of Egypt and Syria, and oftentimes by turns supported the Carthaginians, she did at last fly over Tiber to the Palatine Mount, and there she put off her wings, her Mercurial shoes, and left her slippery and deceitful globe. Thus she entered Rome, as one that was to be resident there, and thus she comes to the bar in this controversy. She is no more uncertain, as Pindar describes her; she does not henceforth guide a double helm, but continues constant to the Romans, and therefore may be called the sister of Eunomia and Persuasion, and the daughter of Providence, as Alcman describes her pedigree. This is certain in the opinion of all men, that she holds in her hand the Horn of Plenty, not that which is filled with verdant fruits, but that which pours forth abundance of all things which the earth or the sea, the rivers or the metals, or the harbors afford. Several illustrious and famous men are seen to accompany her, Numa Pompilius from the Sabines, and Priscus from Tarquinii, whom, being foreigners and strangers, Fortune placed on the throne of Romulus. Æmilius Paulus also, bringing back his army from Perseus and the Macedonians, and triumphing in an unbloody and entire victory, does greatly magnify and extol Fortune. The same does Cæcilius Metellus, that brave old gentleman surnamed Macedonicus, whose corpse was carried forth to its funeral by his four sons, Quintus Balearicus, Lucius Diadematus, Marcus Metellus, and Caius Caprarius, and his two sons-in-law, — who were all six prominent men, and of consular dignity, — and also by his two grandsons, who were famous for the good offices they did to the commonwealth, both abroad by their heroical actions and at home by the administration of justice. Æmilius Scaurus, from a mean estate and a meaner family, was raised by Fortune to that height of dignity that he was chosen Prince of the Senate. It was Fortune that took Cornelius Sylla out of the bosom of Nicopolis the whore, and exalted him above the Cimbrian triumphs of Marius

and the dignity of his seven consulships, giving him at once the powers of a monarch and a dictator; upon which account he adopted himself and all his memorable actions to Fortune, crying out with *Cædipus* in *Sophocles*, I think myself the son of Fortune.<sup>1</sup> In the Roman tongue he was called *Felix*, the happy; but he writ himself to the Greeks *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Venustus*, *i.e.* Beloved of *Venus*, — which is also the inscription on all his trophies, both those at *Chæronea* with us, and those in honor of his victories over *Mithridates*; and that not without reason, since it is not the *Night*, as *Menander* thought, but *Fortune*, that enjoys the greatest part of *Venus*.

And thus, having made a seasonable beginning in defence of *Fortune*, we may now call in, for witnesses in this cause, the Romans themselves, who attributed more to *Fortune* than to *Virtue*. For the temple of *Virtue* was but lately built by *Scipio Numantinus*, a long time after the building of the city. And after that, *Marcellus* dedicated a temple to *Virtue* and *Honor*; and *Æmilius Scaurus*, who lived in the time of the *Cimbrian* war, founded another to the *Mind*, when now, by the subtilties of sophisters and encomiastics of orators, these things began to be mightily extolled. And to this very day there is no temple built to *Wisdom*, nor to *Temperance*, *Patience*, *Magnanimity*, or *Continence*. But the temples dedicated to *Fortune* are splendid and ancient, almost as old as the first foundations of *Rome* itself. The first that built her a temple was *Ancus Marcius*, born of the sister of *Numa*, being the third king from *Romulus*; and he seems to have made *Fortune* surname to *Fortitude*, to which she contributes very much for obtaining victory. The Romans built the temple of *Feminine Fortune* before the days of *Camillus*, when by the help of the women they turned back *Marcius Coriolanus*, leading up the *Volsci* against the city of *Rome*; for the women being sent ambassadors to him, together with his mother and wife, prevailed with the man to spare the city at that time and to draw off the army of the barbarians. It is said that this statue of *Fortune*, when it was consecrated, uttered these words: It was

<sup>1</sup> *Soph. Cæd. Tyr.* 1080.

piously done, O ye city matrons, to dedicate me by the law of your state. But (which is more remarkable) Furius Camillus, having extinguished the flame of the Gallic war, and rescued Rome from the balance and scales in which her price was weighed to them in gold, did not upon this occasion found a temple to Prudence and Fortitude, but to Fame and Chance; which he built hard by the New Way, in that very place where (it is said) Marcus Cædicius walking in the night-time heard a prophetic voice, commanding him shortly to expect a war from the Gauls. And the Fortune whose temple is by the river they call Fortis (that is, *stout*, or *valiant*, or *manly*), as having the power of conquering all things. And the temple is built in the very gardens left by Cæsar as a legacy to the people, because they thought that he also was raised to the height of power by the favor of Fortune.

And so Cæsar himself testified, otherwise I should be ashamed to say such a thing of so great a person. For when he loosed from Brundisium, and embarked in pursuit of Pompey, on the fourth day of January, though it was then the latter end of winter, he passed over the sea in safety by the good conduct of Fortune, which was stronger than the rigor of the season. And when he found Pompey powerful by sea and land, with all his forces lying together, and himself with his small party altogether unable to give him battle, while the army of Antonius and Sabinus lagged behind, he ventured to set forth again in a little bark, unknown either to the master of the vessel or the pilot, who took him for some servant. But when he saw the pilot began to change his purpose of putting out to sea, because of the violence of the waves, which hindered the sailing out at the mouth of the river, he presently plucked off the disguise from his head and showed himself, encouraging the pilot in these words: Put on, brave fellow, and fear nothing, but commit the sails to Fortune, and expose all boldly to the winds; for thou carriest Cæsar and Cæsar's fortune. So resolute was Cæsar upon this assurance, that Fortune did favor him in his voyages and journeys, his armies and battles; and that it was her province to give calmness to the sea and warmth to a winter season, to give swiftness to the slowest, and vigor to the most sluggish creatures; and (which is more incredible than all this) he believed that

Fortune put Pompey to flight, and gave Ptolemy the opportunity of murdering his guest, so that Pompey should fall and Cæsar be innocent.

What shall I say of his son, the first that had the honor to be surnamed Augustus, who was ruler four and fifty years? Did not he pray the gods for his grandson, when he sent him forth to battle, to grant him the courage of Scipio, and the wisdom of Pompey, but his own Fortune, as counting her the chief artificer of his wonderful self? It was she that imposed him upon Cicero, Lepidus, Pansa, Hirtius, and Mark Antony, and by their victories and famous exploits, by their navies, battles, and armies, raised him to the greatest height of power and honor, degrading them by whose means he was thus advanced. For it was for him that Cicero governed the state, Lepidus conducted the armies, and Pansa gained the victories. It was for him that Hirtius fell, and Mark Antony committed licentious outrages. Nay, even Cleopatra herself is to be reckoned as part of his good fortune; for on her, as on a dangerous cliff, Antony was shipwrecked, although he was so mighty a commander, that Augustus alone might wear the title of Cæsar. It is reported of Antony and Augustus, when they lived familiarly together in daily conversation, that Antony was always beaten by Cæsar at ball or dice, and in quail or cock fighting. Whereupon a certain friend, who pretended to the art of divination, did freely admonish Antony, and say: "What have you to do, my friend, with this young man? Why don't you avoid his company? You excel him in glory and largeness of empire, you exceed him in age and experience, having signalized your valor in the wars. But your Genius is afraid of his; your Fortune, which is great by itself, does fawn upon his, and will undoubtedly pass over to him, unless you remove yourself to a great distance."

By these testimonies of men the cause of Fortune is supported; after which I proceed now to other arguments taken from the things themselves, beginning from the first foundations of the city of Rome. And first of all, it cannot be denied that, by the birth and preservation of Romulus, by his education and growth, the foundations of Rome were first laid by Fortune; but then withal it must be acknowledged that Virtue completed

the building. As to their origin and birth who first founded and built the city, it looked like a wonderful good Fortune. For it is said that their mother conceived by a god; and as Hercules is said to have been sown in a long night, the natural day being preternaturally prolonged by the sun's standing still; so it is reported concerning the begetting of Romulus, that the sun was eclipsed at the time, being in conjunction with the moon, as the immortal god Mars was with the mortal Sylvia. The same is said to have happened about the time of his death. For on the seventh of July, called *Nonæ Capratinæ*, which is a feast observed to this day with great solemnity, while the sun was under an eclipse, he suddenly departed out of the sight of men. After their nativity, when the tyrant would have murdered the new-born babes, by the conduct of Fortune, who was concerned for the preservation of their lives, Romulus and Remus fell into the hands of a servant no ways barbarous and cruel, but pitiful and tender-hearted, who laid them on the pleasant green bank of a river, in a place shaded with lowly shrubs, near to that wild fig-tree, to which the name of *Ruminalis* was afterwards given. There it was that a she-wolf, having lost her young whelps, by chance lighted on them, and being burdened with her swollen dugs, inflamed for want of evacuation, she gladly let out her overheated milk, as if it had been a second birth, and suckled the young children. The woodpecker also, a bird sacred to Mars, came often unto them, and staying herself upon one claw, she did by turns open both their mouths with the other, and distribute unto each of them convenient gobbets of her own food. This fig-tree was therefore called *Ruminalis*, from *Runa*, *the dug*, which the wolf lying down there gave to the infants. And from a veneration of this strange chance of Romulus and of everything like it, the inhabitants thereabout would not expose any of their children; but they carefully reared and fostered all new births.

Above all things, the hidden craft of Fortune appeared in their education at the city *Gabii*; for there they were secretly nursed and brought up, and the people knew nothing of their pedigree, that they were the sons of Sylvia and the grandchildren of king Numitor; which seems to be so ordered on purpose to prevent that un-



timely death which the knowledge of their royal race would occasion, and to give them opportunity of showing themselves hereafter by their famous exploits, and discovering the nobility of their extraction by their heroic actions. And this brings to my mind the saying of that great and wise commander Themistocles to some of the Athenian captains, who, having followed him in the wars with good success, were grown ambitious to be preferred above him. There was an eager contest, said he, between the festival day and the day following, for precedency. Thou, says the following day, art full of tumult and business, but I give men the peaceful opportunity of enjoying themselves. Ay, says the festival, that's true; but then, I pray you, tell me, if I had not been, where had you been? So, says Themistocles, if I had not preserved my country in the war with the Medes, what use would there be of you now? And after this manner Fortune seems to accost the virtue of Romulus: it is true indeed, your actions are great and famous, by which you have clearly shown that you are descended of the race of the gods. But see now how far you come behind me. For if I had not relieved the infants in their distress by my bounty and humanity, if I had deserted and betrayed them when they lay naked and exposed, how could you have appeared with such lustre and splendor as now you do? If a she-wolf had not then lighted upon them, inflamed with the abundance and pressure of her milk, which wanted one to give food unto more than any food for herself; if some wild beast had happened to come in her stead, hungry and ravaging for meat; then there had been no such beautiful and stately palaces, temples, theatres, walks, courts, and forum, as now you justly glory of; then your followers had still been shepherds, and your buildings cottages or stables, and they had still lived in subjection to the Albanian, Tyrrhenian, or Latin lords. Certainly the first beginning of all things is of greatest importance, and more especially in building of a city. But it was Fortune that first gave a beginning to Rome, by preserving the founder of it in so many dangers to which he was exposed. For as Virtue made Romulus great, so Fortune preserved him till his virtue did appear.

It is confessed by all, that the reign of Numa, which

lasted longest, was conducted by a wonderful good fortune. For as to the story of the wise goddess Egeria, one of the Dryades, — that she being in love conversed familiarly with him, and assisted him in laying the platform and cementing the frame of the commonwealth, — it appears to be rather fabulous than true, since there were others that had goddesses for their wives and are said to have been loved by them, such as Peleus, Anchises, Orion, and Emathion, who, for all that, did not live so pleasantly and free from trouble. But Numa seems to have had good fortune for his domestic companion and colleague in the government, which, receiving the city of Rome into her protection, at such time as she was tossed like a troublesome sea by the wars of neighboring states, and inflamed with intestine feuds, did quickly heal those breaches and allay those storms that threatened her ruin. And as the sea is said to receive the halcyon brood in a tempest, which it preserves and nourishes; so the people of Rome being lately gathered together, after various commotions and tossings, were by Fortune delivered from all wars, diseases, dangers, and terrors, and settled in such a lasting peace, that they had time and leisure to take root in their new soil and grow up securely into a well-compacted city. For as a great ship or galley is not made without many blows, and much force from hammers, nails, wedges, saws, and axes, and being once built, it must rest for some time upon the stocks, until the bands of its structure grow strong and tenacious, and the nails be well fastened which hold its parts together, lest, being launched while it is loose and unsettled, the hull should be shattered by the concussion of the waves and let in the water, — so the first artificer of Rome, having built the city of rustical men and shepherds, as on firm foundations, was forced to endure hard labor and maintain dangerous wars against those who opposed its first origination and institution; but after it was once framed and compacted by this force, the second artificer, by the benignity of Fortune, gave it so long rest and peace, till all its parts were consolidated and settled in a firm and lasting posture. But if at that time, when the city was newly built, some Porsena had advanced the Etruscan camp and army to the walls, being yet moist and trembling, or some war-

like revolter of the Marsian grandees, or some envious and contentious Lucanian, such as in latter times were Mutius or the bold Silo, or the last plague of Sylla's faction, Telesinus, who with one alarm armed all Italy,—if any of these, I say, had encompassed the philosopher Numa with the sound of trumpets, while he was sacrificing and praying to the gods, the city being yet unsettled and unfinished, he could never have resisted so great a torrent and tempest, nor increased unto so great numbers of stout and valiant men.

That long time of peace therefore in Numa's reign did prepare and fortify the Romans against all the wars which happened afterwards; for by its continuance, during the space of forty-three years, the body of the people was confirmed in that athletic habit which they acquired in the war under Romulus, and which generally prevailed henceforward against all their enemies. For in these years they say Rome was not afflicted with famine or pestilence, with barrenness of the earth, or any notable calamity by winter or summer; all which must be attributed, not to human prudence, but to the good conduct of divine Fortune governing for that time. Then the double gate of Janus was shut, which they call the gate of war, because it is always opened in time of war and shut in time of peace. After Numa's death, it was opened again when the war with the Albans commenced, which was followed with other wars without number in a continued series of time; but after four hundred and eighty years, it was shut again when peace was concluded at the end of the first Punic war, in the consulship of Caius Atilius and Titus Manlius. The next year it was opened again, and the wars lasted until the victory which Augustus obtained at Actium. Then the Roman arms rested but a little while; for the tumults from Cantabria and the wars with the Gauls and Germans breaking in upon them quickly disturbed the peace. These things I have added to explain this argument of the good fortune of Numa.

Even those kings which followed him have admired Fortune as the governess and nurse of Rome, and the city supporter, as Pindar saith. For proof of this, we may consider that the temple of Virtue at Rome was but lately built, many years after the beginning of the city, by that Marcellus who took Syracuse. There is also a temple

dedicated to the Mind, or rather to prudence, called Mens, by Scaurus Æmilius, who lived in the time of the Cimbrian war, when the arms of rhetoric and the sophistry of logic had crept into the city. And even to this day, there are no temples built to Wisdom, Temperance, Patience, and Magnanimity; but the temples of Fortune are very ancient and splendid, adorned with all sorts of honors, and divided amongst the most famous parts and places of Rome. The temple of Virile Fortune was built by Ancus Marcius, the fourth king; which name was therefore given it, because Fortune does contribute very much to valor in obtaining victory. The temple of Feminine Fortune was consecrated by the matrons, when they drove away Marcius Coriolanus at the head of an army marching against Rome, as everybody knows. Moreover, Servius Tullius, who above all the kings did most enlarge the power of the people and adorn the commonwealth, who first founded a good order for the taking of suffrages and for the good discipline of the militia, who was the first censor and overseer of men's lives and sobriety, and is esteemed a most wise and valiant man, — even he threw himself upon Fortune, and owned his kingdom to be derived from her. So great was her kindness to him, that she is thought to have descended into his house by a gateway (which is now called Fenestella) and there to have conversed familiarly with him. Upon which account he built two temples to Fortune, one to that which is called Primogenia in the Capitol, *i.e.* the first born, as one may expound it; another to that which is called Obsequens, which some interpret as being obsequious to his desires, and others as mild and gentle. There is the temple of Private Fortune on the Mount Palatine, and that of Viscous Fortune; which name, though it seems ridiculous, does by a metaphor explain to us the nature of Fortune, that she attracts things at a distance, and retains them when they are brought to contact. At the fountain which is called Mossy the temple of Virgin Fortune is still to be seen; and that of Regardful Fortune in Abescymæ. There is an altar also to Fortune of Good Hope in the long narrow street; and near to the altar of Venus Epitalaria (Foot-winged) there is a chapel to Male Fortune.

Infinite are the honors and titles of Fortune, the greater part of which were instituted by Servius, who knew that

“Fortune is of great moment — nay, is everything — in all human affairs,” and more especially had found by experience that by her favor he was preferred from a captive and hostile nation to be king of the Romans. For when Corniculum was taken by the Romans, the virgin Ocesia being taken at the same time, she for her illustrious beauty and virtue (which the meanness of her fortune could not hide or diminish) was presented to Tanaquil, the consort of King Tarquinius, with whom she served till she was married to one of his followers whom the Romans call clients; and of them was born Servius. Others tell the story after this manner: that the virgin Ocesia using often to receive the first-fruits and libations from the royal table, which were to be offered in sacrifice, it happened on a time that when, according to the custom, she had thrown them into the fire, upon the sudden expiration of the flame, there appeared to come out of it the genital member of a man. The virgin, being frightened with so strange a sight, told the whole matter to Queen Tanaquil; who, being a wise and understanding woman, judged the vision to be divine, and therefore dressed up the virgin in all her bridal ornaments and attire, and then shut her up in a room together with this apparition. Some attribute this amour to Lar the household god, and others to Vulcan; but whichever it was, Ocesia was with child, and brought forth Servius. And while he was yet an infant, his head was seen to send forth a wonderful brightness, like lightning darted from the skies. But Antias tells this story after a different manner: that when Servius’s wife Getania was dead, he fell into a sleep through grief and dejection of mind, in the presence of his mother, and then his head was seen by the woman encompassed by fire; which, as it was a certain token that he was born of fire, so was a good omen of that unexpected kingdom which he obtained after the death of Tarquin, by the means of Tanaquil. This is so much the more to be wondered at, because he of all kings was the least fitted by Nature and most averse by inclination to monarchical government; since he would have resigned his kingdom and divested himself of regal authority, if he had not been hindered by the oath which it appears he made to Tanaquil when she was dying, that he should continue during his life in kingly power, and never change that form of government which he had

received from his ancestors. Thus the reign of Servius was wholly owing to Fortune, because he both received it beside his expectation, and retained it against his will.

But lest we should seem to shun the light of bright and evident arguments, and retreat to ancient stories, as to a place of darkness and obscurity, let us now pass over the time of the kings, and go on in our discourse to the most noted actions and famous wars of following times. And first of all it must be confessed that the boldness and courage which are necessary for war do aid and improve military virtue, as Timotheus says; and yet it is manifest to him that will reason aright, that the abundance of success which advanced the Roman Empire to such vast power and greatness is not to be attributed to human strength and counsels, but to a certain divine impulse and a full gale of running Fortune, which carried all before it that hindered the rising glory of the Romans. For now trophies were erected upon trophies, and triumphs hastened to meet one another; before the blood was cold upon their arms, it was washed off with the fresh blood of their falling enemies. Henceforth the victories were not reckoned by the numbers of the slain or the greatness of the spoils, but by the kingdoms that were taken, by the nations that were conquered, by the isles and continents which were added to the vastness of their empire. At one battle Philip was forced to quit all Macedonia, by one stroke Antiochus was beaten out of Asia, by one victory the Carthaginians lost Libya; but which is yet more wonderful, Armenia, the Euxine sea, Syria, Arabia, the Albanians, Iberians, with all the countries as far as Caucasus and the Hyrcanians, were by one man and the success of one expedition reduced under the power of the Roman empire. The Ocean, which surrounds the whole earth, beheld him thrice victorious; for he subdued the Numidians in Africa, as far as the southern shores; he conquered Spain, which joined in the rebellion of Sertorius, as far as the Atlantic Ocean; and he pursued the Albanian kings as far as the Caspian sea. Pompeius Magnus, one and the same man, achieved all those great and stupendous things, by the assistance of that public Fortune which waited upon the Roman arms with success; and after all this, he sank under the weight of his own fatal greatness.

The great Genius of the Romans was not propitious for a

day only, or for a little time, like that of the Macedonians; it was not powerful by land only, like that of the Laconians, or by sea only, like that of the Athenians. It was not too slowly sensible of injuries, as that of the Persians, nor too easily pacified, like that of the Colophonians; but from the beginning growing up with the city, the more it increased, the more it enlarged the empire, and constantly aided the Romans with its auspicious influence by sea and land, in peace and war, against all their enemies, whether Greeks or barbarians. It was this Genius which dissipated Hannibal the Carthaginian, when he broke in upon Italy like a torrent, and the people could give no assistance, being torn in pieces by intestine jars. It was this Genius that separated the two armies of the Cimbri and Teutones, that they should not meet at the same time and place; by which means Marius the Roman general encountered each army by itself, and overcame them; which, if they had been joined together, would have overflowed all Italy like a deluge, with three hundred thousand valiant men, invincible in arms. It was the same Genius that hindered Antiochus by other occasions from assisting Philip while he was engaged in war with the Romans; so that Philip was first vanquished before Antiochus was in danger. It was by the conduct of the same Genius that Mithridates was taken up with the Sarmatic and Bastarnic wars while the Marsians attacked Rome; that jealousy and envy divided Tigranes from Mithridates while the latter was flushed with success; but both of them were joined together in the defeat, that they might perish in the same common ruin.

What shall I say more? Has not Fortune relieved the city, when it was reduced to the greatest extremity of danger? When the Gauls encamped about the Capitol and besieged the castle,

And heaped the camp with mountains of the dead,<sup>1</sup>

did not Fortune and chance discover their secret attack in the night-time, which otherwise had surprised all men? Of which wonderful accident it will not be unseasonable to discourse here a little more largely.

After the great overthrow and slaughter of the Romans

<sup>1</sup> II. I. 10.

at the river Allia, some of those that remained fled hastily to Rome, and communicated their terror and consternation to the people there. Some trussed up their bag and baggage and conveyed themselves into the Capitol, resolving there to wait the event of so dismal a calamity; others flocked in great multitudes to Veii, and there proclaimed *Furius Camillus* dictator, giving him now in their distress an absolute and unaccountable power, whom before in their pride and prosperity they had condemned and banished, as guilty of robbing the public treasure. But *Camillus*, to strengthen his title to this authority, which might seem to be given him only for the present necessity, contrary to the law of the state touching the election of such a magistrate, scorned to take an election from a body of armed soldiers, so lately shattered and beaten, as if the government of the city were dissolved; but sent to acquaint the senators that were in the Capitol, and know if they would approve the election of the soldiers. To accomplish this, there was one *C. Pontius*, who undertook to carry the news of this decree to those in the Capitol, though it was with great danger of his life; for he was to go through the midst of the enemies, who were intrenched and kept watch about the castle. He came therefore in the night-time to the river *Tiber*, and by the help of broad corks supporting the weight of his body, he was carried down the stream in a smooth calm water, and safely landed on the other side. From thence he passed through places uninhabited, being conducted by darkness and silence, to the rock of the Capitol; and climbing up through its winding and rough passages, with much labor and difficulty at last he arrived at the top, where, being received by the watch, he acquainted the senators with what was done by the soldiers, and having received their approbation of the decree of election, he returned again to *Camillus*. The next day after, one of the barbarians by chance walking about this rock, and seeing in one place the prints of his feet and his falls, in another place the turf trodden down which grew upon the interspersed earth, and the plain marks of his body in its winding ascent through the craggy precipice, went presently and informed the rest of the Gauls of the whole matter. They, finding that a way was shown them by the enemy, resolved to follow his footsteps; and taking the advantage of the dead time of the night, when all were



fast asleep, not so much as a watch stirring or a dog barking, they climbed up secretly to the castle.

But Fortune in this case was wonderfully propitious to the Romans, in discovering and preventing such an imminent danger by the voice of the sacred geese, which were maintained about the temple of Juno for the worship of that goddess. For that animal being wakeful by nature and easily frightened with the least noise, these sacred geese had been so much neglected by reason of the scarcity of provisions which was in the castle, that they were more easily wakened by the approach of the enemy out of their light and hungry sleep. Therefore they presently perceived the Gauls appearing upon the walls, and with a loud voice flew proudly towards them; but being yet more frightened with the sight of their shining armor, they raised a louder gaggling noise, which wakened the Romans; who understanding the design, presently beat back the enemies, and threw them down over the precipices of the rock. Therefore, in remembrance of this wonderful accident, a dog fastened to a cross, and a goose lying in a bed of state upon a rich cushion, are carried about, even to this day, in pompous solemnity. And now who is not astonished that considers how great the misery of the city was at that time, and how great its happiness is now at this day, when he beholds the splendor and riches of its donatives, the emulation of liberal arts that flourish in it, the accession of noble cities and royal crowns to its empire, and the chief products of sea and land, of isles and continents, of rivers and trees, of animals and fields, of mountains and metallic mines, crowding to adorn and beautify this place? Who is not stunned with admiration at the imminent danger which then was, whether ever those things should be or no; and at those poor timorous birds, which first began the deliverance of the city, when all places were filled with fire, darkness, and smoke, with the swords of barbarians and bloody-minded men? What a prodigy of Fortune was it that those great commanders, the Manlii, the Servii, Postumii, and Papirii, so famous for their warlike exploits and for the illustrious families that have descended from them, should be alarmed in this extremity of danger by the silly geese, to fight for their country's gods and their country? And if that be true which Polybius writes in his second book of those Gauls which then possessed

Rome, — that they made a peace with Camillus and departed, as soon as they heard the news of the invasion that was made upon their territories by the neighboring barbarians, — then it is past all controversy, that Fortune was the cause of Rome's preservation by drawing off the enemies to another place, or rather forcing them from Rome beyond all men's expectation.

But why do I dwell upon those things which have nothing of certain or evident truth, since the memories of those times have perished, and the history of them is confused, as Livy tells us? For those things which happened in following ages, being plain and manifest to all, do sufficiently demonstrate the benignity of Fortune to Rome; among which I reckon the death of Alexander to be no small cause of the Romans' happiness and security. For he, being a man of wonderful success and most famous exploits, of invincible confidence and pride, who shot like a star, with incredible swiftness, from the rising to the setting sun, was meditating to bring the lustre of his arms into Italy. The pretence of this intended expedition was the death of Alexander Molossus, who was killed at Pandosia by the Bruttians and Lucanians; but the true cause was the desire of glory and the emulation of empire, which instigated him to war against all mankind, that he might extend his dominion beyond the bounds of Bacchus and Hercules. He had heard of the Roman power in Italy, terrible as an army in battle array; of the illustrious name and glory which they had acquired by innumerable battles, in which they were flushed with victory; and this was a sufficient provocation to his ambitious spirit to commence a war against them, which could not have been decided without an ocean of blood; for both armies appeared invincible, both of fearless and undaunted minds; and the Romans then had no fewer than one hundred and thirty thousand stout and valiant men,

All expert soldiers, skilled on foot to dare,  
Or from the bounding courser urge the war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Odyss.* IX. 49.

## FIVE TRAGICAL HISTORIES OF LOVE.

### I.

IN Haliartus, which is a city of Bœotia, lived a young damsel of surpassing beauty, whose name was Aristoclia, the daughter of Theophanes. This lady was courted by Straton an Orchomenian, and Callisthenes of Haliartus; but Straton was the more wealthy of the two, and more enamoured of the virgin. For he had seen her bathing herself in the fountain of Hercyne, which is in Lebadea, against the time that she was to carry the sacred basket in honor of Jupiter the King. But the virgin herself had a greater affection for Callisthenes, for that he was more nearly allied to her. In this case, her father Theophanes, not knowing well what to do (for he was afraid of Straton, who had the advantage both of noble birth and riches above all the rest of the Bœotians), resolved to refer the choice to the oracle of Trophonius. On the other side, Straton (for he was made believe by some of the virgin's familiar acquaintance that his mistress had the greatest kindness for him) earnestly desired to refer the matter to the election of the virgin herself. But when Theophanes put the question to his daughter in a great assembly of all the friends of all parties, it fell out that the damsel preferred Callisthenes. Thereupon it presently appeared in Straton's countenance how much he was disgusted at the indignity he had received. However, two days after, he came to Theophanes and Callisthenes, requesting the continuance of their friendship, notwithstanding that some dæmon had envied him the happiness of his intended marriage. They so well approved his proposal, that they invited him to the wedding and the nuptial feast. But he in the meantime having mustered together a great number of his friends, together with a numerous troop of his own servants, whom he secretly dispersed and disposed up and down in places proper for his purpose, watched his opportunity so well that, as the damsel was going down,

according to the custom of the country, to the fountain called Cissœssa, there to pay her offerings to the Nymphs before her wedding-day, he and his accomplices rushing out of their ambuscade seized upon the virgin, whom Straton held fast and pulled to himself. On the other side, Callisthenes, with those that were about him, as it is easy to be believed, flew with all speed to her relief; and in this fatal contest, while the one tugged and the other hauled, the unhappy damsel perished. As for Callisthenes, he was never seen any more; whether he laid violent hands upon himself, or whether it were that he left Bœotia as a voluntary exile; for no man could give any account of him afterwards. And as for Straton, he slew himself before the gaze of all upon the dead body of the unfortunate virgin.

## II.

A certain great person whose name was Phido, designing to make himself lord of the whole Peloponnesus, and more especially desirous that Argos, being his native country, should be the metropolis of all the rest, resolved to reduce the Corinthians under his subjection. To this purpose he sent to them to demand a levy of a thousand young gentlemen, the most valiant and the chiefest in the prime of their age in the whole city. Accordingly they sent him a thousand young sparks, brisk and gallant, under the leading of Dexander, whom they chose to be their captain. But Phido, designing nothing more than the massacre of these gentlemen, to the end he might the more easily make himself master of Corinth after it was enfeebled by so great a loss (as being by its situation the chief bulwark to guard the entrance into Peloponnesus), imparted this contrivance of his to several of his confidants, in which number was one whose name was Abro; who, having been formerly acquainted with Dexander, and familiarly entertained by him, discovered the whole conspiracy to his friend in acknowledgment of his kindness. By which means the thousand, before they fell into the ambuscade, retreated and got safe to Corinth. Phido thus disappointed made all the inquiry imaginable, to find out who it was that had betrayed and discovered his design.

Which Abro understanding fled to Corinth with his wife and all his family, and settled himself in Melissus, a certain village in the territory of the Corinthians. There he begat a son, whom he named Melissus from the name of the place where he was born. The son of this Melissus was Actæon, the loveliest and most modest of all the striplings of his age. For which reason there were several that fell in love with him, but none with so much ardor as Archias, being of the race of the Heraclidæ, and for wealth and authority the greatest person in all Corinth. This Archais, when he found that no fair means and persuasions would prevail upon the young lad, resolved to ravish him away by force; to which purpose he invited himself to Melissus's house, as it were to make merry, accompanied with a great number of his friends and servants, and by their assistance he made an attempt to carry away the son by violence. But the father and his friends opposing the rape, and the neighbors coming in to the rescue of the child, poor Actæon, between the one and the other, was pulled and hauled to death; and Archias with his company departed. Upon this, Melissus carried the murdered body of his son into the market-place of Corinth, and there, exposing him to public view, demanded justice to be done upon the murderers. But finding that the Corinthians only pitied his condition, without taking any further notice of the matter, he returned home, and waited for the grand assembly of the Greeks at the Isthmus. At what time, getting up to the very top of Neptune's temple, he exclaimed against the whole race of the Bacchiadæ, and after he had made a public relation of the good service which his father Abro had done the Corinthians, he invoked the vengeance of the gods, and presently threw himself headlong among the rocks. Soon after the Corinthians being plagued with a most terrible drought, upon which ensued a violent famine, they sent to the oracle, to know by what means they might be delivered from their calamity. To whom the deity made answer, that it was Neptune's wrath, which would not cease till they had revenged the death of Actæon. Archias, hearing this (for he was one of those that were sent to the oracle), never returned again to Corinth, but sailing into Sicily, built there the city of Syracuse; where, after he was become the father of two daughters, Ortygia and Syracuse, he was treacherously slain by Telephus,

whom he had preternaturally abused in his youth, and who, having the command of a ship, sailed along with him into Sicily.

## III.

A certain poor man, Scedasus by name, lived at Leuctra, a small village in the territory of the Thespians, and had two daughters, Hippo and Miletia, or as others say, Theano and Euxippe. This Scedasus was a very good man, and, to the extent of his fortune, very hospitable to strangers. This was the reason that most readily and gladly he entertained two young gentlemen of Sparta, that came to lodge at his house; who, falling in love with the virgins, were yet so overawed by the kindness that Scedasus had showed them, that they durst not make any rude attempt for that time. The next morning therefore they went directly to the city of Delphi, where after they had consulted the oracle touching such questions as they had to put, they returned homeward, and travelling through Bœotia, stopped again at Scedasus's house, who happened at that time not to be at Leuctra. However, his daughters, according to that education to which their father had accustomed them, gave the same entertainment to the strangers as if their father had been at home. But such was the perfidious ingratitude of these guests, that finding the virgins alone, they ravished and by force deflowered the damsels; and, which was worse, perceiving them lamenting to excess the undeserved injury they had received, the ravishers murdered them, and after they had thrown their bodies into a well, went their ways. Soon after Scedasus, returning home, missed both his daughters, but all things else he found safe and in order, as he left them; which put him into such a quandary, that he knew not what to say or do, till instructed by a little bitch, that several times in a day came whining and fawning upon him and then returned to the well, he began to suspect what he found to be true; and so he drew up the dead bodies of his daughters. Moreover, being then informed by his neighbors, that they had seen the two Lacedæmonian gentlemen which he had entertained some time before go into his house, he guessed them to be the persons who had committed the fact, for that they would be

always praising the virgins when they lodged there before, and telling their father what happy men they would be that should have the good fortune to marry them. Thereupon away he went to Lacedæmon, with a resolution to make his complaint to the Ephori; but being benighted in the territory of Argos, he put into a public house, where he found another old man of the city of Oreus, in the province of Histiaæa; whom when he heard sighing and cursing the Lacedæmonians, Scedasus asked him what injury the Lacedæmonians had done him. In answer to which, the old man gave him this account: I am, said he, a subject to the Lacedæmonians, by whom Aristodemus was sent to Oreus to be governor of that place, where he committed several outrages and savage enormities. Among the rest, being fallen in love with my son, when he could by no fair means procure his consent, he endeavored to carry him away by main force out of the wrestling-place. But the president of the exercises opposing him, with the assistance of several of the young men, Aristodemus was constrained to retire; but the next day, having provided a galley to be in readiness, he ravished away my son, and sailing from Oreus to the opposite continent, endeavored, when he had the boy there, to abuse his body; and because the lad refused to submit to his lust, cut the child's throat. Upon his return he made a great feast at Oreus, to which he invited all his friends. In the meanwhile, I being soon informed of the sad accident, presently went and interred the body; and having so done, I made haste to Sparta, and preferred my complaint to the Ephori, but they gave no answer, nor took any notice of the matter.

Scedasus, having heard this relation, remained very much dejected, believing he should have no better success. However, in his turn, he gave an account to the stranger of his own sad mischance; which when he had done, the stranger advised him not to complain to the Ephori, but to return to his own country, and erect a monument for his two daughters. But Scedasus, not liking this advice, went to Sparta, made his case known to the Ephori, and demanded justice; who taking no notice of his complaint, away he went to the Kings; but they as little regarding him, he applied himself to every particular citizen, and recommended to them the sadness of his condition. At length, when he saw nothing would

do, he ran through the city, stretching forth his hands to the sun and stamping on the ground with his feet, and called upon the Furies to revenge his cause; and when he had done all he could, in the last place slew himself. But afterwards the Lacedæmonians dearly paid for their injustice. For being at that time lords of all Greece, while all the chiefest cities of that spacious region were curbed by their garrisons, Epaminondas the Theban was the first that threw off their yoke, and cut the throats of the garrison that lay in Thebes. Upon which, the Lacedæmonians making war upon the revolters, the Thebans met them at Leuctra, confident of success from the name of the place; for that formerly they had been there delivered from slavery, at what time Amphictyon, being driven into exile by Sthenelus, came to the city of Thebes, and finding them tributaries to the Chalcidians, after he had slain Chalcodon king of the Eubœans, eased them altogether of that burthen. In like manner it happened that the Lacedæmonians were vanquished not far from the monument of Scedasus's daughters. It is reported also, that before the fight, Pelopidas being then one of the Theban generals, and troubled by reason of some certain signs that seemed to portend some ill event in the battle, Scedasus appeared to him in a dream and bade him be of good courage, for that the Lacedæmonians were come to Leuctra, to receive the just vengeance which they merited from him and his daughters; only the ghost advised him, the day before he encountered the Lacedæmonians, to sacrifice a white-coated colt, which he should find ready for him close by his daughters' sepulchre. Whereupon Pelopidas, while the Lacedæmonians yet lay encamped at Tegea, sent certain persons to examine the truth of the matter; and finding by the inhabitants thereabouts that everything agreed with his dream, he advanced with his army boldly forward, and won the field.

## IV.

Phocus was a Bœotian by birth (for he was born in the city of Clisas), the father of Callirrhœ, who was a virgin of matchless beauty and modesty, and courted by thirty young gentlemen, the prime of the Bœotian nobility.



Phocus therefore, seeing so many suitors about her, still pretended one excuse or other to put off her marriage, afraid lest some force or other should be put upon her. At length, when he could hold out no longer, the gentlemen being offended at his dilatory answers, he desired them to refer it to the Pythian deity to make the choice. But this the gentlemen took so heinously, that they fell upon Phocus and slew him. In this combustion and tumult, the virgin making her escape fled into the country, and was as soon pursued by the young sparks; but lighting upon certain country people that were piling up their wheat in a barn, by their assistance she saved herself. For the countrymen hid her in the corn, so that they who were in chase of her passed her by. The virgin thus preserved kept herself close till the general assembly of all the Bœotians; and then coming to Coronea, she there sat as a suppliant before the altar of Itonian Minerva, and there gave a full relation of the villany and murder committed by her several suitors, discovering withal the names of the persons, and places of their abode. The Bœotians commiserating the virgin were no less incensed against the young gentlemen; who, having notice of what had passed, fled to Orchomenus, but being shut out by the citizens, made their escape to Hippotæ, a village near to Helicon, seated between Thebes and Coronea, where they were received and protected. Thither the Thebans sent to have the murderers of Phocus delivered up; which the inhabitants refusing to do, they marched against the town with a good force of other Bœotians under the leading of Phœdus, then the chief ruler of Thebes. And laying siege to it (for it was a strong place), at last they took it for want of water; and in the first place having apprehended all the murderers, they stoned them to death; then they condemned the inhabitants to perpetual slavery, broke down the walls, ruined the houses, and divided the land between the Thebans and Coroneans. The report goes, that the night before Hippotæ was taken, there was a voice heard from Helicon several times uttering these words, I am come; and that when the thirty rivals heard it, they knew it to be the voice of Phocus. It was said, moreover, that the very day the rivals were stoned, the monument of the old man which was erected in Clisas was covered with drops of saffron. And as Phœdus, the governor and

general of the Thebans, was upon his march homeward from the siege, news was brought him that his wife had brought him a daughter, which for the good omen's sake he called by the name of Nicostrate.

## V.

Alcippus was a Lacedæmonian by birth, who marrying Damocrita became the father of two daughters. This Alcippus, being a person that always advised the city for the best, and one that was always ready to serve his countrymen upon all occasions, was envied by a contrary faction, that continually accused him to the Ephori as one that endeavored to subvert the ancient laws and constitutions of the city. At length the Ephori banished the husband, who being condemned forsook the city; but when Damocrita and his daughters would fain have followed him, they would not permit them to stir. Moreover, they confiscated his estate, to deprive his daughters of their portions. Nay, more than this, when there were some that courted the daughters for the sake of their father's virtue, his enemies obtained a decree whereby it was forbid that any man should make love to the young ladies, cunningly alleging that the mother had often prayed to the gods to favor her daughters with speedy wedlock, to the end they might the sooner bring forth children to be revenged of the injury done their father. Damocrita thus beset, and in a strait on every side, stayed till the general festival, when the women, together with their daughters, servants, and little children, feast in public together; on which day, the wives of the magistrates and persons in dignity feast all night in a spacious hall by themselves. But then it was that Damocrita, with a sword girt about her, and taking her daughters with her, went in the nighttime to the temple; and watching her opportunity, when the women were all busy in the great hall performing the mysteries of the solemnity, after all the ways and passages were stopped up, she fetched the wood that was ready prepared for the sacrifices appertaining to the festival, and piled it against the doors of the room, and so set fire to it. All was then in a hurry, and the men came crowding in vain to help their wives; but then it was that Damocrita

slew her daughters, and upon their dead bodies herself. Thus the Lacedæmonians, not knowing upon whom to wreak their anger, were forced to be contented with only throwing the dead bodies of the mother and the daughters without the confines of their territories. For which barbarous act of theirs, the deity being highly offended plagued the Lacedæmonians, as their histories record, with that most dreadful earthquake so remarkable to posterity.

## LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS.

### I. ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON, the son of Sophilus, by descent a Rhamnusian, was his father's scholar; for Sophilus kept a rhetoric school, to which it is reported that Alcibiades himself had recourse in his youth. Having attained to competent measure of knowledge and eloquence, — and that, as some believe, from his own natural ingenuity, — he dedicated his study chiefly to affairs of state. And yet he was for some time conversant in the schools, and had a controversy with Socrates the philosopher about the art of debate, — not so much for the sake of contention as for the profit of arguing, as Xenophon tells us in his Commentaries of Socrates. At the request of some citizens, he wrote orations by which they defended their suits at law. Some say that he was the first that ever did anything of this nature. For it is certain there is not one juridical oration extant written by any orator that lived before him, nor by his contemporaries either, as Themistocles, Aristides, and Pericles; though the times gave them opportunity, and there was need enough of their labor in such business. Not that we are to impute it to their want of parts that they did nothing in this way, for we may inform ourselves of the contrary from what historians relate of each of them. Besides, if we examine the most ancient of those recorded in history who had the same form and method in their pleadings, such as Alcibiades, Critias, Lysias, and Archinous, we shall find that they all were disciples of Antiphon when he was old. For being a man of incomparable sagacity, he was the first that published institutions of oratory; and by reason of his profound learning, he was surnamed Nestor. Cæcilius, in a tract which he wrote of him, supposes him to have been Thucydides's pupil, from what Antiphon delivered in praise of him. He is most accurate in his orations, in invention subtle; and he would frequently baffle his adversary at

unawares, by a covert sort of pleading; in troublesome and intricate matters he was very judicious and sharp; and as he was a great admirer of ornamental speaking, he would always adapt his orations to both law and reason.

He lived about the time of the Persian war and of Gorgias the rhetorician, being somewhat younger than he. And he lived to see the subversion of the popular government in the commonwealth which was wrought by the four hundred conspirators, in which he himself is thought to have had the chiefest hand, being sometimes commander of two galleys, and sometimes general on land, and having by the many and great victories he obtained gained them many allies, he armed the young men, manned out sixty galleys, and on all their occasions went ambassador to Lacedæmon at the time when Eetionia was fortified. But when those Four Hundred were overcome and taken down, he with Archeptolemus, who was likewise one of the same number, was accused of the conspiracy, condemned, and sentenced to the punishment due to traitors, his body cast out unburied, and all his posterity infamous on record. But there are some who tell us, that he was put to death by the Thirty Tyrants; and among the rest, Lysias, in his oration for Antiphon's daughter, says the same; for he left a little daughter, whom Callæschrus claimed for his wife by the law of propinquity. And Theopompus likewise, in his Fifteenth Book of Philippics, tells us the same thing. But this must have been another Antiphon, son of Lysidonides, whom Cratinus in his Pytine calls a rascal. But how could he be executed in the time of the Four Hundred, and afterward live to be put to death by the Thirty Tyrants? There is likewise another story of the manner of his death: that when he was old, he sailed to Syracuse, when the tyranny of Dionysius the First was most famous; and being at table, a question was put, what sort of brass was best. When others had answered as they thought most proper, he replied, That is the best brass, of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. The tyrant learning this, and taking it as a tacit exhortation to his subjects to contrive his ruin, he commanded Antiphon to be put to death; and some say that he condemned him to death for deriding his tragedies.

This orator is reported to have written sixty orations;

but Cæcilius supposes twenty-five of them to be spurious and none of his. Plato, in his comedy entitled *Pisander*, traduces him as a covetous man. He is reported to have composed some of his tragedies alone, and others with Dionysius the tyrant. While he was poetically inclined, he invented an art of curing the distemper of the mind, as physicians are wont to promise cure of bodily diseases. And having at Corinth built him a little house, in or near the market, he set a postscript over the gate, to this effect: that he had a way to cure the distemper of men's minds by words; and let him but know the cause of their malady, he would immediately prescribe the remedy, to their comfort. But after some time, thinking that art not worth his while, he betook himself to the study and teaching of oratory. Some, too, ascribe to Antiphon the book of Glaucus of Rhegium about poets. His speech on Herodes is especially praised, also the one against Erasistratus concerning Peacocks, besides the one he wrote on behalf of himself when he was accused of a grave delinquency, and the one against Demosthenes, the general, for an offence against the State. He wrote also an attack against Hippocrates, the general, and had him convicted because he failed to appear in court.

There is a decree, made during the archonship of Theopompus, during whose magistracy the power of the Four Hundred was destroyed, according to which it was voted to have Antiphon brought to trial. This is repeated by Cæcilius. On the twenty-first day the senate enacted. Demonicus of Alopece acted as scribe, Philostratus of Pallene presided. Andron made the motion that the men whom the generals declare to have gone as deputies to Lacædemonia to the damage of the city of Athens and to have sailed out of the camp carried on the enemy's ship, and to have gone by land over Decelea, namely Archepolemus, Onomacles, and Antiphon, shall be seized and placed in the assembly to defend themselves. That the generals shall produce them and others from the senate to the number of ten whom the generals shall see fit to coöpt in order that they may be tried on the present charges. That the Thesmothetes shall summon them for to-morrow and bring them in; when they appear, then let the chosen advocates and the generals and any others who desire it accuse them of treason; whoever is condemned

after trial must be punished in accordance with the direction of the law passed against traitors.

At the bottom of this decree was subscribed the sentence:—

“Archeptolemus son of Hippodamus, the Agrylian, and Antiphon son of Sophilus, the Ramnusian, being both present in court, are condemned of treason. And this was to be their punishment: that they should be delivered to the eleven executioners, their goods confiscated, the tenth part of them being first consecrated to Minerva; their houses to be levelled with the ground, and in the places where they stood this subscription to be engraven on brass, ‘[The houses] of Archeptolemus and Antiphon, traitors.’ . . .<sup>1</sup> That Archeptolemus and Antiphon should neither of them be buried in Athens, nor anywhere else under that government. And besides all this, that their descendants should be accounted infamous, bastards as well as their lawful progeny; and he too should be held infamous who should adopt any one of their progeny for his son. And that all this should be engrossed and engraven on a brass column, and that column should be placed where that stands on which is engraven the decree concerning Phrynichus.”

## II. ANDOCIDES.

Andocides, the son of Leogoras, [and grandson of that Andocides] who once made a peace between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, by descent a Cydathenian or Thorian, of a noble family, and, as Hellanicus tells us, the offspring of Mercury himself, for the race of Heralds belongs to him. On this account he was chosen by the people to go with Glaucon, with twenty sail of ships, to aid the Corcyræans against the Corinthians. But in process of time he was accused of some notorious acts of impiety, as that he was of the number of those who defaced the statues of Mercury and divulged the sacred mysteries of Ceres. And withal, he had been before this time wild and intemperate, and had once been seen in the night in

<sup>1</sup>The corrupt clause indicated by . . . probably means, that the Demarchs were to make inventories (*ἀποφῆναι*) of the traitors' estates. (G.)

masquerade to break one of the statues of Mercury; and when at his trial he refused to bring his servant to examination whom his accusers named, he not only remained under this suspicion, but was also on this account very much suspected to be guilty of the second crime too. This later action was laid to his charge soon after the expedition of the navy sent by the Athenians into Sicily. For, as Cratippus informs us, when the Corinthians sent the Leontines and Egestians to the Athenians, who doubted whether to lend them assistance, they in the night defaced and brake all the statues of Mercury which were erected in the market. To which offence Andocides added another, that of divulging the mysteries of Ceres. He was brought to his trial, but was acquitted on condition he would discover who were companions with him in the crime. In which affair being very diligent, he found out who they were that had been guilty, and among the rest he discovered his own father. He proved all guilty, and caused them all to be put to death except his father, whom he saved, though in prison, by a promise of some eminent service he would do to the commonwealth. Nor did he fail of what he promised; for Leogoras accused many who had acted in several matters against the interest of the commonwealth, and for this was acquitted of his own crime.

Now, though Andocides was very much esteemed of for his skill in the management of the affairs of the commonwealth, yet his inclinations led him rather to traffic by sea; and by this means he contracted friendship with the kings of Cyprus and other great princes. At which time he privily stole a damsel of the city, the daughter of Aristides, and his own niece, and sent her as a present to the king of Cyprus. But suspecting he should be called in question for it, he again stole her from Cypress, for which the king of Cyprus took him and clapped him up in prison; whence he brake loose, and returned to Athens, just at that time when the four hundred conspirators had usurped the government. By whom being confined, he again escaped when the oligarchical rule was broken up. . . . But when the Thirty Tyrants were uppermost, he withdrew to Elis, and there lived till Thrasybulus and his faction returned into the city, and then he also repaired thither. And after some time, being sent to Lacedæmon



to conciliate a peace, he was again suspected to be faulty, and on that suspicion banished.

He himself has given an account of all these transactions, in his orations, which he has left behind him. For some of them contain his defence over the question of the mysteries; others his petition to return from exile; there is one extant on *Endeixis* (or information laid against a criminal); also a defence against Phæax, and one on the peace. He flourished at the same time with Socrates the philosopher. He was born in the seventy-eighth Olympiad, when Theogenides was chief magistrate of Athens, so that he should seem to be about ten years before Lysias. There is an image of Mercury, called from his name, being given by the tribe *Ægeis*; and it stood near the house where Andocides dwelt, and was therefore called by his name. This Andocides himself was at the charge of a cyclic chorus for the tribe *Ægeis*, at the celebration of a dithyrambus. And having gained a victory, he erected a tripod on an eminence opposite the sandstone statue of Silenus. His style in his orations is plain and easy, without the least affectation or anything of a figurative ornament.

### III. LYSIAS.

Lysias was the son of Cephalus, grandson of Lysanias, and great-grandson of Cephalus. His father was born a Syracusan; but partly for the love he had to the city, and partly in response to the persuasions of Pericles the son of Xanthippus, who entertained him as his friend and guest, he went to live at Athens, being a man of great wealth. Some say that he was banished from Syracuse when the city was under the tyranny of Gelo. Lysias was born at Athens when Philocles, the successor of Phrasicles, was chief magistrate, in the second year of the eightieth Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> At his first coming, he was educated among the most noble of the Athenians. But when the city sent a colony to Sybaris, which was afterwards called Thurii, he went thither with his elder brother Polemarchus, his father being now dead (for he had two other brothers, Euthydemus and Brachyllus), that he might receive his portion of his father's estate. This was done in the fif-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 459.

teenth year of his age, when Praxiteles was head magistrate.<sup>1</sup> There then he stayed, and was brought up under Nicias and Tisias, both Syracusans. And having purchased a house and taken his estate, he lived as a citizen for thirty-three years, till the year of Cleocritus.<sup>2</sup> In the year following, in the time of Callias, viz. in the ninety-second Olympiad, when the Athenians had met with ruin in Sicily, and when other of their allies revolted, and especially the Italians, he, being accused of favoring the Athenians, was banished with three other of his associates; when coming to Athens, in the year wherein Callias succeeded Cleocritus, the city then laboring under the tyranny of the four hundred conspirators, he there sat down. But after the fight at Ægospotami, when the Thirty Tyrants had usurped the government, he was banished thence, after being in Athens seven years. His goods were confiscated; and having likewise lost his brother Polemarchus, he himself escaped by a back door of the house in which he was kept to be put to death, fled to Megara and there lived. But when the citizens endeavored to return from Phyle, he also behaved himself very well, and appeared very active in the affair, having, to forward this great enterprise, deposited two thousand drachms of silver and two hundred targets, and being commissioned with Hermas, he maintained three hundred men in arms, and prevailed with Thrasyllæus the Elean, his old friend and host, to contribute two talents. Upon entering the city, Thrasybulus proposed that, for a consideration of his good service to the public, he should receive the privilege of citizenship: this was during the so-called period of anarchy before Euclides. Which proposal being ratified by the people, Archinus objected that it was against the laws, and a resolution without authority from the senate. The decree was thereupon declared void, and Lysias lost his citizenship. He led the remainder of his life in the rank of an *Isoteles* (or citizen who had no right to vote or hold office), and died at last at Athens, being fourscore and three years old, or as some would have it, seventy-six; and others again say, that he lived above fourscore years, till after the birth of Demosthenes. It is supposed he was born in the year of Philocles.

There are four hundred and twenty-five orations which

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 444.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 413.

bear his name, of which Dionysius and Cæcilius affirm only two hundred and thirty to be genuine, and he is said to have been overcome but twice in all. There is extant also the oration which he made in defence of the fore-mentioned decree against Archinus, who annulled it and thereby prevented Lysias from receiving the citizenship, as also another against the Thirty Tyrants. He was very cogent in his arguments, and was always very brief in what he delivered. He would commonly give orations to private persons. There are likewise his institutions of oratory, his public addresses, his epistles, his eulogies, funeral orations, discourses of love, and his defence of Socrates, accommodated to the minds of the judges. His style seems plain and easy, though hardly imitable. Demosthenes, in his oration against Neæra, says that Lysias was in love with one Metanira, Neæra's serving-maid, but afterwards married his brother Brachyllus's daughter. Plato in his Phædrus makes mention of him, as a most eloquent orator and ancients than Isocrates. Philiscus, his companion, and Isocrates's votary, composed an epigram concerning him, whence the same that we have urged from Plato is deducible; and it sings to this effect:—

Calliope's brilliant daughter, Phrontis, show  
 If aught of wit or eloquence thou hast;  
 For 'tis decreed that thou shalt bear a son,  
 Lysias by name, to spread the name of him  
 Whose great and generous acts do fill the world,  
 And are received for glorious above.  
 Let him who sings those praises of the dead,  
 Let him, my friend, too, praise our amity.

He likewise wrote two orations for Iphicrates, — one against Harmodius, and another accusing Timotheus of treason, — in both which he had the better. But when Iphicrates took upon himself the responsibility for Timotheus's actions, and would purge himself of the allegation of treason made also against him, Lysias wrote an oration for him to deliver in his defence; upon which he was acquitted, but Timotheus was fined in a considerable sum of money. He likewise delivered an oration at the Olympic games, in which he endeavored to convince the Greeks of how great advantage it would be to them, if they could but unanimously join to pull down the tyrant Dionysius.

## IV. ISOCRATES.

Isocrates was the son of Theodorus, of Erchia, as a citizen reckoned among the middle class, a man who kept servants under him to make flutes, by which he got so much money as enabled him not only to bring up his children after the most genteel manner, but likewise to maintain a choir. For besides Isocrates, he had other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and one daughter. And hence, we may suppose, those two comical poets, Aristophanes and Stratis, took occasion to bring him on the stage. He was born in the eighty-sixth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> Lysimachus being archon, about two and twenty years after Lysias, and seven before Plato. When he was a boy, he was as well educated as any of the Athenian children, being under the tuition of Prodicus the Cean, Gorgias the Leontine, Tisias the Syracusan, and Theramenes the rhetorican. And when Theramenes was to be apprehended by the order of the Thirty Tyrants, and flying for succor to the altar of the senate, only Isocrates stood his friend, when all others were struck with fright. For a long time he stood silent; but after some time Theramenes advised him to desist, because, he told him, it would be an aggravation of his grief, if any of his friends should come into trouble by his means. And it is said that he made use of certain institutions of rhetoric composed by Theramenes, when he was slandered in court; which institutions have since borne Boton's name.

When Isocrates was come to man's estate, he meddled with nothing of state affairs, both because he had a very weak voice and because he was something timorous; and besides these two impediments, his estate was much impaired by the loss of a great part of his patrimony in the war with the Lacedæmonians. It is plain that he wrote orations for others to use, but delivered only one himself, that concerning Exchange of Property. Having set up a school, he gave himself much to writing and the study of philosophy, and then he wrote his Panegyric oration, and others which were used for advice, some of which he delivered himself, and others he gave to others to pronounce for him; aiming thereby to persuade the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 436.

to the study and practice of such things as were of most immediate concern to them. But his endeavors in that way proving to no purpose, he gave those things over, and opened a school in Chios first, as some will have it, having for a beginning nine scholars; and when they came to him to pay him for their schooling, he weeping said, "Now I see plainly that I am sold to my scholars." He admitted to associate with him all who desired to do so. He was the first to divide contentious speeches from political ones; to these last he devoted himself. He organized in Chios a form of government like that in his native country. No schoolmaster ever earned so much; so that he kept a galley at his own charge. He had more than a hundred scholars, and among others Timotheus the son of Conon was one, with whom he visited many cities, and composed the epistles which Timotheus sent to the Athenians; who for his pains gave him a talent out of that which he got at Samos. Theopompus likewise the Chian, Ephorus the Cumæan, Asclepiades who devised plots for tragedies, and Theodectes of Phaselis, who afterwards wrote tragedies, were all Isocrates's scholars. The last of these had a monument in the way to the shrine of Cyamites, as we go to Eleusis by the Sacred Way, of which now remain only fragments. There also he set up with his own the statues of other famous poets, of all which only Homer's is to be seen. Leodamas also the Athenian, and Lacritus who gave laws to the Athenians, were both his scholars; and some say, Hyperides and Isæus too. They add likewise, that Demosthenes also was very desirous to learn of him, and because he could not give the full rate, which was a thousand drachms, he offered him two hundred, the fifth part, if he would teach him but the fifth part of his art proportionable: to whom Isocrates answered, We do not use, Demosthenes, to impart our skill by halves, but as men sell good fish whole, or altogether, so if thou hast a desire to learn, we will teach thee our full art, and not a piece of it. He died in the year when Charondas was archon,<sup>1</sup> when, being at Hippocrates's public exercise, he received the news of the slaughter at Chæronea; for he was the cause of his own death by a four days' fast, which he then made,

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 338.

pronouncing just at his departure the three verses which open three tragedies of Euripides:—

Danaus, father of the fifty sisters, —  
 Pelops, son of Tantalus, in quest of Pisa, —  
 Cadmus, in time past, going from Sidon.

He lived ninety-eight years or, as some say, a hundred, not being able to behold Greece the fourth time brought into slavery. The year (or, as some say, four years) before he died, he wrote his Panathenaic oration. He worked over his Panegyric oration ten years, or, as some tell us, fifteen; this he is supposed to have taken out of Gorgias the Leontine and Lysias. His oration concerning Exchange of Property he wrote when he was eighty-two years old, and those to Philip a little before his death. When he was old, he adopted Aphareus, the youngest of the three sons of Plathane, the daughter of Hippias the orator. He was very rich, both in respect of the great sums of money he exacted of his scholars, and besides that, he received at one time twenty talents of Nicocles, king of Cyprus, for an oration which he dedicated to him. By reason of his riches he became obnoxious to the envy of others, and was three times named to pay the expenses of a galley; which he evaded twice by the assistance of his son and a counterfeit sickness, but the third time he undertook it, though the charge proved very great. A father telling him that he had allowed his son no other companion than one slave, Isocrates replied, Go thy way then, for one slave thou shalt have two. He strove for the prize which Aretemisia dedicated to the honor and memory of her husband Mausolus; but that oration is lost. He wrote also another oration in praise of Helen, and one entitled Areopagiticus. Some say that he died when he had fasted nine days, — some again, at four days' end, — and his death took its date from the funeral solemnities of those that lost their lives at Chæronea. His son Aphareus likewise wrote several orations.

He lies buried with all his family near Cynosarges, on the left hand of the hill. There are interred Isocrates and his father Theodorus, his mother and her sister Anaco, his adoptive son Aphareus, Socrates the son of Anaco, Theodorus his brother, bearing his father's name, his

grandsons, the sons of his adopted Aphareus, and his wife Plathane, the mother of Aphareus. On these tombs were erected six tablets, which are now demolished. And upon the tomb of Isocrates himself was placed a column thirty cubits high, and on that a mermaid of seven cubits, which was an emblem of his eloquence; there is nothing now extant. There was also near it a tablet, having poets and his schoolmasters on it; and among the rest, Gorgias inspecting a celestial globe, and Isocrates standing by him. There is likewise a bronze statue of him in Eleusis, dedicated by Timothy the son of Conon, before the entry of the porch, with this inscription: —

To the fame and honor of Isocrates,  
This statue's sacred to the goddesses;  
The gift of Timothy.

This statue was made by Leochares. There are three-score orations which bear his name; of which, if we credit Dionysius, only five and twenty are genuine; but according to Cæcilius, twenty-eight; and the rest are accounted spurious. He was an utter stranger to ostentation, insomuch that, when there came at one time three persons to hear him declaim, he admitted but two of them, desiring the third to come the next day, for that two at once were to him as a full theatre. He used to tell his scholars that he taught his art for ten minas; but he would give any man ten thousand, that could teach him to be bold and give him a good utterance. And being once asked how he, who was not very eloquent himself, could make others so, he answered, Just as a whetstone cannot cut, yet it will sharpen knives for that purpose. Some say that he wrote institutions to the art of oratory; others are of opinion that he had no method of teaching, but only exercise. He would never ask anything of a free-born citizen. He used to enjoin his scholars being present at public meetings to repeat to him what was there delivered. He conceived no little sorrow for the death of Socrates, insomuch that the next day he put himself in mourning. Being asked what was the use and force of rhetoric, he answered, To make great matters small, and small great. At a feast with Nicoceon, the tyrant of Cyprus, being desired by some of the company to declaim upon some

theme, he made answer, that that was not a season for him to speak his mind, and he had no mind then to be seasonable. Happening once to see Sophocles the tragedian amorously eying a comely boy, he said to him, It will become thee, Sophocles, to restrain not only thy hands, but thine eyes also. When Ephorus of Cumæ left his school before he had arrived at any good proficiency, his father Demophilus sent him again with a second sum of money in his hand; at which Isocrates jocosely called him Diphorus, that is, *twice bearing* his fee. However, he took a great deal of pains and care with him, and went so far as to put him in the way of writing history.

He was wantonly given; and used to lie upon a . . . mat for his bed, and his bolster was commonly made moist with saffron. He never married while he was young; but in his old age he kept a miss, whose name was Lagisce, and by her he had a daughter, who died in the twelfth year of her age, before she was married. He afterwards married Plathane, the wife of Hippias the rhetorician, who had three sons, the youngest of which, Aphareus by name, he adopted for his own, as we said before. This Aphareus erected a bronze statue to him near the temple of Jupiter, as may be seen from the inscription:—

In veneration of the mighty Jove,  
His noble parents, and the gods above,  
Aphareus this statue here has set,  
The statue of Isocrates his father.

He is said to have run a race on a swift horse, when he was but a boy; for he is to be seen in this posture in the Citadel, in the tennis court of the priestesses of Minerva, in a statue. There were but two suits commenced against him in his whole life. One whereof was with Megaclides, who incited him to exchange of property; at the trial of which he could not be personally present, by reason of sickness; but sending Aphareus, he nevertheless won his case. The other suit was commenced against him by Lysimachus, who would have forced him to come to an exchange or be at the charge of maintaining a galley for the commonwealth. In this case he was defeated, and made to perform the service. There was likewise a painting of him in the Pompeum.



Aphareus also wrote a few orations, both judicial and deliberative; as also tragedies to the number of thirty-seven, of which two are doubted. Beginning to produce plays under Lysistratus he continued to the time of Sosigenes, *i.e.* twenty-eight years. Six times he offered his productions at the city festivals of Dionysius; twice he won prizes, Dionysius being the actor. He won two victories at the Lenæan festivals with other actors performing. Of the mother of Isocrates and Theodorus and of Anaco, his aunt, statues were placed in the Acropolis. The one of his mother is now to be seen near the image of Hygeia with a different inscription. The one of Anaco has disappeared. She had sons, Alexander by Cœnes and Lysicles by Lysias.

#### V. ISÆUS.

Isæus was born in Chalcis. When he came to Athens, he read Lysias's works, whom he imitated so well, both in his style and in his skill in directing causes, that he who was not very well acquainted with their manner of writing could not tell which of the two was author of many of their orations. He flourished after the Peloponnesian war, as we may conjecture from his orations, and was in repute till the reign of Philip. He taught Demosthenes — not at his school, but privately — who gave him ten thousand drachms, by which business he became very famous. Some say that he composed orations for Demosthenes, which he pronounced in opposition to his guardians. He left behind him sixty-four orations, of which fifty are his own; as likewise some peculiar institutions of rhetoric. He was the first that used to speak or write figuratively, and that addicted himself to civil matters; which Demosthenes chiefly followed. Theopompus the comedian makes mention of him in his *Theseus*.

#### VI. ÆSCHINES.

He was the son of Atrometus — who, being banished by the Thirty Tyrants, was thereby a means of reducing the commonwealth to the government of the people — and of his wife Glaucothea; by birth a Cothocidian. He was

neither nobly born nor rich; but in his youth, being strong and well set, he practised all sorts of bodily exercises; on account of the excellence of his voice he afterwards acted in tragedies. If we believe Demosthenes, he acted as the secretary of Aristodemus and took inferior rôles in the Dionysiac festivals, repeating in rehearsals the ancient tragedies. When he was but a boy, he was assisting to his father in teaching little children their letters, and when he was grown up, he listed himself a private soldier. Some think he was brought up under Socrates and Plato; but Cæcilius will have it that Leodamas was his master. Being concerned in the affairs of the commonwealth, he openly acted in opposition to Demosthenes and his faction; and was employed in several embassies, and especially in one to Philip, to treat about articles of peace. For which Demosthenes accused him for being the cause of the overthrow and ruin of the Phocians, and the inflamer of war; which part he would have him thought to have acted when the Amphictyons chose him one of their delegates to the Amphissians who were building up the harbor [of Crissa]. On which the Amphictyons put themselves under Philip's protection, who, being assisted by Æschines, took the affair in hand, and soon conquered all Phocis. But Æschines, notwithstanding all that Demosthenes could do, being favored by Eubulus the son of Spintharus, a Probalisian, who pleaded in his behalf, carried his cause by thirty voices, and so was cleared. Though some tell us, that there were orations prepared by the orators, but the news of the conquest of Chæronea put a stop to the present proceedings, and so the suit fell.

Some time after this, Philip being dead, and his son Alexander marching into Asia, Æschines impeached Ctesiphon for acting against the laws, in passing a decree in favor of Demosthenes. But he having not the fifth part of the votes of the judges on his side, was forced to go in exile to Rhodes, because he would not pay his mulct of a thousand drachms. Others say, that he suffered disfranchisement also, because he would not depart the city, and that he went to Alexander at Ephesus. But upon the death of Alexander, when a tumult had been excited, he went to Rhodes, and there opened a school and taught. And on a time pronouncing the oration which

he had formerly made against Ctesiphon, to please the Rhodians, he did it with that grace, that they wondered how he could fail of carrying his cause if he pleaded so well for himself. But ye would not wonder, said he, that I was defeated, if ye had heard Demosthenes pleading against me. He left a school behind him at Rhodes, which was afterwards called the Rhodian school. Thence he sailed to Samos, and there in a short time died. He had a very good voice, as both Demosthenes and Demochares testified of him.

Four orations bear his name, one of which was against Timarchus, another concerning false embassy, and a third against Ctesiphon, which three are really his own; but the fourth, called Deliacæ, is none of his; for though he was named to plead the cause of the temple at Delos, yet Demosthenes tells us that Hyperides was chosen in his stead.<sup>1</sup> He says himself, that he had two brothers, Aphobetus and Philochares. He was the first that brought the Athenians the news of the victory obtained at Tamynæ, for which he was crowned for the second time. Some report that Æschines was never any man's scholar, but having spent his time mainly in courts of justice, he advanced himself from the office of clerk to that of orator. His first public appearance was in a speech against Philip; with which the people being pleased, he was immediately chosen to go ambassador to the Arcadians; and being come thither, he stirred the Ten Thousand against Philip. He indicted Timarchus for immorality; who, fearing the issue, deserted his cause and hanged himself, as Demosthenes somewhere informs us. Being employed with Ctesiphon and Demosthenes in an embassy to Philip to treat of peace, he appeared the most accomplished of the three. Another time also he was one of ten men sent in embassy to conclude a peace; and being afterwards called to answer for it, he was acquitted, as we said.

#### VII. LYCURGUS.

Lycurgus was the son of Lycophon, and grandson of that Lycurgus whom the Thirty Tyrants put to death, by the procurement of Aristodemus the Batesian, who, also

<sup>1</sup> See Demosthenes on the Crown, p. 271, 27.

being treasurer of the Greeks, was banished in the time of the popular government. He was a Butadian by origin, and of the line or family of the Eteobutades. He received his first institutions of philosophy from Plato the philosopher. But afterward entering himself a scholar to Isocrates the orator, he employed his study about affairs of the commonwealth. And to his care was committed the disposal and management of the city stock, and so he executed the office of treasurer-general for the space of twelve years; in which time there went through his hands fourteen thousand talents, or (as some will have it) eighteen thousand six hundred and fifty. It was the orator Stratoles that procured him this preferment. At first he was elected in his own name; but afterwards he named one of his friends to the office, while he himself performed the duties; for there was a law just passed, that no man should be chosen treasurer for above the term of four years. But Lycurgus plied his business closely, both summer and winter, in the administration of public affairs. And being intrusted to make provision of all necessaries for the wars, he reformed many abuses that were crept into the commonwealth. He built four hundred galleys for the use of the public, and prepared and fitted a place for public exercises in Lycaëum, and planted trees before it; he likewise built a wrestling-court, and being made surveyor of the theatre of Bacchus, he completed this building. He was likewise of so great repute among all sorts, that he was intrusted with two hundred and fifty talents of private citizens. He adorned and beautified the city with gold and silver vessels of state, and golden statues of victory. He likewise finished many things that were as yet imperfect, as the navy-yards and the arsenal. He built a wall also about the spacious Panathenaic stadium, and made level a piece of uneven ground, given by one Dinius to Lycurgus for the use of the city. The keeping of the city was committed wholly to his care, and power to apprehend malefactors, of whom he cleared the city entirely; so that some sophisters were wont to say, that Lycurgus did not dip his pen in ink, but in blood. And therefore it was, that when Alexander demanded him of the people, they would not deliver him up. When Philip made the second war upon the Athenians, he was employed with Demosthenes and Polyeuctus in an embassy to Pelopon-

nesus and other cities. He was always in great repute and esteem with the Athenians, and looked upon as a man of that justice and integrity, that in the courts of judicature his good word was at all times prevalent on the behalf of those persons for whom he undertook to speak. He was the author of several laws; one of which was, that there should be certain comedies played at the Chytrian solemnities, and whoever of the poets or players should come off victor, he should thereby be invested with the rights of citizenship, which before was not lawful; and so he revived a solemnity which for want of encouragement had for some time before been out of request. Another of his laws was, that the city should erect statues to the memory of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and that their tragedies, being fairly engrossed, should be preserved in the public consistory, and that the public notaries should read these copies as the plays were acted, that nothing might be changed by the players; and that otherwise it should not be lawful to act them. A third law proposed by him was, that no Athenian, nor any person inhabiting in Athens, should be permitted to buy a captive, who was once free, to be a slave, without the consent of his former master. Further, that in the Piræus there should be at least three circular dances played to Neptune; and that to the victor in the first should be given not less than ten minas; in the second, eight; in the third, six. Also, that no woman should go to Eleusis in a coach, lest the poor should appear more despicable than the rich, and so be dejected and cast down; and that whoever should ride in a coach contrary to this law should be fined six thousand drachms. And when even his own wife was taken in the violation of it, he paid to the discoverers of it a whole talent; for which being afterwards called in question by the people: See therefore, said he, I am called to answer for giving, and not for receiving money.

As he was walking one day in the streets, he saw an officer lay hand on Xenocrates the philosopher; and when nothing would serve his turn but the philosopher must to prison, because he had not deposited the tribute due from strangers, he with his staff struck the officer on the head for his unmannerly roughness toward a person of that character, and freeing Xenocrates, cast

the other into prison in his stead. And when his action was commended after some days Xenocrates meeting the children of Lycurgus said: Soon, children, I have expressed my thanks to your father; for on account of the help he gave to me he is being praised by many people. He also presented many decrees, using the assistance of Euclides, a citizen of Olynthian, who had much skill in that matter. Though he was well enough off, yet he was wont to wear the same tunic summer and winter, and he put on sandals only on the days he was compelled to. Because he was not ready in speaking extempore, he used to practice and study day and night. And to the end he might not at any time oversleep himself and so lose time from his study, he used to cover himself on his bed only with a sheepskin with the wool on, and to lay a hard bolster under his head. When one reproached him for being in fee with rhetoricians when he studied his orations, he answered, that, if a man would promise to restore his sons better, he would give him not only a thousand drachms, but half what he was worth. He took the liberty of speaking boldly upon all occasions, by reason of his greatness; as when once the Athenians interrupted him in his speaking, he cried out, O thou Corcyræan whip, how many talents art thou worth? And another time, when some would rank Alexander among the gods, What manner of god, said he, must he be, when all that go out of his temple had need to be dipped in water to purify themselves?

After his death Menesæchmus accusing and indicting them by virtue of an instrument drawn by Thracycles, his sons were delivered to the eleven executioners of Justice. But Demosthenes, being in exile, wrote to the Athenians, to let them know that they were wrongfully accused, and that therefore they did not well to hear their accusers; upon which they recanted what they had done, and set them at liberty again, — Democles, who was Theophrastus's scholar, likewise pleading in their defence. Lycurgus and some of his posterity were buried publicly, at or near the temple of Minerva Pæonia, where their monuments stand in the garden of Melanthius the philosopher, on which are inscriptions to Lycurgus and his children, which are yet extant. The greatest thing he did while he lived was his raising the revenue of the commons

totally from sixty talents, as he found it, to twelve hundred. When he found he must die, he was by his own appointment carried into the temple of the mother of the gods, and into the senate-house, being willing before his death to give an account of his administration. And no man daring to accuse him of anything except Mene-sæchmus, having purged himself from those calumnies which he cast upon him, he was carried home again, where in a short time he ended his life. He was always accounted honest; his orations were commended for the eloquence they carried in them; and though he was often accused, yet he never was overthrown in any suit.

He had three children by Callisto, the daughter of Abron, and sister of Callias, Abron's son, by descent a Batesian, — I mean, of him who, when Chæronidas was archon, was paymaster to the army. Of this affinity Dinarchus speaks in his oration against Pastius. He left behind him three sons, Abron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron; of which, Abron and Lycurgus died without issue, though the first, Abron, did for some time act very acceptably and worthily in affairs of the commonwealth. Lycophron marrying Callistomacha, the daughter of Philip of Æxone, begat Callisto, who married Cleombrotus the son of Dinocrates the Acharnian, to whom she bare Lycophron, who, being adopted by his grandfather, died without issue. He being dead, Socrates married Callisto, of whom he had his son Symmachus. To him was born Aristonymus; to Aristonymus, Charmides, who was the father of Philippe. Of her and Lysander came Medeus, who also was an interpreter, one of the Eumolpids. He begat two children of Timothea, the daughter of Glaucus, viz. Laodamia and Medius, who were priests of Neptune Erechtheus; also Philippe a daughter, who was afterward priestess of Minerva; for before, she was married to Diocles of Melite, to whom she bare a son named Diocles, who was a colonel of a regiment of foot. He married Hediste, the daughter of Abron, and of her begat Philip-pides and Nicostrata, whom Themistocles the torch-bearer, son of Theophrastus, married, and by her had Theophrastus and Diocles; and he likewise constituted the priesthood of Neptune Erechtheus.

It is said that he penned fifteen orations. He was often crowned by the people, and had statues dedicated to him.

His image in brass was set up in Ceramicus by order of the public, in the year of Anaxicrates; in whose time also it was ordered that he and his eldest son should be provided for with diet in the Prytaneum; but he being dead, Lycophon his eldest son was forced to sue for that donation. This Lycurgus also was used frequently to plead on the account of sacred things; and accused Autolycus the Areopagite, Lysicles the commander, Demades the son of Demeas, Menesæchmus, and many others, all whom he caused to be condemned as guilty. Diphilus also was called in question by him, for impairing and diminishing the props of the metal mines, and unjustly making himself rich therefrom; and he caused him to be condemned to die, according to the provision made by the laws in that case. He gave out of his own stock fifty drachms to every citizen, the sum total of which donation amounted to one hundred and sixty talents; but some say he gave a mina of silver to each. He likewise accused Aristogiton, Leocrates, and Autolycus for cowardice. He was called the Ibis: . . .

The ibis to Lycurgus, to Chærephon the bat.<sup>1</sup>

His ancestors derived their pedigree from Erechtheus, the son of the Earth and of Vulcan; but he was nearest to Lycomedes and Lycurgus, whom the people honored with public solemnities. There is a succession of those of the race who were priests of Neptune, in a complete tablet placed in the Erechtheum, painted by Ismenias the Chalcidian; in the same place stood wooden statues of Lycurgus, and of his sons, Abron, Lycurgus, and Lycophon; made by Timarchus and Cephisodotus, the sons of Praxiteles. His son Abron dedicated the table; and coming to the priesthood by right of succession, he resigned to his brother Lycophon, and hence he is painted as giving a trident. But Lycurgus had made a draught of all his actions, and hung it on a column before the wrestling-court built by himself, that all might read that would; and no man could accuse him of any peculation. He likewise offered a resolution to the people to crown Neoptolemus, the son of Anticles, and to dedicate statues to him, because he had promised and undertaken to cover the altar of Apollo in

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Birds, 1296.



the market with gold, according to the order of the oracle. He decreed honors likewise to Diotimus, the son of Diopithes of Euonymus, in the year when Ctesicles was archon.

## VIII. DEMOSTHENES.

Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes by Cleobule, the daughter of Gylon, was a Pæanian by descent. He was left an orphan by his father, when he was but seven years old, together with a sister of the age of five. Being kept by his mother during his childhood, he went to school to Isocrates, say some; but the generality are of opinion that he was pupil to Isæus the Chalcidian, who lived in Athens and was Isocrates's scholar. He imitated Thucydides and Plato, and some affirm that he more especially followed the school of Plato. Hegesias the Magnesian writes, that he entreated his master's leave to go to hear Callistratus the son of Empædus, an Amphidnean, a noble orator, and sometime commander of a troop of horse, who had dedicated an altar to Mercury Agoræos, and was to make an oration to the people. And when he heard him, he took up oratory, and so long as he continued at Athens, remained his disciple.

But Callistratus being soon banished to Thrace, and Demosthenes arrived at some years of maturity, he joined with Isocrates and Plato. After this, he took Isæus into his house, and for the space of four years labored very hard in imitation of his orations. Though Ctesibius in his book of philosophy affirms that, by the help of Callias the Syracusan, he got the orations of Zoilus the Amphipolite, and by the assistance of Charicles the Carystian those also of Alcidamas, and devoted himself to the imitation of them. When he came to age, in the year of Timocrates<sup>1</sup> he called his tutors and guardians to account for their maladministration, in not allowing him what was fitting and requisite out of his estate. And these tutors or guardians were three, Aphobus, Theripides, and Demophon (or Demeas), the last of whom, being his uncle, he charged more severely than the other two. He arrested each of them in an action of ten talents, and cast them, but did not exact of them what the law

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 364.

had given him, letting some go for money and others for favor.

When Aristophon, by reason of his age, could not hold the office any longer, he was chosen choregus, or overseer of the dances. During the execution of which office, Midias the Anagyrasian striking him as he was ordering the dances in the theatre, he sued him upon it, but let fall his suit upon Midias's paying him three thousand drachms.

It is reported of him that, while he was a youth, he confined himself to a den or cave, and there studied his orations, and shaved half of his head that he might not be allured to divert himself from it; and that he lay upon a very narrow bed, that he might awake and rise the sooner. And for that he could not very well pronounce the letter R, he accustomed himself very much to that, that he might master it if possible; and using likewise an unseemly motion of his shoulder when he spake at any time, he remedied that by a spit (or, as some say, a sword) stuck in the ceiling just over his shoulder, that the fear of being pricked with it might break him of that indecent gesture. They report of him further that, when he could declaim pretty well, he had a sort of mirror made as big as himself, and used always in declaiming to look in that, to the end that he might see and correct what was amiss. He used likewise at some certain times to go down to the Phalerian shore, to the end that, being accustomed to the surges and noise of the waves, he might not be daunted by the clamors of the people, when he should at any time declaim in public. And being naturally short-winded, he gave Neoptolemus a player ten thousand drachms to teach him to pronounce long sentences in one breath.

Afterwards, betaking himself to the affairs of the commonwealth, and finding the people divided into two different factions, one in favor of Philip, and the other standing for the liberty and properties of the people, he took part with them that opposed Philip, and always persuaded the citizens to help those who were in danger and trouble by Philip's oppression; taking for his companions in council Hyperides, Nausicles, Polyeuctus, and Diotimus; and then he drew the Thebans, Eubœans, Corcyræans, Corinthians, Bœotians, and many more into a league with the Athenians. Being in the assembly one day and his memory

failing him, his oration was hissed; which made him return home very heavy and melancholy; and being met by Eunomus the Thriasian, an old man, by him he was comforted and encouraged. But he was chiefly stimulated by Andronicus the player, who told him that his orations were excellent, but that he wanted something of action, thereupon repeating certain places out of his oration which he had delivered in that same assembly. Unto which Demosthenes gave good attention and credit, and he then studied under Andronicus. And therefore, when he was afterwards asked what was the first part of oratory, he answered, "Action"; and which was the second, he replied, "Action"; and which was the third, he still answered, "Action." Another time, declaiming publicly, and using expressions too youthful for one of his years and gravity, he was laughed at, and ridiculed by the comedians, Antiphanes and Timocles, who in derision used to repeat such phrases as these, as uttered by him:—

By the earth, by the fountains, by the rivers, by the floods!

For having sworn thus in presence of the people, he raised a tumult about him. He likewise was wont to swear by Asclepius, and accented the antipenult (*Ἀσκληπίος*)<sup>1</sup> through some mistake, and yet afterwards defended it; for this Asclepius, he said, was called *ἡπιος*, that is a *mild* god. This also often caused interruptions. But all these things he reformed in time, being sometime conversant with Eubulides, the Milesian philosopher. Being on a time present at the Olympic games, and hearing Lamachus the Myrrhinæan sound the praises of Philip and of Alexander the Great, his son, and decry the cowardice of the Thebans and Olynthians, he stood up in their defence against him, and from the ancient poets he proclaimed the great and noble achievements of the Thebans and Olynthians; and so elegantly he behaved himself in this affair, that he at once silenced Lamachus, and made him convey himself immediately out of the assembly. And even Philip himself, when he had heard what harangues he made against him, replied, that if he had heard him, he should have chosen him general in the war against

<sup>1</sup> This name was properly pronounced with the accent on the last syllable, *Ἀσκληπίος*. (G.)

himself. He was used to compare Demosthenes's orations to soldiers, for the force they carried along with them; but the orations of Isocrates to fencers, because of the theatrical delight that accompanied them.

Being about the age of seven and thirty, reckoning from Dexitheus to Callimachus,<sup>1</sup> — in whose time the Olynthians sent to beg aid of the Athenians against Philip, who then made war upon them, — he persuaded them to answer the Olynthians' request; but in the following year, in which Plato died,<sup>2</sup> Philip overthrew and destroyed the Olynthians. Xenophon also, the scholar of Socrates, had some knowledge of Demosthenes, either at his first rise, or at least when he was most famous and flourishing; for he wrote the Acts of the Greeks, as touching what passed at the battle of Mantinea, in the year of Chariclides;<sup>3</sup> our Demosthenes having some time before overthrown his guardians in a suit he had commenced against them, in the year of Timocrates. When Æschines, being condemned, fled from Athens, Demosthenes hearing of it took horse and rode after him; which Æschines understanding, and fearing to be apprehended again, he came out to meet Demosthenes and fell at his feet, covered his face, and begged his mercy; upon which Demosthenes bid him stand up, be assured of his favor, and as a pledge of it, gave him a talent of silver. He advised the people to maintain a company of mercenary soldiers in Thasos, and thither sailed himself as captain of the galleys. Another time, being intrusted to buy corn, he was accused of defrauding the city, but cleared himself of the accusation and was acquitted. When Philip had taken Elatea, Demosthenes with others went to the war of Chæronea, where he is said to have deserted his colors; and flying away, a bramble caught hold of his vest behind, when turning about in haste, thinking an enemy had overtaken him, he cried out, Save my life, and say what shall be my ransom. On his buckler he had engraven for his motto, To Good Fortune. And it was he that made the oration at the funerals of such as died in that battle.

After these things, he bent his whole care and study for the reparation of the city and walls; and being chosen commissary for repairing the walls, besides what money

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 385-384 to 349-348.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 348-347.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 363-362.

he expended out of the city treasury, expended out of his own at least a hundred minas. And besides this, he gave ten thousand drachms to the festival fund; and taking ship, he sailed from coast to coast to collect money of the allies; for which he was often by Demotelus, Aristonicus, and Hyperides crowned with golden crowns, and afterwards by Ctesiphon. Which last decree had like to have been retracted, Diodotus and Æschines endeavoring to prove it to be contrary to the laws; but he defended himself so well against their allegations, that he overcame all difficulties, his enemies not having the fifth part of the votes of the judges.

After this, when Alexander the Great made his expedition into Asia, and Harpalus fled to Athens with a great sum of money, at first he would not let him be entertained, but afterwards, Harpalus being landed and having given him a thousand darics he was of another mind; and when the Athenians determined to deliver Harpalus up to Antipater, he opposed it, proposing to place the money in the Citadel, still without revealing the amount to the people. Thereupon Harpalus declared that he had brought with him from Asia seven hundred talents, and that this sum had been deposited in the Citadel; but only three hundred and fifty or a little more could be found, as Philochorus relates. But when Harpalus broke out of the prison wherein he was kept till some person should come from Alexander, and was escaped into Crete, — or, as some will have it, into Tænarum in Laconia, — Demosthenes was accused that he had had handed over from him a sum of money, and that therefore he had not given a true account of the sum delivered to him, nor had impeached the negligence of the keepers. So he was judicially cited by Hyperides, Pytheus, Menesæchmus, Himeræus, and Patrocles, who prosecuted him so severely as to cause him to be condemned in the court of Areopagus; and being condemned, he went into exile, not being able to pay fivefold; for he was accused of receiving thirty talents. Others say, that he would not run the risk of a trial, but went into banishment before the day came. After this tempest was over, when the Athenians sent Polyæuctus to the republic of Arcadia to draw them off from the alliance with the Macedonians, he not succeeding, Demosthenes appeared to second him, where he

reasoned so effectually that he easily prevailed. Which procured him so much credit and esteem, that after some time a galley was despatched to call him home again. And the Athenians decreed that, whereas he owed the state thirty talents, as a fine laid on him for the misdemeanor he was accused of, he should be excused for only building an altar to Jupiter Servator in the Piræus; which decree was first proposed by Demon his near kinsman. This being agreed on, he returned to the administration of affairs in the commonwealth again.

But when Antipater was blocked up in Lamia, and the Athenians offered sacrifices for the happy news, he happened, being talking with Agesistratus, one of his intimate friends, to say, that his judgment concerning the state of affairs did not jump with other men's, for that he knew the Greeks were brisk and ready enough to make a short spurt but not to hold on a long race. When Antipater had taken Pharsalus, and threatened to besiege Athens itself if they refused to deliver up such orators as had declaimed against him, Demosthenes, suspecting himself to be one of the number, left the city, and fled first into Ægina, that he might take sanctuary in the temple of Æacus; but being afraid to trust himself long there, he went over to Calauria; and when the Athenians had decreed to deliver up those orators, and him especially as one of them, he continued a suppliant in the temple of Neptune. When Archias came thither, — who, from his office of pursuing fugitives, was called Phygadotheres and was the scholar of Anaximines the orator, — when he, I say, came to him, and persuaded him to go with him, telling him that no doubt he should be received by Antipater as a friend, he replied: When you played a part in a tragedy, you could not persuade me to believe you the person you represented; no more shall you now persuade me by your counsel. And when Archias endeavored to force him thence, the townsmen would not suffer it. And Demosthenes told them, that he did not flee to Calauria to save his life, but that he might convince the Macedonians of their violence committed even against the gods themselves. And with that he called for a writing-table; and if we may credit Demetrius the Magnesian, on that he wrote a distich, which afterwards the Athenians caused to be affixed to his statue: and it was to this purpose: —

Hadst thou, Demosthenes, an outward force  
Great as thy inward magnanimity,  
Greece should not wear the Macedonian yoke.

This statue, made by Polyuctus, is placed near the cloister where the altar of the twelve gods is erected. Some say this writing was found: "Demosthenes to Antipater, Greeting." Philochorus tells us that he died by drinking of poison; and Satyrus the historiographer will have it, that the pen was poisoned with which he wrote his epistle, and putting it into his mouth, soon after he tasted it he died. Eratosthenes is of another opinion, that being in continual fear of the Macedonians, he wore a poisoned bracelet on his arms. Some say that he killed himself by holding his breath; others that he took poison which he kept in a seal ring. He lived, according to those who assign the longest time, seventy years, those who say the least, above sixty-seven. For twenty-two years he was in public life.

When King Philip was dead, he appeared publicly in a glorious robe or mantle, as rejoicing for his death, though he but just before mourned for his daughter. He assisted the Thebans likewise against Alexander, and animated all the other Greeks. So that when Alexander had conquered Thebes, he demanded Demosthenes of the Athenians, threatening them if they refused to deliver him. When he went against Persia, demanding ships of the Athenians, Demosthenes opposed it, saying, who can assure us that he will not use those ships we should send him against ourselves?

He left behind him two sons by one wife, the daughter of one Heliodorus, a notable citizen. He had but one daughter, who died unmarried, being but a child. A sister too he had, who married with Laches of Leuceonæ, his kinsman, and to him bore Demochares, who proved inferior to none in his time for eloquence, conduct, and courage. His statue is still standing in the Prytaneum, the first on the right as you draw near the altar, clothed with a mantle and girt with a sword, because in this habit he delivered an oration to the people, when Antipater demanded of them their orators.

Afterwards, in process of time, the Athenians decreed nourishment to be given to the kindred of Demosthenes in

the Prytaneum, and likewise set up a statue to his memory, when he was dead, in the market, in the year of Gorgias,<sup>1</sup> which honors were paid him at the request of Demochares his sister's son. And ten years after, Laches, the son of Demochares of Leuconœ, in the year of Pytharatus, required the same honor for himself, that his statue should be set up in the market, and that both he and the eldest of his line for the future should have their allowance in the Prytaneum, and the highest room at all public shows. These decrees concerning both of them are engrossed, and to be found among the statute laws. The statue of Demochares, of which we have spoken before, was afterwards removed out of the market into the Prytaneum.

There are extant sixty-five orations which are truly his. Some report of him, that he lived a very dissolute and vicious life, appearing often in women's apparel, and being frequently conversant at masks and revellings, whence he was surnamed Batalus; though others say, that this was a pet name used by his nurse, and that from this he was called Batalus in derision. Diogenes the Cynic espying him one day in a public-house, he was very much ashamed, and to shun him, went to withdraw; but Diogenes called after him, and told him, The more you shrink inward, the farther you will be inside. The same Diogenes once upon the banter said of him, that in his orations he was a Scythian, but in war a delicate nice citizen. He was one of them who received gold of Ephialtes, one of the popular orators, who, being sent in an embassy to the king of Persia, took money privily, and distributed it among the orators of Athens, that they might use their utmost endeavors to kindle and inflame the war against Philip; and it is said of Demosthenes, that he for his part had at once three thousand darics of the king. He apprehended one Anaxilas of Oreus, who had been his friend, and caused him to be tortured for a spy; and when he would confess nothing, he procured a decree that he should be delivered to the eleven executioners.

When once at a meeting of the Athenians they would not suffer him to speak, he told them he had but a short story to tell them. Upon which all being silent, thus he began: A certain youth, said he, hired an ass in summer time, to travel from hence to Megara. About noon, when

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 280.



the sun was very hot, and both he that hired the ass and the owner were desirous of sitting in the shade made by the ass, they each thrust the other away, — the owner arguing that he let him only his ass and not the shadow, and the other replying that, since he had hired the ass, all that belonged to him was at his dispose. Having said thus, he seemed to go his way. But the Athenians willing now to hear his story out, called him back, and desired him to proceed. To whom he replied: How comes it to pass that ye are so desirous of hearing a story of the shadow of an ass, and refuse to give ear to matters of greater moment? Polus the player boasting to him that he had gotten a whole talent by playing but two days, he answered, and I have gotten five talents by being silent but one day. One day his voice failing him when he was declaiming publicly, being hissed, he cried out to the people, saying, Ye are to judge of players, indeed, by their voice, but of orators by the gravity of their sentences.

Epicles upbraiding him for his premeditating what he was to say, he replied, I should be ashamed to speak what comes uppermost to so great an assembly. They say of him that he never put out his lamp — that is, never stopped polishing his orations — until he was fifty years old. He says of himself, that he drank always fair water. Lysias the orator was acquainted with him; and Isocrates knew him concerned in the management of public affairs till the battle of Chæronea; as also some of the Socratical sect. [He delivered most of his orations without notes, Nature having well qualified him for it.]<sup>1</sup> The first that proposed the crowning him with a coronet of gold was Aristonicus, the son of Nicophanes, the Anagyrasian; though Diondas interposed with an accusation.

#### IX. HYPERIDES.

Hyperides was son of Glaucippus, and grandson of Dionysius, of the borough of Colyttus. He had a son, who bare the same name with his father Glaucippus, an orator, who wrote many orations, and begat a son named Alphinous. Along with Lycurgus, he had been a scholar

<sup>1</sup> This is supposed to have been added by some other hand, because a contrary sentence is given of him before.

of Plato and of Isocrates. In Athens his connection with the commonwealth was at that time when Alexander laid his terms on Greece, whom he vigorously opposed in the demands made upon the Athenians for the generals as well as for galleys. He advised the people not to discharge the garrison of Tænarum, and this he did for the sake of a friend of his, Chares, who was commander of it. At first he used to plead causes for a fee. He was suspected to have received part of the money which Ephialtes brought out of Persia, and was selected to maintain a galley, and was sent to assist the Byzantines, when Philip was besieging their city. Nevertheless, in the same year he undertook the charge of defraying the expense of the solemn dances, whereas the rest of the captains were exempt from all such public burdens for that year. He obtained a decree for some honors to be paid to Demosthenes; and when that decree was opposed at the instance of Diondas, as being contrary to the laws, he, being called in question upon it, cleared himself. He did not continue his friendship with Demosthenes, Lysicles, and Lycurgus to the last; for, Lysicles and Lycurgus being dead, and Demosthenes being accused of having received money of Harpalus, he, among all the rest, was pitched upon, as the only person who was not corrupted with bribery, to draw up his indictment, which he accordingly did. Being once accused on the motion of Aristogiton of publishing acts contrary to the laws after the battle of Charonea, — that all foreign inhabitants of Athens should be accounted citizens, that slaves should be made free, that all sacred things, children, and women should be confined to the Piræus, — he cleared himself of all and was acquitted. And being blamed by some, who wondered how he could be ignorant of the many laws that were directly repugnant to those decrees, he answered, that the arms of the Macedonians obscured his sight, and it was not he but the battle of Charonea that made that decree. But Philip, being affrighted at somewhat, gave leave to carry away their dead out of the field, which before he had denied to the heralds from Lebadea.

After this, at the overthrow at Crannon, being demanded by Antipater, and the people being resolved to deliver him up, he fled out of the city with others who were under the same condemnation to Ægina; where meeting with

Demosthenes, he excused himself for the breach of friendship between them. Going from thence, he was apprehended by Archias, surnamed Phygadotheres, by country a Thurian, formerly a player, but at that time in the service of Antipater; by this man, I say, he was apprehended, even in the very temple of Neptune, though he grasped the image of that god in his arms. He was brought before Antipater, who was then at Corinth; where being put upon the rack, he bit out his tongue, because he would not divulge the secrets of his country, and so died, on the ninth day of October. Hermippus tells us that, as he went into Macedonia, his tongue was cut out and his body cast forth unburied; but Alphinous his cousin-german (or, according to the opinion of others, his grandson, by his son Glaucippus) obtained leave, by means of one Philopithes a physician, to take up his body, which he burnt, and carried the ashes to Athens to his kinsfolk there, contrary to the edicts both of the Athenians and Macedonians, which not only banished them, but likewise forbade the burial of them anywhere in their own country. Others say, that he was taken to Cleonæ with others, and there died, having his tongue cut out, as above; however, his relations and friends took his bones, when his body was burned, and buried them among his ancestors before the gate Hippades, as Heliodorus gives us the relation in his Third Book of Monuments. His monument is now altogether unknown and lost, being thrown down with age and long standing.

He is said to have excelled all others in his way of delivering himself in his orations to the people. And there are some who prefer him even to Demosthenes himself. There are seventy-seven orations which bear his name, of which only two and fifty are genuine and truly his. He was much given to venery, insomuch that he turned his son out-of-doors, to entertain that famous courtesan Myrrha. In Piræus he had another, whose name was Aristagora; and at Eleusis, where part of his estate lay, he kept another, one Philte a Theban, whom he ransomed for twenty minas. His usual walk was in the fish-market. It is thought that he was accused of impiety with one Phryne, a courtesan likewise, and so was sought after to be apprehended, as he himself seems to intimate in the beginning of an oration; and it is said, that when sentence was just ready to be passed upon her, he produced her in

court, opened her clothes before, and discovered her naked breasts, which were so very white, that for her beauty's sake the judges acquitted her. He at leisure times drew up several declamations against Demosthenes, which were thus discovered: Hyperides being sick, Demosthenes came one day to visit him, and caught him with a book in his hand written against him; at which seeming somewhat displeas'd, Hyperides told him: This book shall hurt no man that is my friend; but as a curb, it may serve to restrain my enemy from offering me any injury. He obtained a decree of some honors to be paid to Iolas, who gave the poisoned cup to Alexander. He joined with Leosthenes in the Lamian war, and made an admirable oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives therein.

When Philip was about to embark for Eubœa, and the Athenians heard the news of it with no little consternation, Hyperides in a very short time, by the voluntary contributions of the citizens, fitted out forty sail, and was the first that set an example, by sending out two galleys, one for himself and another for his son, at his own charge.

When there was a controversy between the Delians and the Athenians, who should have the preëminence in the temple at Delos; Æschines being chosen on the behalf of the Athenians for their representative, the Areopagites refused to ratify the choice and elected Hyperides; and his oration is yet extant, and bears the name of the Deliac oration.<sup>1</sup>

He likewise went ambassador to Rhodes; where meeting other ambassadors from Antipater, who commended their ruler very highly for his goodness and virtue, We know, replied he, that Antipater is good, but we have no need of a good master at present.

It is said of him, that he never affected much action in his orations to the people, his chief aim being to lay down the matter plainly, and make the case as obvious to the judges as he could.

He was sent likewise to the Eleans, to plead the cause of Callippus the fencer, who was accused of carrying away the prize at the public games unfairly; in which cause he got the better. But when he opposed the sentence of pay-

<sup>1</sup> See Demosthenes on the Crown, p. 221, 27.

ing honors to Phocion, obtained by Midias the son of Midias the Anagyrasian, he was in that cause overthrown. This cause was pleaded on the twenty-fourth day of May, in the year when Xenius was magistrate.

#### X. DINARCHUS.

Dinarchus, the son of Socrates or Sostratus, — born, as some think, at Athens, but according to others, at Corinth, — came to Athens very young, and there took up his dwelling, at that time when Alexander made his expedition into Asia. He used to hear Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle in his school. He was frequently conversant with Demetrius the Phalerian too. He betook himself more especially to the affairs of the commonwealth after the death of Antipater, when some of the orators were killed and others banished. Having contracted friendship with Cassander, he became in a short time vastly rich, by exacting great rates for his orations of those for whom he wrote them. He opposed himself to the greatest and most noble orators of his time, not by being overforward to declaim publicly, — for his faculty did not lie that way, — but by composing orations for their adversaries. And when Harpalus had broken out of prison, he wrote several orations, which he gave to their accusers to pronounce against those that were suspected to have taken bribes of him.

Some time after, being accused of a conspiracy with Antipater and Cassander about the matter of Munychia, when it was surprised by Antigonus and Demetrius, who put a garrison into it, in the year of Anaxierates,<sup>1</sup> he turned the greatest part of his estate into money, and fled to Chalcis, where he lived in exile about fifteen years, and increased his stock; but afterwards, by the mediation of Theophrastus, he and some other banished persons returned to Athens. Then he took up his abode in the house of one Proxenus, his intimate friend; where, being very aged and withal dim-sighted, he lost his gold. And because Proxenus refused to make inquiry after the thief, he apprehended him; and this was the first time that ever he appeared in court. That oration against Proxenus is extant; and there are sixty-four acknowledged

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 307.

orations of his, whereof some are thought to be Aristogiton's. He imitated Hyperides; or, as some incline to judge, rather Demosthenes, because of that vigor and force to move the affections, and the rhetorical ornaments that are evident in his style.

## DECREES PROPOSED TO THE ATHENIANS.

### I.

DEMOCHARES, the son of Laches of Leuconœ, requires that a statue of brass be set up for Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, in the market-place, as likewise that provision of diet be made in the Prytaneum for himself and the eldest of his progeny successively, and the chief seat in all public shows; for that he had done many good offices for the Athenians, had on most occasions been a good counsellor, and had spent his patrimony in the commonwealth; had expended eight talents for the fitting out and maintenance of one galley, when they delivered Eubœa, another, when Cephisodorus sailed into the Hellespont, and a third, when Chares and Phocion were commissioned by the people to go captains to Byzantium; that he at his own charge had redeemed many who had been taken prisoners by Philip at Pydna, Methone, and Olynthus; that himself had maintained a choir of men, when no arrangement had been made therefor through the neglect of the tribe Pandionis; that he had furnished many indigent citizens with arms; that being chosen by the people to oversee the city works, he had laid out three talents of his own stock towards the repairing of the walls, besides all that he gave for making two trenches about the Piræus; that after the battle of Chæronea he deposited one talent for the use of the public, and after that, another to buy corn in time of scarcity and want; that by his beneficence, wholesome counsels, and effectual persuasions, he allured the Thebans, Eubœans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achæans, Locrians, Byzantines, and Messenians to a league with the Athenians; that he raised an army of ten thousand

foot and a thousand horse, and contracted plenty to the people and their allies; that being ambassador, he had persuaded the allies to the contribution of above five hundred talents; that in the same quality, by his efforts and the voluntary gift of money, he obtained of the Peloponnesians that they should not send aid to Alexander against the Thebans; and in consideration of many other good offices performed by him, either as to his counsels, or his personal administration of affairs in the commonwealth, in which, and in defending the rights and liberties of the people, no man in his time had done more or deserved better; and in regard of his sufferings when the democracy was falling, being banished by the insolence of the oligarchy, and at last dying at Calauria for his good-will to the public, there being soldiers sent from Antipater to apprehend him; and that notwithstanding his being in the hands of his enemies, in so great and imminent danger, his hearty affection to his countrymen was still the same, insomuch that he never to the last offered any unworthy thing to the detriment of his people.

## II.

In the magistracy of Pytharatus,<sup>1</sup> Laches, the son of Demochares of Leuconœ petitions the Athenian senate that a statue of brass be set up for Demochares, the son of Laches of Leuconœ, in the market-place, and table and diet in the Prytaneum for himself and the eldest of his progeny successively, and the first seat at all public shows; for that he had always been a benefactor and good counsellor to the people, and had done these and the like good offices to the public: he had gone in embassies in his own person; had proposed and carried in bills relating to his embassy; had been chief manager of public matters; had repaired the walls, prepared arms and machines; had fortified the city in the time of the four years' war, and composed a peace, truce, and alliance with the Bœotians; for which things he was banished by those who overturned and usurped the government;— and being called home again by a decree of the people, in the year of Diocles, he had contracted for the administration,

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 269.

sparing the public funds; and going in embassy to Lysimachus, he had at one time gained thirty, and at another time a hundred talents of silver, for the use of the public; he had moved the people to send an embassy to Ptolemy, by which means the people got fifty talents; he went ambassador to Antipater, and by that got twenty talents, and brought it to Eleusis to the people, — all which measures he engaged the people to adopt while he himself carried them out; furthermore, he was banished on account of his devotion for the commonwealth, and would never take part with usurpers against the popular government; neither did he, after the overthrow of that government, bear any public office in the state; he was the only man, of all that had to do in the public administration of affairs in his time, who never promoted or consented to any other form of government but the popular; by his prudence and conduct, all the judgments and decrees, the laws, courts, and all things else belonging to the Athenians, were preserved safe and inviolate; and, in a word, he never said or did anything to the prejudice of the popular government.

### III.

Lycophron, the son of Lycurgus of Butadæ, requires that he may have diet in the Prytaneum, according to a donation of the people to Lycurgus. In the year of Anaxicrates,<sup>1</sup> in the sixth prytany, — which was that of the tribe Antiochis, — Stratocles, the son of Euthydemus of Diomea, proposed; that, — since Lycurgus, the son of Lycophron of Butadæ, had (as it were) an innate good-will in him towards the people of Athens; and since his ancestors Diomedes and Lycurgus lived in honor and esteem of all people, and when they died were honored for their virtue so far as to be buried at the public charge in the Ceramicus; and since Lycurgus himself, while he had the management of public affairs, was the author of many good and wholesome laws, and was the city treasurer for twelve years together, during which time there passed through his own hands eighteen thousand and nine hundred talents, besides other great sums

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 307.



of money that he was intrusted with by private citizens for the public good, to the sum of six hundred and fifty talents; in all which concerns he behaved himself so justly, that he was often crowned by the city for his fidelity; besides, being chosen by the people to that purpose, he brought much money into the Citadel, and provided ornaments, golden statues of victory, and vessels of gold and silver for the goddess Minerva, and gold ornaments for a hundred Canephoræ;<sup>1</sup> since, being commissary-general, he brought into the stores a great number of arms and at least fifty thousand shot of darts, and set out four hundred galleys, some new built, and others only repaired; since, finding many buildings half completed, as the dock-yards, the arsenal, and the theatre of Bacchus, he completed them; and finished the Panathenaic race-course, and the court for public exercises at the Lycæum, and adorned the city with many fair new buildings; since, when Alexander, having conquered Asia, and assuming the empire of all Greece, demanded Lycurgus as the principal man that confronted and opposed him in his affairs, the people refused to deliver him up, notwithstanding the terror of Alexander's name; and since, being often called to account for his management of affairs in so free a city, which was wholly governed by the people, he never was found faulty or corrupt in any particular; — that all people, therefore, may know, not only that the people do highly esteem all such as act in defence of their liberties and rights while they live, but likewise that they pay them honors after death, under the ascription of Good Fortune it is decreed by the people, that such honors be paid to Lycurgus, the son of Lycophon of Butadæ, for his justice and magnanimity, as that a statue of brass be erected in memory of him in any part of the market which the laws do not prohibit; as likewise that there be provision for diet in the Prytaneum for every eldest son of his progeny, successively forever. Also, that all his decrees be ratified, and engrossed by the public notary, and engraven on pillars of stone, and set up in the Citadel just by the gifts consecrated to Minerva; and that the city treasurer shall deposit fifty drachms for the engraving of them, out of the money set apart for such uses.

<sup>1</sup> Persons who carried baskets, or panniers, on their heads, of sacred things.

## A COMPARISON OF THE THREE SORTS OF GOVERNMENT,—MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND OLIGARCHY.

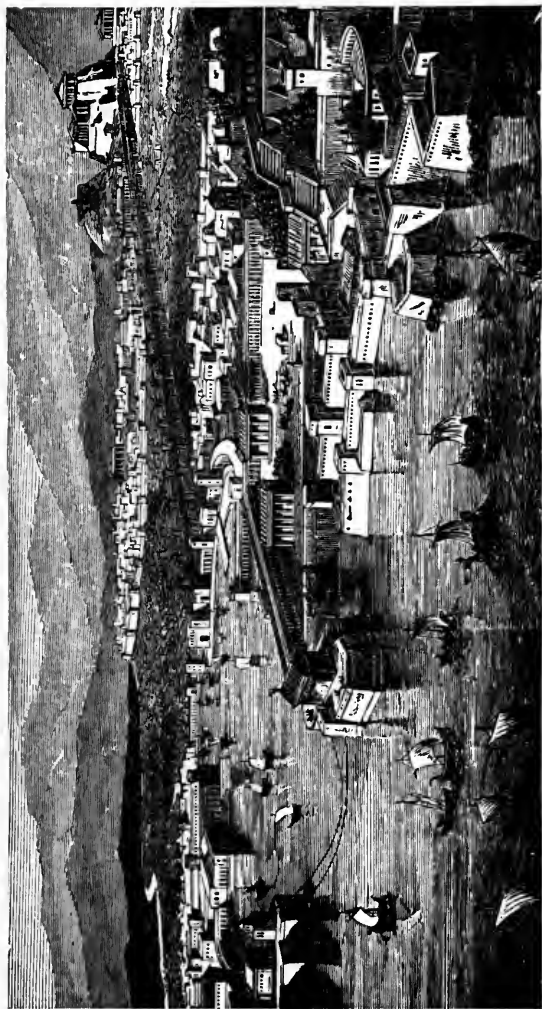
As I was considering with myself to bring forth and propose to the judgment of this worthy company the discourse I held yesterday in your presence, methought I heard political virtue — not in the illusion of a dream, but in a true and real vision — say thus to me:—

A golden ground is laid for sacred songs.

We have already laid the foundation of the discourse by persuading and exhorting persons to concern themselves in managing the affairs of the commonweal, and now we proceed to build upon it the doctrine which is due after such an exhortation. For after a man has received an admonition and exhortation to deal in the affairs of the state, there ought consequently to be given him the precepts of government, following and observing which, he may, as much as it is possible for a man to do, profit the public, and in the meantime honestly prosecute his own affairs with such safety and honor as shall be meet for him.

There is first then one point to be discoursed, which, as it is precedent to what we have hereafter to say, so depends on what we have said before. Now this is, what sort of policy and government is best? For as there are many sorts of lives in particular men, so also are there in people and states; and the life of a people or state is its policy and government. It is therefore necessary to declare which is the best, that a statesman may choose it from among the rest, or, if that is not possible for him to do, he may at least take that which has the nearest resemblance to the best.

Now there is one signification of this word policy (*πολιτεία*) which imports as much as *burgess-ship*, that is, a participation in the rights and privileges belonging to



ANCIENT ATHENS REVIEWED FROM THE PEIRAEUS.  
Reconstruction.



a town, city, or borough; as when we say that the Megarians, by an edict of their city, presented Alexander the Great with their *policy*, that is, their *burgess-ship*, and that, Alexander laughing at the offer they made him of it, they answered him, that they had never decreed that honor to any but Hercules and now to himself. This he wondering to hear accepted their present, thinking it honorable inasmuch as it was rare. The life also of a political person, who is concerned in the government of the commonweal, is called *policy*, as when we praise the policy of Pericles or Bias, that is, the manner of their government, and on the contrary, blame that of Hyperbolus and Cleon. Some moreover there are, who call a great and memorable action performed in the administration of a commonweal a *policy*, such as is the distribution of money, the suppressing of a war, the introduction of some notable decree worthy to be kept in perpetual memory. In which signification it is a common manner of speaking to say, This man to-day has done a *policy*, if he has peradventure effected some remarkable matter in the government of the state.

Besides all these significations there is yet another, that is, the order and state by which a commonweal is governed, and by which affairs are managed and administered. According to which we say that there are three sorts of *policy* or public government, — to wit, Monarchy, which is regality or kingship, Oligarchy, which is the government by peers and nobles, and Democracy, which is a popular or (as we term it) a free state. Now all these are mentioned by Herodotus in his Third Book,<sup>1</sup> where he compares them one with another. And these seem to be the most general of all; for all other sorts are, as it were, the depravation and corruption of these, either by defect or excess; as it is in the first consonances of music, when the strings are either too straight or too slack.

Now these three sorts of government have been distributed amongst the nations that have had the most extensive and the greatest empire. Thus the Persians enjoyed regality or kingship, because their king had full absolute power in all things, without being liable to render an account to any one. The Spartans had a

<sup>1</sup> Herod. III. 82.

council consisting of a small number, and those the best and most considerable persons in the city, who despatched all affairs. The Athenians maintained popular government free and exempt from any other mixture. In which administration when there are any faults, their transgressions and exorbitances are styled tyrannies, oppressions of the stronger, unbridled licentiousness of the multitude. That is, when the prince who has the royalty permits himself to outrage whomever he pleases, and will not suffer any remonstrance to be made him concerning it, he becomes a tyrant; when a few lords or senators in whose hands the government is arrive at that arrogance as to contemn all others, they turn oppressors; and when a popular state breaks forth into disobedience and levelling, it runs into anarchy and unmeasurable liberty: and in a word, all of them together will be rashness and folly.

Even then as a skilful musician will make use of all sorts of instruments, and play on every one of them, accommodating himself in such manner as its quality can bear and as shall be fit to make it yield the sweetest sound, but yet, if he will follow Plato's counsel, will lay aside fiddles, many-stringed virginals, psalteries, and harps, preferring before all other the lute and bandore; in like manner, an able statesman will dexterously manage the Laconic and Lycurgian seignory or oligarchy, fitting and accommodating his companions who are of equal authority with him, and by little and little drawing and reducing them to be managed by himself. He will also carry himself discreetly in a popular state, as if he had to deal with an instrument of many and differently sounding strings, one while letting down and remitting some things, and again extending others, as he shall see his opportunity and find it most convenient for the government, to which he will vigorously apply himself, well knowing when and how he ought to resist and contradict; but yet, if he might be permitted to make his choice from amongst all sorts of government, as from so many musical instruments, he would not, if Plato's advice might be taken, choose any other but monarchy or regal authority, as being that which is indeed alone able to support that most perfect and most lofty note of virtue, without suffering him either by force or by

grace and favor, to frame himself for advantage and gain. For all other sorts of governments do in a manner as much rule a statesman as he does them, no less carrying him than they are carried by him; forasmuch as he has no certain power over those from whom he has his authority, but is very often constrained to cry out in these words of the poet Æschylus, which King Demetrius, surnamed the Town-taker, often alleged against Fortune, after he had lost his kingdom:—

Thou mad'st me first, and now undoest me quite.

WHETHER THE ATHENIANS WERE MORE RE-  
NOWNED FOR THEIR WARLIKE DEEDS, OR  
FOR THEIR LEARNING.

... THESE things he rightly spoke to the commanders that accompanied him, to whom he opened the way for future performances, while he expelled the barbarians and restored Greece to her ancient liberty. And the same thing may be said to those that magnify themselves for their writings. For if there were none to act, there would be none to write. Take away the political government of Pericles, and the naval trophies of Phormio at Rhium, and the brave achievements of Nicias at Cythera, Megara, and Corinth, Demosthenes's Pylos, and the four hundred captives taken by Cleon, Tolmides sailing round the Peloponnesus, and Myronidas vanquishing the Bœotians at Cœnophyta: and you murder Thucydides. Take away the daring braveries of Alcibiades in the Hellespont, and of Thrasyllus near Lesbos; the dissolution of the oligarchy by Theramenes; Thrasybulus, Archippus, and the seventy that from Phylæ ventured to attack the Lacedæmonian tyranny; and Conon again enforcing Athens to take the sea: and then there is an end of Cratippus. For as for Xenophon, he was his own historian, relating the exploits of the army under his command, but saying that Themistogenes the Syracusan had composed the history of them; dedicating the honor of his writing to another, that writing of himself as of another, he might gain the more credit. But all the other historians, as the Clinodemi, Diyli, Philochorus, Philarchus, were but the actors of other men's performances, as of so many plays, while they compiled the acts of kings and great generals, and thrusting themselves into the memory of their fame, partake of a kind of lustre and light from them. For there is a certain shadow of glory which reflects from those that act to those that write, while the actions of another appear in the discourse as in a mirror.



But this city was the mother and charitable nurse of many other arts and sciences; some of which she first invented and illustrated, to others she gave both efficacy, honor, and increase. More especially to her is painting beholden for its first invention, and the perfection to which it has attained. For Apollodorus the painter, who first invented the mixing of colors and the softening of shadows, was an Athenian. Over whose works there is this inscription:—

'Tis no hard thing to reprehend me;  
But let the men that blame me mend me.

Then for Euphranor, Nicias, Asclepiodorus, and Plistænetus the brother of Phidias, some of them painted the victories, others the battles of great generals, and some of them heroes themselves. Thus Euphranor, comparing his own Theseus with another drawn by Parrhasius, said, that Parrhasius's Theseus ate roses, but his fed upon beef. For Parrhasius's piece was cleverly painted, and perhaps it might be something like the original. But he that beheld Euphranor's Theseus might well say,

Race of Erechtheus bold daughter of Zeus,  
Whom Pallas bred.

Euphranor also painted with great spirit the battle of Mantinea, fought by the cavalry between the Athenians and Epaminondas. The story was thus. The Theban Epaminondas, puffed up with his victory at Leuctra, and designing to insult and trample over fallen Sparta and the glory of that city, with an army of seventy thousand men invaded and laid waste the Lacedæmonian territory, stirred up the subject races to revolt, and not far from Mantinea provoked the Spartans to battle; but they neither being willing nor indeed daring to encounter him, being in expectation of a reënforcement from Athens, Epaminondas dislodged in the night-time, and with all the secrecy imaginable fell into the Lacedæmonian territory; and missed but little of taking Sparta itself, being destitute of men to defend it. But the allies of the Lacedæmonians made haste to its relief; whereupon

Epaminondas made a show as if he would again return to spoiling and laying waste the country; and by this means deceiving and amusing his enemies, he retreats out of Laconia by night, and with swift marches coming upon the Mantineans unexpectedly, at what time they were deliberating to send relief to Sparta, presently commanded the Thebans to prepare to storm the town. Straightway the Thebans, who had a great conceit of their warlike courage, took their several posts, and began to surround the city. This put the Mantineans into a dismal consternation, and filled the whole city with dreadful outcries and hurly-burly, as being neither able to withstand such a torrent of armed men ready to rush in upon them, nor having any hopes of succor.

But at the same time, and by good fortune, the Athenians came down from the hills into the plains of Mantinea, not knowing anything of the critical moment that required more speedy haste, but marching leisurely along. However, so soon as they were informed of the danger of their allies, by one that scouted out from the rest, though but few in respect of the number of their enemies, single of themselves, and tired with their march, yet they presently drew up into array of battle; and the cavalry charging up to the very gates of Mantinea, there happened a terrible battle between the horse on both sides; wherein the Athenians got the better, and so saved Mantinea out of Epaminondas's hands. This conflict was painted by Euphranor, and you see in the picture with what strength, what fury and vigor they fought. And yet I do not believe that any one will compare the ability of the painter with that of the general; or would endure that any one should prefer the picture before the trophy, or the imitation before the truth itself.

Though indeed Simonides calls painting silent poetry, and poetry speaking painting. For those actions which painters set forth as they were doing, those history relates when they were done. And what the one sets forth in colors and figures, the other relates in words and sentences; only they differ in the materials and manner of imitation. However, both aim at the same end, and he is accounted the best historian, who can make the most lively descriptions both of persons and passions. Therefore Thucydides always drives at this perspicuity, to make the

hearer (as it were) a spectator, and to inculcate the same passions and perturbations of mind into his readers as they were in who beheld the causes of those effects. For Demosthenes embattling the Athenians near the rocky shore of Pylos; Brasidas hastening the pilot to drive the ship ashore, then going to the rowers' seats, then wounded and fainting, sinking down out of the reach of the rowers' oars; the land flight of the Spartans from the sea, and the sea engagement of the Athenians from the land; then again in the Sicilian war, both a land fight and sea engagement, so fought that neither had the better, a brave fight and contest of spirit in account of the strategy, so that through the continuous uncertainty of the fight they joyfully labored with their bodies in harmony with their expectations, nor did they lack in the method and arrangement of reality the precision and definiteness of a picture. . . . So that if we may not compare painters with generals, neither must we equal historians to them.

Thersippus of Erœadæ brought the first news of the victory at Marathon, as Heraclides of Pontus relates. But most report that Eucles, running armed with his wounds reeking from the fight, and falling through the door into the first house he met, expired with only these words in his mouth, "God save ye, we are well." Now this man brought the news himself of the success of a fight wherein he was present in person. But suppose that any of the goat-keepers or herd-men had beheld the combat from some high hill at a distance, and seeing the success of that great achievement, greater than by words can be expressed, should have come to the city without any wound or blood about him, and should have claimed the honors done to Cynægirus, Callimachus, and Polyzelus, for giving an account of their wounds, their bravery and deaths, wouldst thou not have thought him impudent above impudence itself; seeing that the Lacedæmonians gave the messenger that brought the news of the victory at Mantinea<sup>1</sup> no other reward than a quantity of victuals from the public table? But historians are (as it were) well-voiced relators of the actions of great men, who add grace and beauty and dint of wit to their relations, and to whom they that first light upon them

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. V. 73.

and read them are indebted for their pleasing tidings. And being read, they are applauded for transmitting to posterity the actions of those that do bravely. For words do not make actions, though we give them the hearing.

But there is a certain grace and glory of the art of poetry, when it resembles the grandeur of the actions themselves; according to that of Homer,

And many falsities he did unfold,  
That looked like truth, so smoothly were they told.<sup>1</sup>

It is reported also, that when one of his familiar friends said to Menander, The feasts of Bacchus are at hand, and thou hast made ne'er a comedy; he made him this answer: By all the gods, I have made a comedy, for I have laid my plot; and there remains only to make the verses and measures to it. So that the poets themselves believe the actions to be more necessary than the words, and the first things to be considered. Corinna likewise, when Pindar was but a young man and made too daring a use of his eloquence, gave him this admonition, that he was no poet, for that he never composed any fables, which was the chiefest office of poetry; in regard that out-of-the-way words, figures, metaphors, songs, and measures were invented to give a sweetness to things. Which admonition Pindar laying up in his mind, wrote a certain ode which thus begins:—

Shall I Ismenus sing,  
Or Melia, that from spindles all of gold  
Her twisted yarn unwinds,  
Or Cadmus, that most ancient king,  
Or else the sacred race of Sparti bold,  
Or Hercules, that far in strength transcends.

Which when he showed to Corinna, she smiling replied: When you sow, you must scatter the seed with your hand, not empty the whole sack at once. And indeed we find that Pindar intermixes in his poetic numbers a collection of all sorts of fables. Now that poetry employs itself in mythology is agreed by Plato likewise. For a fable is the relation of a false story resembling truth, and therefore very remote from real actions; for relation is

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. XIX. 203.

the image of action, as fable is the image of relation. And therefore they that feign actions are as far behind historians as they that speak differ from those that act.

Athens therefore never bred up any true artist in epic or lyric verse. For Cinesias was a tiresome writer of dithyrambics, a person of mean parentage and of no repute; and being jeered and derided by the comedians proved very unfortunate in the pursuit of fame.

Now for the dramatic poets, the Athenians looked upon comedy to be so ignoble and troublesome, that they published a law that no Areopagite should make any comedies. But tragedy flourished and was cried up, and with wonder and admiration heard and beheld by all people in those days, deceiving them with fables and the display of various passions; whereby, as Gorgias says, he that deceived was more just than he that did not practise deceit, and he that was deceived was wiser than he who was not deceived. He that deceived was more just, because it was no more than what he pretended to do; and he that was deceived was wiser, for that he must be a man of no sense that is not taken with the sweetness of words. And yet what benefit did those fine tragedies procure the Athenians? But the shrewdness and cunning of Themistocles walled the city, the industry of Pericles adorned their citadel, and Cimon advanced them to command their neighbors. But as for the wisdom of Euripides, the eloquence of Sophocles, the lofty style of Æschylus, what calamity did they avert from the city; or what renown or fame did they bring to the Athenians? Is it fitting then that dramas should be compared with trophies, the theatre with the generals' office, or productions of dramas with noble achievements?

Would ye that we should introduce the men themselves carrying before them the marks and signals of their own actions, permitting them to enter in sequence, like the actors upon the stage? But then poets must go before them, with flutes and lyres, saying and singing:—

Far from our choirs who in this lore's unskilled,  
 Or does not cherish pure and holy thoughts,  
 Nor views nor joins the Muses' generous rites,  
 Nor is perfected in the Bacchic tongue,  
 With which Cratinus bull-devourer sang,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 354.

And then there must be scenes, and vizards, and altars, and versatile machines. There must be also the tragedy-actors, the Nicostrati, Callippidæ, Menisci, Theodori, Poli, the dressers, and sedan-men of tragedy, — like those of some sumptuously appavelled lady, or rather like the painters, gilders, and colorers of statues, — together with a costly preparation of vessels, vizards, purple coats, and machines, attended by an unruly rabble of dancers and guards; and let all the preparation be exceeding costly. A Lacedæmonian once, beholding all this, not improperly said: How strangely are the Athenians mistaken, consuming so much cost and labor upon ridiculous trifles; that is to say, wasting the expenses of navies and of victualling whole armies upon the stage. For if you compute the cost of those dramatic preparations, you will find that the Athenians spent more upon their Bacchæ, Œdipuses, and Antigone, and the woes of Medea and Electra, than in their wars against the barbarians for liberty and extending their empire. For their general oft-times led forth the soldiers to battle, commanding them to make provisions only of such food as needed not the tedious preparation of fire. And indeed their admirals and captains of their ships went aboard without any other provision than meal, onions, and cheese. Whereas the masters of the choruses, feeding their dancers with eels, lettuce, the kernels of garlic, and marrow, feasted them for a long time, exercising their voices and pleasing their palates by turns. And as for these leaders, if they were overcome, it was their misfortune to be contemned and hissed at; and if they were victors, there was neither tripod, nor consecrated ornament of victory, as Demetrius says, but a life prolonged among cables, and an empty house for a tomb. For this is the tribute of poetry, and there is nothing more splendid to be expected from it.

Now then let us consider the great generals as they come on, to whom, as they pass by, all those must rise up and pay their salutations who have never been renowned for any great action, military or civil, and were never furnished with daring boldness nor excellence of wisdom for such enterprises, nor initiated by the hand of Miltiades that overthrew the Medes, or of Themistocles that vanquished the Persians. This is the martial

gang, at once combating with phalanxes by land, and engaging with navies by sea, and laden with the spoils of both. Give ear, Alala, daughter of War, to this same prologue of swords and spears.

Hasten to death, when for your country vowed,

as Epaminondas said, — for your country, your sepulchres, and your altars, throwing yourselves into most noble and illustrious combats. Their victories methinks I see approaching toward me, not dragging after them a goat or ox for a reward, nor crowned with ivy and smelling of the dregs of wine. But whole cities, islands, continents, and colonies well peopled are their rewards, being surrounded with trophies and spoils of all sorts. Whose statues and symbols of honor are Parthenons, a hundred feet long, South-walls, houses for ships, the Propylæa, the Chersonesus, and Amphipolis. Marathon displays the victory of Miltiades, and Salamis the glory of Themistocles, triumphing over the ruins of a thousand vessels. The victory of Cimon brings away a hundred Phœnician galleys from the Eurymedon. And the victory of Cleon and Demosthenes brings away the shield of Brasidas, and the captive soldiers in chains from Sphacteria. The victory of Conon and Thrasybulus walls the city, and brings the people back at liberty from Phylæ. The victory of Alcibiades near Sicily restores the languishing condition of the city; and Greece beheld Ionia raised again by the victories of Neleus and Androclus in Lydia and Caria.

If you ask what benefit every one of the rest procured to the city; one will answer Lesbos, another Samos, another Cyprus, another the Pontus Euxinus, another five hundred galleys with three banks of oars, and another ten thousand talents, the rewards of fame and trophies won. For these victories the city observes public anniversary festivals, for these victories she sacrifices to the gods; not for the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, not because Carcinus won a prize with his *Ærope*, or Astydamas with his *Hector*. But upon the sixth of September, even to this day, the Athenians celebrate a festival in memory of the fight at Marathon. Upon the sixteenth of the same month libations are made in

memory of the naval victory won by Chabrias near Naxos. Upon the twelfth they offer thanksgiving sacrifices for the recovery of their liberty. For upon that day they returned back from Phylæ. The third of the same month they won the battle of Plataea. The sixteenth of April was consecrated to Diana, when the moon appeared in the full to the Greeks victorious at Salamis. The twelfth of June was made sacred by the battle of Mantinea, wherein the Athenians, when their confederates were routed and fled, alone by themselves obtained the victory and triumph over their victorious enemies. Such actions as these procured honor and veneration and grandeur to the city; for these acts it was that Pindar called Athens the support of Greece; not because she had erected the fortune of the Greeks by the tragedies of Phrynichus and Thespis, but because (as he says) "near Artemisium the Athenian youth laid the first glorious foundation of freedom;" and afterwards fixing it upon the adamantine pillars of Salamis, Mycale, and Plataea, they multiplied their felicity to others.

But as for the writings of the poets, they are mere bubbles. But rhetoricians and orators indeed have something in them that renders them in some measure fit to be compared with great captains. For which reason, Æschines in derision reports of Demosthenes, that he said he was introducing a suit in behalf of the orator's stand against the generals' office.<sup>1</sup> But for all that, do you think it proper to prefer the Plataic oration of Hyperides to the Plataic victory of Aristides? Or the oration of Lysias against the Thirty Tyrants, to the acts of Thrasybulus and Archias that put them to death? Or that of Æschines against Timarchus for lasciviousness, to the relieving of Byzantium by Phocion, by which he prevented the sons of the confederates from being the scorn and derision of the Macedonians? Or shall we set before the public crowns which Demosthenes received for setting Greece at liberty, his oration on the Crown, wherein the rhetorician has behaved himself most splendidly and learnedly, swearing by their progenitors that ventured their lives at Marathon for the liberty of Greece,<sup>2</sup> rather

<sup>1</sup> See Æschines against Ctesiphon, § 146.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes on the Crown, p. 297, 11.



than by those that instructed youth in the schools? And therefore the city buried these heroes at the expense of the public, receiving the relics of their bodies, not men like Isocrates, Antiphon, and Isæus, and the orator has set them in the number of the gods; and by these it was that he chose to swear, though he did not follow their example. Isocrates also was wont to say, that they who ventured their lives at Marathon fought as if they had been inspired with other souls than their own; and extolling their daring boldness and contempt of life, to one that asked him (being at that time very aged) how he did, — As well, said he, as one who, being now above fourscore and ten years old, esteems death to be the most terrible of evils. For neither did he spend his years to old age in whetting his sword, in grinding and sharpening his spear, in scouring and polishing his helmet, in commanding navies and armies, but in knitting and joining together antitheses and nicely balanced sentences, and words of similar endings, all but smoothing and adapting his periods and clauses with files, planes, or chisels. How would that man have been affrighted at the clattering of weapons or the routing of a phalanx, who was so afraid of suffering one vowel to meet another, or to pronounce a sentence where one syllable was wanting!

Miltiades, the very next day after the battle of Marathon, returned a victor to the city with his army. And Pericles, having subdued the Samians in nine months, derided Agamemnon that was ten years taking of Troy. But Isocrates was almost three Olympiads (or twelve years) in writing his Panegyric; in all which time he had neither been a general nor an ambassador, neither built a city, nor been an admiral, notwithstanding the many wars that harassed Greece within that time. But while Timotheus freed Eubœa from slavery, while Chabrias vanquished the enemy near Naxos, while Iphicrates defeated and cut to pieces a whole battalion of the Lacedæmonians near Lechæum, while the Athenians, having shaken off the Spartan yoke, set the rest of Greece at liberty, with as ample privileges as they had themselves; he sits poring at home in his study, seeking out proper phrases and choice words for his oration, for as long a period of time as Pericles spent in erecting the Propylæa and the Parthenon. Though the comic poet Cratinus seems to deride even

Pericles himself as one that was none of the quickest, where he says of the middle wall:—

In words the mighty Pericles  
Has rais'd us up a wall;  
But 'tis a wall in only words,  
For we see none at all.

Consider now the poor spirit of this great orator, who spent the ninth part of his life in compiling one single oration. But to say no more of him, is it rational to compare the harangues of Demosthenes the orator with the martial exploits of Demosthenes the great leader? For example, the oration against Conon for assault, with the trophies which the other erected before Pylos? Or the declamation against Amathusius concerning slaves, with the noble service which the other performed in bringing home the Spartan captives? Neither can it be said, . . . that when Demosthenes wrote his oration about foreigners, Alcibiades at the same age joined the Mantineans and Eleans as confederates with the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians. And yet we must allow that the public orations of Demosthenes deserve this praise, that in his Philippics he encourages the Athenians to take arms, and he praises the enterprise of Leptines. . . .

## PARALLELS BETWEEN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY.

Most people are apt to take the histories of former times for mere forgeries and fables, because of many passages in those relations that seem to be very extravagant. But yet, according to my observation, we have had as strange occurrences of a later date under the Romans as any we have received from antiquity; for proof whereof, I have here matched several stories of the ancients with modern instances, and cited my authorities.

Datis, an eminent Persian commander, drew out three hundred thousand men to Marathon, a plain of Attica, where he encamped and prepared to war against the inhabitants. The Athenians made no reckoning at all of so barbarous a rabble, but sent out nine thousand men against him, under the command of Cynægirus, Polyzelus, Callimachus, and Miltiades. Upon the joining of battle, Polyzelus was struck blind at the sight of a wonderful apparition; Callimachus's body was struck through with a great many lances, continuing in an upright posture even when he was dead; Cynægirus had both his hands cut off upon laying hold of a Persian ship that was endeavoring to get away.

King Asdrubal, having possessed himself of Sicily, proclaimed war against the Romans. Metellus, who was appointed by the Senate to command in chief, overcame him. L. Glauco, a patrician, laid hold of the vessel that Asdrubal was in, and lost both his hands upon it. — *Aristides Milesius gives this account in his First Book of the Affairs of Sicily, and Dionysius Siculus had it from him.*

Xerxes advanced with an army of five millions of men to Artemisium, and declared war against the country. The Athenians, in a very great surprise, sent Agesilaus, the brother of Themistocles, to discover the motions of the enemy, notwithstanding a dream of his father Neocles, that his son had lost both his hands. This Agesilaus put him-

self into a Persian habit, and entered the barbarians' camp; where, taking Mardonius (an officer of the king's guards) for Xerxes himself, he killed him. Whereupon he was immediately seized, bound, and carried to Xerxes, who was just then about to sacrifice an ox to the Sun. The fire was kindled upon the altar, and Agesilaus put his right hand into it, without so much as shrinking at the pain. He was ordered upon this to be untied; and told the king that the Athenians were all of the same resolution, and that, if he pleased, he should see him burn his left hand too. This gave Xerxes an apprehension of him, so that he caused him to be still kept in custody. — *This I find in Agatharchides the Samian, in the Second Book of his Persian History.*

Porsena, a king of Tuscany, encamped himself beyond the Tiber, and made war upon the Romans, cutting off the supplies, till they were brought to great want of provisions. The Senate were at their wits' end what to do, till Mucius, a nobleman, got leave of the consuls to take four hundred of his own quality to advise with upon the matter. Mucius, upon this, put himself into the habit of a private man, and crossed the river; where finding one of the king's officers giving orders for the distribution of necessaries to the soldiers, and taking him for the king himself, he slew him. He was taken immediately and carried to the king, where he put his right hand into a fire that was in the room, and with a smile in the middle of his torments, — Barbarian, says he, I can set myself at liberty without asking you leave; and be it known to you, that I have left four hundred men in the camp as daring as myself, that have sworn your death. This struck Porsena with such a terror, that he made peace with the Romans upon it. — *Aristides Milesius is my author for this, in the Third Book of his History.*

There happened a dispute betwixt the Argives and Lacedæmonians about a claim to the possession of Thyreatis. The Amphictyons gave their opinion for a trial of it by battle, so many and so many of a side, and the possession to go to the victor. The Lacedæmonians made choice of Othryades for their captain, and the Argives of Thersander. The battle was fought, and the only two survivors that appeared were Agenor and Chromius, both

Argives, who carried their city the news of the victory. In this interim, Othryades, who was not as yet quite dead, made a shift to raise himself by the help of broken lances, gathered the shields of the dead together, and erected a trophy with this inscription upon it in his own blood. "To Jupiter the Guardian of Trophies." The controversy still depended, till the Amphictyons, upon an ocular examination of the matter, gave it for the Lacedæmonians. — *This is according to Chrysermus, in his Third Book of the Peloponnesian History.*

In a war that the Romans had with the Samnites, they made Posthumius Albinus their general. He was surprised in the difficult pass called the Caudine Forks, where he was hemmed in and lost three legions, he himself likewise falling upon the place grievously wounded. In the dead of the night, finding himself near his end, he gathered together the targets of his dead enemies, and raised a trophy with them, which he inscribed with his hand dipped in blood, "Erected by the Romans to Jupiter, Guardian of the Trophies, for a victory over the Samnites." But Fabius Gurgus, that was despatched away with troops under his command, so soon as he came to the place and saw the trophy, took up an auspicious omen upon it, fought the enemy, and overcame them, took their king prisoner, and sent him to Rome. — *This is in the Third Book of Aristides Milesius's Italian History.*

Upon the Persians falling into Greece with a body of five millions of men, the Spartans sent out Leonidas with a party of three hundred soldiers to secure the Pass of Thermopylæ. As they were at dinner, the barbarians fell in upon them; upon which, Leonidas bade them eat as if they were to sup in another world. Leonidas charged at the head of his men into the body of the barbarians; and after many wounds received, got up to Xerxes himself, and took his crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt, and Xerxes causing him to be cut up when he was dead, found his heart all hairy. — *Aristides, in the First Book of his Persian History.*

In the Punic war the Romans sent out three hundred men under the command of Fabius Maximus, where they were all lost; and he himself, after he had received a mortal wound, assaulting Hannibal, took his diadem from

his head, and died in the action: — *According to Aristides Milesius.*

There was a terrible earthquake, with a wonderful eruption of water, at Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, that swallowed up a great many houses, people and all. Midas upon this consults the oracle, which gave him for answer, that if he would cast into that gulf the most precious thing that he had in the world, the earth should close again. Whereupon he threw in a mass of gold and silver; but never the better. This put it in the head of Anchurus, the son of Midas, to consider, that the most precious thing in Nature is the life and soul of a man; so that he went presently and embraced his father and his wife Timothea, mounted his horse, and leaped into the abyss. The earth closed upon it, and Midas raised a golden altar in the place, laid his hand upon it, and dedicated it to JUPITER IDÆUS. This altar becomes stone at that time of the year when it was usual to have these eruptions; and after that season was over, it is turned to gold again. — *My author is Callisthenes, in his Second Book of Transformations.*

The River Tiber, in its course over the Forum, opened a huge cavity in the ground, so that a great many houses were buried in it. This was looked upon as a judgment upon the place, from Jupiter Tarsius; who, as the oracle told them, was not to be appeased without throwing into it what they held most valuable. So they threw a quantity of gold and silver into it. But Curtius, one of the bravest young men they had, gave a better guess at the mind of the oracle; and reflecting upon it, that the life of a man was much more excellent than treasure, took his horse and plunged himself into the gulf, and so redeemed his country. — *Aristides, in the Fortieth Book of his Italian History.*

As several great captains were making merry with Polynices, an eagle passing by made a stoop, and carried up into the air the lance of Amphiaraus, who was one of the company; and then letting it fall, it stuck in the ground, and was turned into a laurel. The next day, when the armies were in action, the earth opened and swallowed up Amphiaraus with his chariot, in that very place where at present the city Harma stands, so called

from that chariot. — *This is in Trisimachus's Third Book of the Foundations of Cities.*

When the Romans made war upon Pyrrhus, the king of the Epirots, the oracle promised Æmilius Paulus the victory in case he should erect an altar in that place where he should see an eminent man with his chariot swallowed up into the ground. Some three days after, Valerius Conatus, a man skilled in divination, was commanded in a dream to take the pontifical habit upon him. He did so, and led his men into the battle, where, after a prodigious slaughter of the enemy, the earth opened and swallowed him up. Æmilius built an altar here, obtained a great victory, and sent a hundred and sixty castle-bearing elephants to Rome. This altar delivers oracles about that season of the year in which Pyrrhus was overcome. — *Critolaus has this in his Third Book of the History of the Epirots.*

Pyræchmes, king of the Eubœans, made war upon the Bœotians. Hercules, when he was yet a youth, overcame this king, had him drawn to pieces with horses, and threw away the carcass unburied. The place where this was done is called Pyræchmes's horses. It lies upon the River Heraclius, and there is heard a neighing whensoever any horse drinks of that river. — *This is in the Third Book of Rivers.*

Tullus Hostilius, a king of the Romans, waged war against the Albans, whose king's name was Metius Fufetius; and he many times kept off from fighting. He had the ill luck to be once worsted, upon which the Albans gave themselves up to drinking and making good cheer, till Tullus fell in upon them when they were in their cups, and tore their king to pieces betwixt two horses. — *Alexarchus, in the Fourth Book of his Italian History.*

Philip had a design to besiege Olynthus and Methone, and in trying to pass the River Sandanus, was shot in the eye with an arrow by one Aster, an Olynthian, with these words: It is Aster that sends Philip this mortal shaft. Philip upon this swam back again to his own people, and with the loss of an eye saved his life. — *Callisthenes, in his Third Book of the Macedonics.*

Porsena made war upon the Romans, and pitched his

camp on the further side of the Tiber, where he intercepted all relief, till they were pinched with famine. Horatius Cocles, being chosen leader, took possession of the wooden bridge, where he opposed himself to the enemy that were pressing to come over; but finding himself overpowered with numbers, he commanded his people to cut down the bridge behind him, by which means he hindered them from coming over. But in the meantime receiving a wound in his eye, he threw himself into the river, and swam over to his own party. — *So Theotimus in the Second Book of his Italian History.*

Eratosthenes in Erigone tells a story of Icarius, that entertained Bacchus under his roof; and it runs thus. Saturn, having taken up his lodging with an husbandman who had a very beautiful daughter called Entoria, took her to his bed, and had several sons by her, Janus, Hymnus, Faustus, and Felix. He taught his host Icarius the use of wine and the way of dressing his vines, with a charge that he should likewise instruct his neighbors in the mystery. His acquaintance, hereupon finding that this strange drink had cast them into a deeper sleep than ordinary, took a fancy that they were poisoned, and stoned Icarius in revenge; whereupon his grandchildren hanged themselves for grief.

Upon a time, when the plague was very hot in Rome, the Pythian oracle being consulted gave this answer, that upon the appeasing the wrath of Saturn, and the Manes of those that were unjustly killed, the pestilence would cease. Lutatius Catulus, a man of the first quality, caused a temple upon this occasion to be erected near the Tarpeian Mount, which he dedicated to Saturn, placing an altar in it with four faces; possibly with a respect to Saturn's four children, or to the four seasons of the year. He also instituted the month of January. But Saturn translated them all to heaven among the stars, some of which are called Protrygeteres, as forerunners of the vintage; only Janus rises first, and has his place at the feet of the Virgin. — *Critolaus, in his Fourth Book of Celestial Appearances.*

In the time of the devastation of Greece by the Persians, Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian commander, took a



bribe of 500 talents of Xerxes, to betray Sparta. The treason being discovered, his father Agesilaus pressed him so hard, that he was fain to take sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called Chalciæcos, where he caused the doors to be bricked up, and his son to be immured till he died of hunger; and his mother after this would not suffer the body to be buried. — *Chrysermus, in his Second Book of Histories.*

The Romans, being in war with the Latins, made choice of P. Decius for their general. Now there was a certain patrician, a young man and poor (Cassius Brutus by name), who proposed for a certain reward to open the gates to the enemy; but being detected, he fled to the temple of Minerva Auxiliaria. But his father Cassius, an ensign-bearer, shut him up there till he died of famine, and his dead body was not allowed burial. — *Clitonymus, in his Italian History.*

Darius, the Persian, had a battle with Alexander near the River Granicus, where he lost seven satraps, and five hundred and two chariots armed with scythes. And yet he would have tried the fortune of another battle the day following; but his son Ariobarzanes, in favor of Alexander, undertook to betray his father into his hands. The father was so transported with passion at the indignity of the thing, that he cut off his son's head for it. — *Aretades Cnidius, in the Third of his Macedonian History.*

Brutus, that was created consul by the unanimous vote of the citizens, forced away Tarquinius Superbus into banishment for his abominable tyranny. He fled to the Tuscans, and by their assistance made war upon the Romans. The sons were treating to betray the father; the business was discovered, and they lost their heads for it. — *Aristides Milesius, in his Italian History.*

Epaminondas, a Theban general, managed a war against the Spartans. He went from the army to Thebes, to be present there at a public election of magistrates; but first enjoined his son Stesimbrotus that he should not fight the enemy in his absence upon any terms. The Spartans being informed that Epaminondas was not with the army, reproached the young man with want of courage, and so far provoked him, that without any regard to

his father's command he gave the Spartans battle, and overcame them. His father was so incensed against him for this action, that though he crowned him for the victory, he cut off his head for his disobedience. — *Ctesiphon, in his Third Book of the Bœotian History.*

In a war that the Romans had against the Samnites, they gave the command to Manlius, surnamed Imperiosus. He had occasion to go to Rome, to be present there at the choice of consuls, and gave his son in charge not to engage the enemy in the meantime. The Samnites, understanding this, irritated the young man with opprobrious words, as if he declined fighting out of cowardice, and in the end provoked him to a battle; upon which action he carried the day; but his father caused his head to be struck off for breaking his order. — *This is in Aristides Milesius.*

Hercules made love to Iole, but she gave him the repulse, and so he went and assaulted Œchalia. Iole threw herself headlong down from the wall, but the whiffing of the wind under her garments broke the fall, and she had no hurt. — *This story is in Nicias Maleotes.*

Valerius Torquatus was the Romans' general in the war they had with the Tuscans; who, upon the sight of Clusia, the daughter of the Tuscan king, fell in love with her, and when he found he could do no good on't, laid siege to the city. Clusia, upon this, threw herself headlong from a tower; but Venus was so careful of her, that by the playing of the wind in the folds of her garments, she was wafted safe to the ground. Torquatus, however, offered her violence, and for so doing he was banished by a public decree into the isle of Corsica. — *Theophilus, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

While the Carthaginians were treating an alliance with the Sicilians against the Romans, the Roman general Metellus was observed to omit sacrificing only to Vesta, who revenged herself upon him by sending a cross wind to the navy. But Caius Julius, a soothsayer, being consulted in the matter, gave answer, that this obstacle would be removed upon the general's sacrificing his daughter; so that he was forced to produce his daughter Metella for a sacrifice. But Vesta had compassion for her, and so sent her away to Lamusium, substituting a

heifer in her stead, and made a priestess of her to the dragon that is worshipped in that place. — *So Pythocles, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

Something like this happened to Iphigenia in Aulis, a city of Bœotia. — *See Meryllus, in the First Book of his Bœotic History.*

Brennus, a king of the Gauls, after the wasting of Asia, came to Ephesus, and there fell in love with a country girl, who promised him that for such a certain reward in bracelets and other curiosities of value he should have the use of her body, and that she would further undertake to deliver up Ephesus into his hands. Brennus ordered his soldiers to throw all the gold they had into the lap of this avaricious wretch, which they did, till she perished under the weight of it. — *Clitophon in the First Book of his Gallican History.*

Tarpeia, a virgin that was well born, and had the keeping of the Capitol in the war betwixt the Sabines and the Romans, passed a promise unto Tatius, that she would open him a passage into the Tarpeian Mount, provided that he would give her all the jewels that the Sabines wore, for a reward. The Sabines hearing this crushed her to death with them. — *Aristides Milesius, in his Italian History.*

After a long war betwixt two cities, Tegea and Phenea, they came to an agreement to refer the decision of the controversy, by combat, to three twin-brothers on each side, the sons of Reximachus for Tegea, and the sons of Damostratus for Phenea. Upon the encounter, two of the sons of Reximachus were slain; but Critolaus, the third, had a fetch beyond his two brothers; for, under a pretence of running away, he divided his enemies that pursued him, and so taking them one by one, he killed them all. The Tegeans upon his return went all overjoyed to gratulate the victor. Only his sister Demodice was not so well pleased; for she was betrothed, it seems, to Demodicus, one of the brothers, that was now slain. Which Critolaus took so ill that he killed his sister, and being afterwards accused of murder at the instigation of his mother, he was acquitted. — *Demaratus, in his Second Book of the Arcadian History.*

In the heat of the war betwixt the Romans and Albans, they came to this agreement, that the cause should be determined by a trial at arms betwixt three and three twins on each side, the Curiatii for the Albans, and the Horatii for the Romans. Upon the encounter, the Curiatii killed two of the others; the third survivor, under the color of flying, destroyed his enemies one by one, as they followed him. All his friends came to joy him of his victory, save only his sister Horatia; for one of the Curiatii, that her brother killed, was her sweetheart. Horatius for this killed his sister. — *Aristides Milesius, in his Italian Commentaries.*

The temple of Minerva in Ilium happened to be on fire. Ilus ran presently to save the Palladium (an image dropped from heaven); but upon the taking of it up, he was struck blind, it being a thing unlawful for any man to look upon. But upon appeasing the Deity, he was afterwards restored to his sight. — *Dercyllus, in his First Book of Foundations.*

Metellus, an eminent man, as he was walking out of the city, was interrupted by ravens, that laid hold of him and kept a flapping of him with their wings. This omen surprised him, and back he went into the city again, where he found the temple of Vesta all in a flame. He went and took away the Palladium, and fell blind upon't. But some time after, the goddess being pacified gave him the use of his eyes again. — *Aristides Milesius, in his Italian History.*

Upon a time when the Thracians were engaged in a war against the Athenians, the oracle promised them victory if they would but save the life of Codrus. Codrus upon this puts himself in a coarse disguise, and away he goes into the enemies' camp with a scythe in his hand, where he killed one, and another killed him, so that the Athenians got the better on't. — *Socrates, in his Second Book of his Thracian History.*

Publius Decius, a Roman, at a time when they were in war with the Albans, had a dream that his death would bring a great advantage to the Romans; upon which consideration he charged into the middle of his enemies, where he killed many, and was slain himself: his son

Decius did the like in the Gallic war, for the conservation of the Roman State. — *Aristides Milesius is my author.*

There was one Cyanippus, a Syracusan, that sacrificed to all the gods but Bacchus; who took the contempt so heinously that he made him drunk, in which fit he got his daughter Cyane into a corner and lay with her. She in the meantime slipped his ring off his finger, and gave it to her nurse to keep, as a circumstance that some time or other might come to be brought in evidence. There brake out a pestilence, and the Pythian oracle advised the sacrificing of an incestuous person to the gods that are the averters of such calamities, as the only remedy. Cyane, that understood the meaning of the oracle better than other people, took her father by the hair of the head and pulled him along, first stabbing him and then herself. — *Dositheus, in the Third Book of his Sicilian History.*

In the time of celebrating the Bacchanalia at Rome, Aruntius, that had never drunk any wine since he was born, did not show such reverence for the power of the god as he ought to have done, so that Bacchus intoxicated him; and in that freak, Aruntius ravished his daughter Medullina. She came to know the ravisher by his ring, and an exploit came into her head, above what from her age could have been expected. She made her father drunk and set a garland upon his head, carrying him to the altar of Thunder, where with tears she killed him for robbing her so treacherously of her virginity. — *Aristides, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

Erechtheus was told in a war he had with Eumolpus, that he should have the better of his enemy if he would but sacrifice his daughter. He advised upon the matter with his wife Praxithea, and delivered up his daughter after the manner of a common sacrifice. — *Euripides, in his Erechtheus.*

Marius, finding himself hard put to it in the Cimbrian war, had it revealed to him in a dream, that he should overcome his enemies if he would but sacrifice his daughter Calpurnia. He did it, preferring the common safety before any private bond of Nature, and he got the victory. There are two altars in Germany, where about that

time of the year may be heard the sound of trumpets. — *Dorotheus, in the Fourth Book of his Italian History.*

There was one Cyanippus, a Thessalian, who was a great lover of the chase and was often abroad a hunting. This same Cyanippus was newly married, and his staying out so long and so often in the woods gave his wife a jealousy of an intrigue there with some other woman; in-somuch that she followed him one time, and got into a thicket to watch him. The rustling of the boughs in the place where she lay brought the dogs thither in expectation of some game, where they tore this tender-hearted woman to pieces, as if she had been a brute beast. Cyanippus was so surprised with so dismal and unthought-of a spectacle, that he killed himself. — *Parthenias the Poet.*

Sybaris is a city of Italy, where there was one Æmilius, a very handsome young man, and a lover of hunting. His wife (whom he had lately married) took up a suspicion that, under color of the chase, he carried on an assignation with some other woman. She traced him to the wood, and upon the noise of the boughs in her passage, the dogs ran presently to her and tore her to pieces; and her husband stabbed himself immediately upon this miserable accident. — *Clitonymus, in the Second Book of his Sybaritics.*

One Smyrna (to whom Venus owed a shame, it seems) fell passionately in love with her father Cinyras, and made the nurse her confidant. She goes craftily to work with her master, and tells him of a maid there in the neighborhood that loved him above all things in the world, but she could not in modesty appear publicly to him. So the father lay ignorantly with his own daughter. But some time after, having a great mind to see his mistress, he called for a light, and when he saw who it was, he pursued the incestuous wretch with his drawn sword; but by the providence of Venus, she was rescued from that danger, and turned into a myrrh-tree. — *Theodorus, in his Transformations.*

One Valeria Tusculanaria (for whom Venus had no kindness) fell downright in love with her father Valerius. She told the nurse the secret, who ordered it so that she brought the father and the daughter together, telling him,

that a maid there hard by was fallen desperately in love with him, but that she durst not lie with him for fear of being known. The father was got into his cups, and as he was in bed with his daughter, called for a candle. The nurse waked Valeria, and away she goes wandering up and down the country with her great belly. She had at last a fall from a precipice, but escaped without so much as any miscarriage; for she was delivered at her time, and the child's name was Sylvanus (or goat-footed Pan). Valerius, in the anxiety of his mind, threw himself from the same precipice. — *Aristides Milesius, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

Diomedes, after the destruction of Troy, was cast by stress of weather upon the coast of Libya, where Lycus the son of Mars was king, whose custom it was to sacrifice all strangers to his father; but his daughter Callirrhoe falling in love with Diomedes, betrayed her father and set Diomedes at liberty; who presently went his way without any regard to his benefactress, and Callirrhoe hanged herself upon it. — *Juba, Book the Third of his Libyan History.*

Calpurnius Crassus, a famous man bearing arms with Regulus, was sent to the Massyllians to attack the castle of Garætius, being a very strong place. He was taken in the enterprise, and designed for a sacrifice to Saturn; but Bisaltia, the king's daughter, out of a passionate kindness to Calpurnius, betrayed her father. Calpurnius left her, and after his departure Bisaltia cut her own throat. — *Hesianax's Third Book of African History.*

When Priam found that Troy was given for lost, he sent his young son Polydore into Thrace with a vast sum of gold, and put all into the hands of Polymestor his kinsman. So soon as Troy was taken, Polymestor killed the child, and took the gold to himself. Hecuba, being driven upon that quarter, overreached Polymestor by craft, under pretence of giving him a great treasure, at which time she, with the assistance of her fellow-prisoners, tore out his eyes with her nails. — *Euripides the Tragedian.*

When Hannibal was ravaging the country of Campania, Lucius Thymbris deposited his son Rustius, with a vast sum of money, in the hands of Valerius Gestius his kinsman; who upon intelligence that the enemy carried all

before him, out of pure avarice and without any regard to humanity or justice, killed the child. It so fell out that Thymbris, as he was walking about the fields, found the dead body of his son; whereupon he called his kinsman under pretence of a treasure that he would show him. He took his opportunity, first blinded, and then crucified him. — *Aristides's Third Book of his Italian History.*

Æacus had two sons by Psamathe, Phocus and Telamon, the former better beloved than the other. Telamon one day took out his brother a hunting; and a boar presenting himself, he threw his lance in pretence at the boar, but in truth at his brother, whom he hated, and so killed him; for which his father banished him. — *Dorotheus's First Book of Transformations.*

Caius Maximus had two sons, Rhesus the one, by Ameria, . . . and the other Similius. The brothers were a hunting together, and Rhesus having killed the other, put it off — when he came home — that it was by chance, and far from any design of doing it. But his father, when he came in time to know the truth of it, banished the son. — *Aristocles, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

Mars is said to have begotten Meleager upon Althæa. — *Euripides, in his Meleager.*

Septimius Marcellus took to wife one Sylvia, and a great lover of hunting he was. Mars put himself in the habit of a shepherd, whored the new wife and got her with child; which being done, he told her who he was, and gave her a spear, telling her that the fate of the child she went withal was wrapped up in the fate of that spear. . . .

Septimius slew Tuscinus; but Mamercus, in his sacrificing to the gods for a fruitful season, omitted only Ceres, who in revenge sent a wild boar into his grounds. Whereupon getting a knot of huntsmen together, he killed him, and delivered the head and skin to his sweetheart; but Scymbrates and Muthias, the maid's uncles, took them away from her. Mamercus in a rage killed them upon it, and the mother burned the spear. — *Menyllus, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

When Telamon, the son of Æacus and Endeis, came to Eubœa, he debauched Peribœa the daughter of Alcathous,



and fled away by night. The father understanding this, and suspecting the villany to be done by some of the citizens, he delivered his daughter to one of the guards to be thrown into the sea. But the soldier, in compassion to the woman, rather sold her, and she was carried away by sea to the island of Salamis, where Telamon bought her, and had by her Ajax. — *Aretades Cnidius, in his Second Book of Islands.*

Lucius Troscius had by Patris a daughter called Florentia, who, being corrupted by Calpurnius a Roman, was delivered by her father to a soldier, with a charge to throw her in the sea and drown her. The man had compassion of her, and rather sold her. And when good fortune carried the ship to Italy, Calpurnius bought her, and had Contruscus by her. . . .

Æolus, a great king of Etruria, had by Amphithea six daughters, and as many sons. Macareus, the youngest of them, had the carnal knowledge of one of his sisters, who was delivered of a boy. Her father sent her a sword to kill the child with; but that was so impious, that she chose rather to kill herself. And Macareus laid violent hands upon himself too. — *Sostratus, in his Second Book of Tuscan History.*

Papirius Tolucer married Julia Pulchra, by whom he had six sons and six daughters. Papirius Romanus, the eldest of the six, got Canulia his sister with child. When the father came to the knowledge of it, he sent his daughter a sword, with which she killed herself; and Romanus did the same. — *Chrysippus, in his First Book of Italian History.*

Aristonymus, an Ephesian and the son of Demotratus, was a woman-hater; but he had to do with an ass, which brought him forth in the ordinary course of time a most beautiful daughter, which he called Onoscelis. — *Aristotle's Second Book of Paradoxes.*

Fulvius Stellus had an aversion to women too; but entertained himself to his satisfaction with a mare, by which he had a very handsome daughter, that he called Hippona; and this is the goddess that has the care of the breed of horses. — *According to Agesilaus in the Third Book of his Italian History.*

The Sardians, being engaged in war with the Smyrnæans, besieged Smyrna, and sent them word by their ambassadors, that they would never raise the siege till the Smyrnæans should deliver up their wives to their embraces. The men of Smyrna would have been hard put to it upon this pinching necessity, if it had not been for the advice of a pretty wench that was a maid-servant to Phylarchus. Her counsel to her master was this; that instead of sending free women, they should rather dress up the servants and send them. The Smyrnæans followed their advice; and when the Sardians had wearied themselves with their mistresses, the Smyrnæans easily overcame them. From whence there is a festival day observed under the name of Eleutheria, which is celebrated among the Smyrnæans with great solemnity; the servants being dressed up with all the ornaments of the free women. — *Dositheus, in the Third Book of his Lydian History.*

Atepomarus, a king of the Gauls, being in war with the Romans, made a public declaration, that he would never agree to a peace till the Romans should prostitute their wives to them. The Romans advised with the maid-servants, and sent them in the place of the free women; the barbarians plied the work so hard, that they were soon tired and fell asleep. Retana (who was the authoress of the counsel) climbed a fig-tree, and so got on the wall; and finding how it was, gave notice of it to the consuls. The Romans upon this made a sally and routed the enemy; in memory whereof was instituted the Servants' Holiday, and this was the rise of it. — *Aristides Milesius, in the First Book of his Italian History.*

In the war betwixt the Athenians and Eumolpus, provisions falling short, the commissary Pyrandrus, upon a point of prudence and good husbandry, made some small abatement in the soldiers' proportions. The citizens suspected treachery in the case, and stoned him to death. — *Callisthenes, Third Book of his History of Thrace.*

The Romans being in war with the Gauls, and provisions for the belly being very scarce, Cinna contracted the soldiers' allowance to a less proportion than they had formerly. The citizens interpreted this abatement to an ambitious design he had upon the government, and so stoned him for it. — *Aristides, Book Third of his Italian History.*

In the time of the Peloponnesian war, Pisistratus and Orchomenian had a spite at the nobility, and to make himself popular, favored the common people. The Senate conspired against him, and treacherously killed him, cutting him into small gobbets which they carried away with them in their bosoms, and paring off the surface of the ground that no signs of the murder might appear. The common people, however, upon a jealousy of the matter, went tumultuously to the senate house; but the king's younger son Telesimachus that was dipped in the conspiracy, diverted them with a sham story, telling them that he himself had seen his father in a form more than human, walking as lively as was possible up the Pisæan mountain. And so he imposed upon the people. — *Theophilus's Second Book of Peloponnesian Histories.*

The Senate of Rome, being hard put to it for the maintaining of a war with so many of their neighbors, thought it good husbandry to shorten the people's allowance of corn, which Romulus their king took very ill; and not only did he restore it to the people, but several great men were punished for it. Upon this he was murdered in the Senate by a conspiracy of the nobles, who cut him all to pieces, and carried them severally away in the lappets of their garments. The Romans came to the senate house in a hurry, and brought fire with them to set all in a flame; but Julius Proculus, one that was in the plot, told them that he saw Romulus upon a mountain, of a size larger than any man, and that he was translated into the number of the gods. The Romans believed him, and quietly withdrew. — *Aristobulus, in the Third Book of his History of Italy.*

Pelops, the son of Tantalus and Euryanassa, had two children, Atreus and Thyestes, by his wife Hippodamia; and by the nymph Danais he had Chrysippus, whom he loved better than his lawful children. But Laius the Theban in the heat of his lust forcibly abused his body; and being taken by Atreus and Thyestes, obtained his pardon from Pelops, in regard that love had provoked him to it. Hippodamia's advice to Atreus and Thyestes was, that they should kill Chrysippus, as one that would interpose between them and the crown. Upon their refusal to do so base a thing, she herself put her own hands to

the work, and in the dead of the night took Laius's sword when he was asleep, wounded Chrysippus with it, and left the weapon in his body. This circumstance of Laius's sword brought him into suspicion of the murder, till he was cleared by Chrysippus himself, who, being as yet but half dead, gave his testimony to the truth. Pelops buried his son, and then banished his wife. — *Dositheus, in his Pelopidæ.*

Ebius Toliex had two sons by his wife Nuceria, and a third called Firmus by an enfranchised woman, who was very handsome and better beloved by the father than those that were legitimate. Nuceria that hated this by-blow, advised her sons to despatch Firmus; but upon their refusal, she did it herself; and in the middle of the night got the sword of him that guarded the body of Firmus, gave him a mortal wound, and left the weapon sticking in his body. The boy cleared his keeper by a particular account of the matter of fact; the father buried his son, and sent away his wife into banishment. — *Dositheus, Book Third of his Italian History.*

Theseus, the true son of Neptune, had Hippolytus by the Amazon Hippolyta, and afterward married Phædra the daughter of Minos, who fell deep in love with Hippolytus, and made use of the nurse's mediation to help forward the incest. But Hippolytus upon this left Athens and went away to Trœzen, where he diverted himself with hunting. Now this lascivious woman, finding her design disappointed, forged several scandalous letters to the prejudice of the chaste young man, and ended her days with a halter. Theseus gave credit to the slander, and Neptune having promised him a grant of any three things he would ask, he made it his request that he would destroy Hippolytus. So Neptune sent a bull to the coast where Hippolytus was driving his chariot, which put his horses into such a fright, that they ran away with them, and overturning the chariot killed the master.

Comminius Super, a Laurentine, had a son by the nymph Egeria, whom he called Comminius; after which he married one Gidica, who fell passionately in love with her son-in-law. And receiving a repulse, she framed slanderous letters against him, which she left behind her, and so hanged herself. Comminius, reflecting upon the crime

and believing the calumny, applied himself to Neptune, who with a terrible bull frightened the horses so, while the youth was in the chariot, that they overturned all, and killed him with the fall. — *Dositheus, Book Third of Italian Histories.*

In the time of a great plague in Lacedæmon, they were told by the oracle, that the pestilence would cease upon the sacrificing of a noble virgin each year. It fell one time by lot to Helena, who was brought out and dressed up ready for the sacrifice. An eagle at that time flying by took away the sword, and carrying it into a herd of cattle laid it down upon a heifer; whereupon they spared the virgin. — *Aristodemus, in his Third Collection of Fables.*

There was a dreadful plague in Falerii, which the oracle said would be removed upon the sacrificing of a virgin to Juno every year. While this superstition was in course, it fell to Valeria Luperca's lot to be the sacrifice. An eagle flew away with the sword she had drawn, but laid a stick upon the fuel prepared for the fire, with a little mallet fixed to it. The sword he threw on a heifer grazing near the temple. The virgin perceiving this sacrificed the heifer; and taking the mallet, went about from house to house, and with a gentle knock called to those that were sick, bidding them be of good health. And this was the rise of the ceremony which continues to this day. — *Aristides, in his Nineteenth Book of Italian Histories.*

Philonome, the daughter of Nyctimus and Arcadia, went many times to the chase with Diana. Mars lay with her in the shape of a shepherd, and fetched up her belly. She was delivered in time of twins, which for fear of her father she threw into the river Erymanthus. By a strange fatality of providence they were driven safe into a hollow oak, which happening to be the kennel of a wolf, this wolf threw her whelps into the river, and suckled the children. Tyliphus, a shepherd, that had seen this with his own eyes, took these children and brought them up as his own, calling one of them Lycastus, and the other Par-rasius, which reigned successively in Arcadia. — *This is reported by Zopyrus Byzantium, in the Third Book of his Histories.*

Amulius dealing very tyrannically with his brother Numitor, killed his son Ænitus as they were a hunting, and made his daughter Sylvia . . . a priestess of Juno. Mars got her with child, and when she had laid her belly of twins, she confessed the truth to the tyrant; which put him in such an apprehension, that he exposed them both on the side of the river Tiber, where they were carried by the stream to a place where a she-wolf had her whelps. The wolf cast away her own, and gave suck to these children. Faustus a shepherd, observing this, took the children to himself, and called them by the names of Remus and Romulus, which came afterwards to be the founders of Rome. — *Aristides's Italian Histories.*

After the destruction of Troy, Agamemnon and Cassandra were killed; but Orestes, that was brought up with Strophius, revenged the death of his father. — *Pyran-der's Fourth Book of Peloponnesian Histories.*

Fabius Fabricianus, a relative of Fabius Maximus, having taken Tuxium, the chief city of the Samnites, sent to Rome the image of Venus Victrix, which among them was held in great veneration. His wife Fabia was debauched by Petronius Valentinus, a handsome young man, and afterwards she treacherously murdered her husband; but for her son Fabricianus who was yet in his infancy, she shifted him away to be privately brought up, and so provided for his security. When he was grown up, he destroyed both his mother and the adulterer, and was formally acquitted for it by a decree of the Senate. — *Dositheus's Third Book of Italian History.*

Busiris, the son of Neptune and Anippe the daughter of Nilus, was used to invite strangers in to him under a pretence of hospitality, and then to murder them; but divine vengeance met with him at last, for Hercules found out the villany, and killed him with his club. — *Agatho the Samian.*

Hercules, as he was driving Geryon's oxen through Italy, took up his lodging with King Faunus there, the son of Mercury, whose custom it was to sacrifice strangers to his father. He set upon Hercules, and had his brains beaten out for his pains. — *Dercyllus's Third Book of Italian History.*

Phalaris of Agrigentum, a cruel tyrant, was wont to put strangers and travellers to the most exquisite torment. Perillus, a brass-founder, made a cow of brass, and presented it to the king for a new invention, that he might burn strangers alive in it. Phalaris for this once was just, in making the first proof of it upon Perillus himself; and the invention was so artificial, that upon putting it in execution, the engine itself seemed to bellow. — *Second Book of Questions or Causes.*

In Egesta, a city of Sicily, there was a certain tyrant called Æmilius Censorinus, who was so inhuman that he proposed rewards to the inventors of new tortures. There was one Aruntius Patereulus that had framed a brazen horse, and made a present of it to the tyrant to practise with it upon whom he pleased. It was the first piece of justice that ever the tyrant did, to make trial of the torment upon the author of it, that he might first feel himself the torments he had provided for others. He was afterwards thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock. It may be thought that unmerciful rulers are from this tyrant called Æmilii. — *Aristides's Fourth Book of Italian History.*

Evenus, the son of Mars and Sterope, had a daughter Marpessa by his wife Alcippe, the daughter of Cœno-maus; and this girl he had a mind to keep a virgin. But Idas, the son of Aphareus, ran away with her from the country. Evenus pursued him, and finding he could not overtake him, he threw himself into the river Lycormas and became immortal. — *Dositheus's First Book of Italian History.*

Anius, a king of the Tuscans, had a delicate, handsome daughter, whose name was Salia, and he took great care to keep her a virgin. But Cathetus, a man of quality, seeing her sporting herself, fell passionately in love with her, and carried her away to Rome. The father made after her, and when he saw there was no catching of her, he threw himself into a river that from him took the name of Anio. Cathetus begot Latinus and Salius upon the body of Salia, the root of a noble race. — *Aristides Milesius, and Alexander Polyhistor's Third Book of Italian History.*

Hegesistratus an Ephesian committed a murder in his household, and fled to Delphi; on consulting the oracle

what place to settle in, the answer was, that when he should come to a place where he should see the country people dancing with garlands of olive-leaves, he should settle there. He travelled into a certain country of Asia, where he found as the oracle told him, and there built a city which he called Elæus. — *Pythocles the Samian, in the Third Book of his Georgics.*

Telegonus, the son of Ulysses by Circe, was sent to find out his father, and commanded by an oracle to find a city where he should see the country people dancing with garlands. He came into a certain place of Italy, where he found the countrymen dancing with wreaths of ilex about their heads; so that there he built a city, and called it Prinistum, for an ilex in Greek is *πρίνος*. The Romans corruptly call this city Præneste. — *Aristocles, in the Third Book of his Italian History.*



## THEOSOPHICAL ESSAYS.

### ISIS AND OSIRIS.

ALL good things, O Clea, it behooves persons that have sense to solicit from the gods. But more especially now that we are in quest of the knowledge of themselves (so far as such knowledge is attainable by man), do we pray to obtain the same from them with their own consent: inasmuch as there is nothing more important for a man to receive, or more noble for a god to grant, than Truth. For all other things which people require, the Deity who gives them doth not possess, nor use for his own purposes. For the Godhead is not blessed by reason of his silver and gold, nor yet almighty through his thunders and lightnings, but on account of knowledge and intelligence, and this is the finest thing of all that Homer hath said, when he pronounced concerning the gods:—

Both have one source, and both one country bore,  
But Jove was first born, and his *knowledge* more.

He has represented the sovereignty of Jupiter as more majestic on account of his knowledge and wisdom, being at the same time the more ancient of the two. And I am of opinion that the happiness of the eternal life which is the attribute of God consists in his not being ignorant of future events, in virtue of his knowledge, for if the knowing and understanding of events were taken away, then immortality becomes not *life* but *duration*.

On this account a desire for religious knowledge is an aiming at Truth, particularly that relating to the gods — a pursuit containing both in the acquisition and in the search a reception, as it were, of things sacred — an occupation more pious than any observation of abstinence, or religious service: but particularly well-pleasing to this goddess who is the special object of *thy* devotion; for she

is both wise, and a lover of wisdom; as her name appears to denote that, more than any other, *knowing* and *knowledge* belong to her. For "Isis" is a Greek word, and so is "Typhon," her enemy, for he is "puffed up" by want of knowledge and falsehood, and tears to pieces, and puts out of sight, the sacred word which the goddess again gathers up and puts together, and gives into the charge of those initiated into the religion; whilst by means of a perpetually sober life, by abstinence from many kinds of food and from venery, she checks intemperance and love of pleasure, accustoming people to endure her service with bowels not enervated by luxury, but hardy and vigorous; the object of all which is the *knowledge* of the First, the Supreme, and the Intelligible; whom the goddess exhorts you to seek after, for he is both by her side, and united with her. The very name of her Temple clearly promises both the communication and the understanding of *That which is* — for it is called the "Ision,"<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as *That which is* shall be known if we *enter* with intelligence and piously into the sacred rites of the goddess.

Besides this, many have made her out to be daughter of Hermes; many others, of Prometheus: of whom the latter they hold to be the inventor of wisdom and foreknowledge; Hermes, of grammar and of music. For which reason, of the Muses at Hermopolis they call the foremost one "Isis," and "Justice-Wisdom," as hath been stated; and they show the divine mysteries to such as be truly and rightfully styled "carriers of sacred things," and "wearers of sacred robes": these are they that carry in the soul, as it were in a copper, the sacred story respecting the gods that cleanses the recipient from all superstition, and magical follies: and who *wrap* themselves up, sometimes in things black and dusky, at other times bright and conspicuous — darkly showing forth the same notions as regards opinion of the gods as are expressed with respect to the sacred vestment. For which reason, the circumstance that the votaries of Isis, upon their death, are clothed with these robes, is a symbol that they go into the next world carrying with them this *Word*,<sup>2</sup> and nothing else. For it is not, Clea, the wearing of beards and the dressing in long gowns that makes people

<sup>1</sup> "The entering-place," as if derived from the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> The revealed Truth.

philosophers; neither does the *linen surplice* and *shaven crown* make votaries of Isis, but the real Isiacist is he that is competent to investigate by the aid of the Word, the symbolism, and the ceremonies connected with these deities (after he has been lawfully empowered so to do); and who meditates upon the Truth which is involved in them.

For it is a fact that most people do not understand that most general, and insignificant circumstance, for what reason the priests cut off their hair, and wear linen robes: some do not trouble themselves at all to know the cause for these two rules, whilst others say that they abstain from the use of wool, as they do from the flesh, out of veneration for the *sheep*; that they shave the head in token of their mourning (for Osiris), and that they wear linen on account of the color the flax in blossom displays, which resembles the smiling atmosphere encompassing the earth. But the real cause is the same for all, because (as Plato observes) it is not lawful for one not pure to handle what is pure. Now no superfluity of nutrition or excrement is either chaste or pure. Now it is out of such superfluity that wool and hair, and down, and the nails, spring and grow. For it were absurd that people should divest themselves of their own hair, shaving the body very smoothly, during the fasts, and yet should envelop themselves in the hair of beasts, and we ought to suppose that when Hesiod says:—

Nor from the five-branched thing, on holy day,  
Cut with the steel the dry from green away.

He teaches that people ought to make themselves clear from such things beforehand, and so keep the festival, not in the middle of the religious services to occupy themselves with the cleaning and the removal of excrementitious things. Again, the flax springs out of what is immortal, the earth, and produces an edible fruit, and furnishes a smooth and cleanly clothing, that does not weigh one down with the covering, and well-suited also to any season, and is least of all others apt to breed lice, as they say, concerning all which points there is another legend.

The priests so greatly dislike the nature of excrementi-

tious things, that they not only reject most kinds of pulse, and the flesh of sheep and swine, as producing much superfluity of nutriment, but during the fasts they even banish all salt from their meals, assigning many other reasons for so doing, and particularly that salt makes people more fond of drinking and of eating, by sharpening the appetite: for to consider, as Aristagoras pretends, that salt is not pure because multitudes of little insects are caught and die in it as it is congealing, is mere folly. They are said also to give the Apis drink out of a well of his own, but to keep him away from the Nile; not that they hold the Nile water to be polluted by reason of the crocodiles, as some think, for nothing is so venerated by Egyptians as the Nile, but because drinking the water of the Nile is supposed above all other to fatten, and produce corpulence; for they do not wish to have the Apis in such condition, nor themselves either, but to render their bodies active and lightly moved by their souls, and not to weigh down and crush the divine part by the mortal ones growing strong and preponderating.

As for *wine*, they that serve the god at Heliopolis, do not usually carry it into the temple, for the reason that it is not decent to drink when the Lord and King of day is looking on. The others use it indeed, but sparingly, and keep many fasts where wine is forbidden; during which they spend their time in arguing, learning, and seeking things pertaining to religion: but the kings used to drink a measured quantity, prescribed by the sacred books (as Hecataeus relates in his History), although they were also priests. They began to drink from the reign of Psammetichus, for before him they drank no wine, neither did they make libation of it as a thing acceptable to the gods, but as the blood of the gods' greatest enemies, out of whom they believe it sprung when they were fallen, and mingled with the earth, for which reason the being drunk makes men out of their senses and furious, inasmuch as they are then possessed by the authors of the blood. This story Eudoxus tells us in the second book of his "Travels," is so related by the priests.

As to sea fish, all do not abstain from every sort, but from some kinds only, as for instance, the natives of Oxyrynchites abstain from all that are caught with a hook; for worshipping as they do the fish called *oxyrynchus*, they

are afraid that the hook may not be unpolluted in consequence of an oxyrinchus having been caught by the same. The Syennites abstain from eating the *phagrus*; for that fish is thought to make its appearance together with the swelling of the Nile, and to announce its rise to rejoicing people, showing itself as a self-sent herald. But the priests abstain from all fish alike, and when on the first day of the ninth month the Egyptians feast each one on broiled fish before his house door, the priests do not taste thereof, but burn fish to ashes in front of their own doors, assigning two reasons for this usage; the one of which being religious and important, and connected with the pious inquiry concerning Osiris and Typhon, I will take up again further on; the other, an obvious and ready explanation, making out fish to be an unnecessary and over-luxurious article of diet, agrees with Homer who represents neither the luxurious Phæaceans, nor the Ithacans, although islanders, as making use of fish, nor yet the shipmates of Ulysses on so long a voyage and out at sea, before they were reduced to the extreme of want. And in fine, they (the priests) hold the sea to proceed from *fire*, and as distinct from all else; neither a part nor an element of nature but something of a different sort, both destructive and the occasion of disease.

For nothing that is irrational or fabulous, or springing out of superstition (as some suppose), has been established in the religious rites but what has partly moral and salutary reasons, partly others not devoid of ingenuity in their bearings upon history and physics. For example, take the *garlic* (for the fable that Dictys, foster father of Isis, fell into the river and was lost as he was laying hold of some garlic is improbable to the last degree), but the priests entertain religious scruples about it and avoid and dislike the garlic, because this is the only plant that naturally grows and flourishes while the moon is on the wane; and it is suitable neither for persons keeping fast, nor holding festival, because it makes the one thirsty, the other to shed tears when they eat thereof. In the same way they hold the *swine* to be an unwholy animal because it seems to copulate most of all when the moon is on the wane, and of those who drink its milk, the bodies break out into leprosies and itchy eruptions; for the legend which they repeat over it, when they sacrifice (once

for all) and eat a swine at the new moon, namely, that Typhon was pursuing a swine by the light of the full moon, and so found the wooden coffer, in which lay the body of Osiris and scattered the pieces, is not accepted by all; for they hold this, like many other things, to belong to false traditions. But they say that those of old were so hostile to luxury, extravagance, and delicate living, that they relate there was a column set up in the Temple of Thebes containing a curse engraved thereon against King Mnevis, the first that drew away the Egyptians from their old way of living without voyaging, without money, and of primitive simplicity. It is further said that Technatis, father of Banchoreus, once when marching towards Arabia, when his table-service was behindhand, dined upon what food was procurable and afterwards slept soundly upon a mattress, and thus became enamoured of simple fare; and in consequence of this, uttered a curse upon Mnevis, and with the approval of the priests, set up a pillar publishing the anathema.

For the kings used to be elected out of either the sacerdotal or the military class, the latter enjoying dignity and honor on account of valor, the former on account of wisdom; but he that was elected out of the military class immediately became one of the priests, and was initiated into their wisdom, which was for the most part shrouded in fables and stories giving obscure indications and glimpses of the truth, as indeed they themselves half acknowledge by kindly setting up the *Sphinxes* in front of their temples, as though their religious teaching contained wisdom hidden in enigmas. And the shrine of Minerva at Sais (whom they consider the same with Isis) bears this inscription, "I am all that hath been, and is, and shall be; and my veil no mortal has hitherto raised." Furthermore, as most people believe that the proper name of Jupiter amongst the Egyptians is "Ammies" (which we corruptly call "Ammon"). Manetho the Sebennyte is of opinion that the "hidden" and "hiding" is expressed by this word. Hecataeus of Abdera says that the Egyptians use this word to one another, when they are calling any one to them; for the word is one of calling to, for which reason the Supreme God (whom they consider the same with the *All*) they invoke as being *hidden* and *invisible*, and exhort him to make himself visible and apparent, and therefore call him

“Amun”: so great therefore was the piety of the Egyptians in their teaching respecting the gods.

The wisest of the Greeks bear testimony to this, such as Solon, Thales, Plato, Eudoxus, Pythagoras (some say Lycurgus also), by their travelling into Egypt and conversing with the priests. Eudoxus, for example, they say, received lessons from Chonupheus of Memphis; Solon, from Sonchis of Sais; Pythagoras from Cœnuphis of Heliopolis; and he being probably the most admired of these visitors, and himself admiring the people, copied their symbolical and mysterious style, and wrapped up his doctrines in enigmas; for the most part of the Pythagorean precepts do not fall short of the so-called hieroglyphic writings in obscurity; such, for instance, as, “Not to eat off a chair”; “Not to sit down upon a corn-measure”; “Not to plant a palm-tree”; “Not to stir the fire with a sword in the house.” And I myself think that the fact that the men (of his sect) call the unit “Apollo,” the two “Diana,” the seven, “Minerva”; and “Neptune” the first Cube; is analogous to the things set up upon the temples, and in truth to those done and painted there. For the king and lord, Osiris, they represent by an *eye* and a *sceptre*, and some even interpret the name as “Many-eyed,” the “os” signifying *many*, and the “iri,” *eye*, in the Egyptian language: and Heaven, as being exempt from old age by reason of its eternity, by a *heart* with an altar of incense placed below it. And in Thebes there were dedicated statues of Judges wanting the hands: whilst that of the chief-judge had also the eyes closed, showing that Justice is above bribes, and not to be moved by prayer. The Military class had the *beetle* for device on signet, for the beetle is never female, but all are males, and they breed by depositing their seed [in balls of dung]; since they make these balls, not so much to provide material for food, as a place for propagation of their kind.

When therefore you shall hear the fables the Egyptians tell about the gods, — their wanderings, cutting to pieces, and many such like mishaps, — you ought to bear in mind what has been above stated, and not to suppose that any of them happened or was done in the manner related. For they do not really call the *dog* “Hermes,” but the animal’s watchfulness, sleeplessness, and sagacity (for by knowledge and absence of knowledge it distinguishes

between friend and foe, as Plato says) make it appropriate to the most sagacious of the gods: neither do they suppose that the sun rises as a new-born child out of a lotus, but it is in this way they picture the rising of the sun, enigmatically expressing that the solar fire is derived from *moisture*. For that most savage and terrible King of the Persians, Ochus — who put many to death, and finally butchered Apis and dined upon him along with his friends — they styled “The Sword,” and still call him by that name in the list of kings; that is not actually describing his person, but likening the hardness and wickedness of his disposition to an instrument of slaughter. In the same way must you hear the stories about the gods, and receive them from such as interpret mythology, in a reverent and philosophic spirit, both performing constantly and observing the established rites of the worship, and believing that no sacrifice nor act is more well pleasing to the gods, than is the holding the true faith with respect to them, so will you escape an evil no less great than Atheism, namely, *Superstition*.

The following myth is related in the briefest terms possible, divested of everything unnecessary and superfluous. They tell that the sun having discovered Rhea secretly copulating with Saturn, laid a curse upon her, that she should not bring forth a child in either month or year: that Hermes being in love with the goddess copulated with her; and afterwards playing at counters with the Moon and winning from her the seventieth part of each one of her lights, out of the whole composed five days, the which he added to the three hundred and sixty, which days now the Egyptians call “additional,” and keep as the birth-days of the gods; that on the first of these was born Osiris, and that, a voice issued forth with him in the birth, that “the Lord of all is entering into light.” But some relate that a certain Pamyte, when drawing water out of the Temple of Jupiter at Thebes, heard a voice ordering her to proclaim with a loud cry, “A great king, beneficent Osiris, is born,” and for this cause she nursed Osiris, when Saturn put him into her hands; and also the festival “Pamytia,” is celebrated in his honor, resembling in character the phallic processions. On the second was born Arceris, whom some call Apollo; some the elder Horus. On the third Typhon, neither in due time, nor in the right



place, but breaking through with a blow, he leaped out through his mother's side. On the fourth was Isis born, in very wet places. On the fifth was Nephthys, the same as the "End," and "Venus," whom some call Victory. They say that Osiris was begotten by the Sun, as also Arcæris, by Hermes Isis, by Saturn Typhon and Nephthys; that Osiris and Isis fell in love with each other and copulated under the cloak of darkness in the womb; some say that in this manner was Arcæris begotten, and therefore is called by Egyptians, the elder Horus, by the Greeks, Apollo.

That when Osiris reigned over the Egyptians he made them reform their destitute and bestial mode of living, showing them the art of cultivation, and giving them laws, and teaching them how to worship the gods. Afterwards he travelled over the whole earth, civilizing it; far from requiring arms, he tamed mankind through persuasion and reasoning joined with song of all kinds and music which he brought over; wherefore he is held by the Greeks to be the same with Bacchus. That Typhon, during his absence, did not rebel, because Isis was on her guard, and able to keep watch upon him vigorously; but after Osiris returned Typhon laid a plot against him, having taken seventy and two men into the conspiracy, and having for helper a queen coming out of Ethiopia, whom they call Asò. That she secretly measured the body of Osiris, and made to the size a handsome and highly ornamented coffer which he carried into the banqueting room. And as they were all delighted with its appearance and admired it, Typhon promised in sport that whoever should lie down within it, and should exactly fit, he would make him a present of the chest; and after the others had tried, one by one, and nobody fitted it; then Osiris got in, and laid himself down, thereupon the conspirators running up shut down the lid, and fastened it with spike-nails from the outside, and poured melted lead over them, and so carried it out to the River, and let it go down down the Tanaite branch into the sea: which branch on that account is hateful, and unlucky for Egyptians to name. These things are said to have been done on the 17th day of the month Athor, when the sun is passing through the Scorpion, Osiris then being in the eight and twentieth year of his reign. Some have it that he had *lived*, not *reigned*, such a time.

The first to discover the mischief were the Pans and Satyrs inhabiting the country round Chemmis and to give intelligence<sup>1</sup> about what had happened, whence the sudden terrors and fears of the multitude are to the present day called "panics." Isis on the news, sheared off one of her tresses, and put on a mourning robe, whence the city, even to the present day has the name of "Copto" (*I beat the breast*); but others think the name signifies bereavement, from *coptein*, "to deprive." As she wandered about everywhere, not knowing what to do, she met no one without speaking to him, nay, even when she fell in with little children, she inquired of them about the coffer; these last chanced to have seen it, and told her the branch of the River through which Typhon's accomplices had let the chest drift into the sea. From this circumstance the Egyptians believe that little children possess the faculty of prophecy, and that especially the future is fore-shown by their cries when they are playing in the temple courts, and calling out whatever it may be. And having discovered that he (Typhon) had fallen in love and copulated with his sister, in ignorance, as Osiris had done with herself, and seeing the proof thereof in the garland of melilote flower which he had left behind him with Nephthys, she sought for the infant (for she had brought it forth at once, through her fear of Typhon), she found it at last with trouble and difficulty, through dogs guiding her to the place. This infant Isis nursed, and he grew up her guard and minister, being denominated *Anubis*; and said to watch for the gods just as dogs do for men.

Proceeding thence, she learnt by inquiry that the chest had been washed up by the sea at a place called Byblus, and that the surf had gently laid it under an *Erica* tree. This *Erica*, a most lovely plant, growing up very large in a very short time had enfolded, embraced, and concealed the coffer within itself. The king of the place being astonished at the size of the plant, and having cut away the clump that concealed the coffer from sight, set the latter up as a pillar to support his roof. They tell how Isis having learnt all this by the divine breath of fame, came to Byblus, and sitting down by the side of a spring all dejected and weeping spoke not a word to any other persons,

<sup>1</sup> λόγον ἐμβαλόντων, looks like a false reading for φόβον: "spreading the alarm."

but saluted and made friends of the maid-servants of the queen, by dressing their hair for them, and infusing into their bodies a wonderful perfume out of herself; when the queen saw her maids again, she fell a longing to see the stranger, whose hair and whose body breathed of ambrosial perfume; and so she was sent for, becoming intimate with the queen, was made nurse of her infant. The king's name they say was Malacander, herself some call Astarte, others Sooses, others Neinanoë, who is the same with the Greek Athenais.

Isis is said to have suckled the child by putting, instead of her nipple, her finger into his mouth, and by night she singed away the mortal parts of his body. She turned herself into a swallow and flew around the pillar until the queen watched her, and cried out when she saw her child all on fire, and so took away the boy's immortality. Then the goddess, manifesting herself, asked for the pillar of the roof, and having removed it with the greatest ease, she cut away the Erica that surrounded it. This plant she wrapped up in a linen cloth, pouring perfume over it, and gave it in charge to the king; and to this day the people of Byblus venerate the wood, which is preserved in the temple of Isis. The coffin she clasped in her arms, and wailed so loud that the younger of the king's sons died of fright at it, the elder she took with her and putting the coffer on board a ship, put to sea; but when the river Phædrus sent forth too rough a gale, she grew wrath, and dried up the stream.

As soon as ever she obtained privacy, and was left by herself, having opened the coffer and laid her face upon the face of the corpse, she wailed and wept; but when the little boy observed this, and came up quietly from behind to spy, she perceived him, and turning round gave him a dreadful look in her rage, the child could not stand the fright, and died. Some say it was not so, but in the manner just stated he tumbled (in his fright) into the sea, but that he receives honors for the sake of the goddess, for the Maneros, whom the Egyptians sing about at their feasts, is this child. Others say that the boy is called Palæstinos, or Pelusios, and that the city was named after him, having been founded by the goddess. The Maneros that is sung about, they relate, first invented music. But some pretend "Maneros" is not the name of a person, but an

expression suited to people drinking and keeping holiday and signifying "May things of the sort come with good luck," for that the Egyptians exclaim this, each time, upon the Maneros being uttered; just as, indeed, the exhibition of a dead man in his coffin carried round at feasts is not a reminder of the mourning for Osiris, as some interpret it, but merely intended<sup>1</sup> to warn one to make use of the present and enjoy it, as very soon they themselves shall be as he, which is why they bring it in to the feast.

But when Isis had gone to see her son Horus (who was at nurse in the city Butò), and had put the coffer away, Typhon being out a hunting by moonlight came upon it, and recognizing the corpse, tore it into *fourteen* pieces, and scattered them abroad. Isis having heard of this, sought after the fragments, passing over the swamps in a papyrus boat; for which cause such as sail in papyrus boats are never injured by the crocodiles, because they either fear or respect the goddess; from this circumstance there are many places called "Tombs of Osiris" all over Egypt, because she, whenever she came upon a fragment of the body, there celebrated a funeral. Some deny this, but say that she made images and gave them to the several cities, giving them as the actual body, in order that they may receive honors from those sailing past, and that if Typhon should get the better of Horus, when searching for the real tomb he may be baffled, from many being so called and pointed out. Of the members of Osiris the only one Isis was unable to find was the genital member, for it had been thrown at first into the River, and lepidotus, phagrus, and oxyrynchus had fed upon it, which kinds of fish the natives scruple to eat above all others, and that Isis in its stead made a model and consecrated it, namely the *phallus*, in honor whereof the Egyptians hold a festival.

Afterwards Osiris came from the shades to Horus, and trained and exercised him for war, and then asked him "What he thought the finest thing possible?" and when he replied "to avenge one's father and mother when ill treated"; he asked him secondly "what he considered the most useful animal to people going to battle?" and when Horus answered, "the horse," Osiris wondered at it and was puzzled why he said the *horse* instead of the *lion*.

<sup>1</sup> *οιομένους* in text makes no sense, perhaps *οιον μόνον*.

But when Horus explained that the lion indeed was serviceable to one standing in need of aid, but the horse can both save him that flees and also destroy the enemy: Osiris on hearing this was rejoiced at the supposition that Horus had provided himself with horses. And as numbers came over from time to time to the side of Horus, Typhon's concubine, Thucris by name, came also, and a serpent pursuing her was cut to pieces by the friends of Horus; and now in memory of this event, they throw down a *rope* in the midst of all, and chop it to pieces. The battle lasted for many days, and Horus vanquished, but Isis having received from him Typhon in chains, did not destroy, but on the contrary unbound and let him go free. This Horus did not endure with patience, but he laid hands on his mother, and pushed the crown off her head; whereupon Hermes placed a bull's skull upon her instead of helmet. And when Typhon brought a charge of illegitimacy against Horus, Hermes acting as his counsel, Horus was pronounced legitimate by the gods. After this Typhon was beaten in two other battles; and Isis conceived by Osiris copulating with her after death,<sup>1</sup> and brought forth the prematurely born, and weak in his lower limbs, Harpocrates.

These are pretty nearly the heads of the legend, the most blasphemous parts being omitted; for example, about the dismemberment of Horus, and the decapitation of Isis, because if these things people believe and say concerning blessed and incorruptible natures (by whose medium the idea of the deity is mainly conceived) as having been really done, and really having happened to them=then, as Æschylus hath it:—

We must spit at the tale, and rinse the mouth:

and there is no more need of talking to you, in fact, you are yourself disgusted at people holding such absurd and uncivilized notions respecting the gods. Are not these things exactly like the fine-spun fables and empty tales that poets and story tellers, like spiders, breed out of themselves, without foundation from first to last, and weave and spread them out? Nevertheless, this history

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the incident of the opening of his coffer, and the sad fate of the too inquisitive little boy.

contains certain questions, and descriptions of real events; and in the same way as mathematicians say that the rainbow is the image of the sun, variously colored through the reflection of the image upon the cloud, so the legend before us is a kind of reflection of a history reflecting the true meaning upon other things; as is shown forth by the sacrifices containing a representation of mourning and sadness; as also by the ground plan of the temples, in some parts spreading out into colonnades, and courts open to the sky and lightsome, in others having under ground hidden and dark galleries (like that at Thebes), and halls as well; and above all, by the belief of the Osiris worshippers, where his body is said to be deposited in several places at once. Abydos, perhaps, or the little town Memphis, they say, is celebrated for possessing the only true body: and that at Abydos are buried the rich and noble of the Egyptians, ambitious to share the burial place of Osiris' body, whilst in Memphis is kept the Apis, the "Image of the soul of Osiris," where his body also is said to lie.

That city's name also some interpret as "Harbor of good things," others as "Tomb of Osiris"; but the "Nisbitane" placed close to the gates, is universally shunned and unapproachable, not even a bird perches upon it, nor a fish comes up to it; but at a particular season the priests cross over, and offer burnt offerings, and crown the monument which is overshadowed with the shrub called "methides," and exceeding in size any olive tree. But Eudoxus states that though there are many so-called Tombs in Egypt, yet that the true monument was erected at Busiris, for that *that* was the birthplace of Osiris; for the name "Taphosiris" requires no explanation since the name itself means "Tomb of Osiris." I approve of the *chopping of wood*,<sup>1</sup> the *cutting down of flax*, the *pouring out of libation*, inasmuch as the generality of mystic rites are interspersed with these ceremonies, and not only the priests of *this*, but also of the other gods (that is of all that are not unborn and incorruptible) assert that their *bodies* are deposited with them, and are taken care of after their decease, but that their souls shine in heaven as stars; and that of Isis so called by the Greeks the *Dog-star*, but by the Egyptians *Sothis*; that of Horus, *Orion*, that of

<sup>1</sup> Probably explaining the trunk, with lopped off branches, so frequently figured on the Gnostic stones.

Typhon, the *Bear*, and towards the keep of the sacred animals, all the rest of Egypt pay an assessment, but the inhabitants of the Thebaid alone refuse to pay, because they do not hold with *mortal* deities; but with them whom they themselves call "Kneph," who is unborn and incorruptible.

Since many places of the sort are called and shown as divine Tombs, those who suppose them to be in reality those of kings and tyrants (who by reason of their extraordinary merit, or power, had arrogated honors to themselves by the fame of their superhuman nature, and had afterwards shared the common lot), whose terrible or mighty deeds or fates are thus commemorated, such persons find a very easy evasion of the legend, and shift its indecency from the gods upon *men*; and they obtain support from the religious rites. For the Egyptians relate that Hermes had one arm bent so that it could not be straightened, that Typhon was red in complexion, Horus white, and that Osiris was black skinned — just as so many men born in the course of nature. Besides, they call a general "Osiris," and a pilot "Canopus" (after whom the star is named); also that the ship which the Greeks call the *Argo*, was the representation of the bark of Osiris, made a constellation of in his honor; and it moves along at no great distance from Orion and the Dog-star, of which the Egyptians hold the one to be sacred to Horus, the other to Isis.

I am afraid that this is "moving things that ought not to be moved, and making war not only upon antiquity" (as Simonides hath it), but upon many tribes and families of man, possessed with veneration for these particular deities, when people let nothing alone, but transfer these great names from the heavens to the earth, and do their best to eradicate and destroy (or nearly so) the respect and faith implanted in men from their infancy, and opening a wide door to the atheistical sort,<sup>1</sup> and also to him that *humanizes* the gods, and giving a splendid opportunity to the deceptions of Evemerus, the Messenian, who, by composing treatises upon his false and unfounded mythology, disseminated atheism all over the world, reducing all deities alike to the names of generals, admirals, and kings, pretended to have flourished in old times; transcrib-

*Evemerus*

<sup>1</sup> An evident allusion to the Christians.

ing all this forsooth from the inscriptions in letters of gold set up at Panchon which said inscriptions no foreigner nor Greek, save Evemerus alone, as it seems, has met with, when he made his voyage to the Panchoans and Triphylans, people that never were, nor are, in any part of the globe.

And yet great exploits are sung amongst Assyrians, namely those of Semiramis, and great in Egypt those of Sesostris; the Phrygians even to this day call splendid exploits "Manic," on account of Manis, one of their ancient kings, having been good and powerful amongst them, whom some also call "Masdes."<sup>1</sup> Cyrus led the Persians, Alexander the Macedonians, conquering as they went, to all but the utmost limits of the world; they nevertheless have the name and the memory of good kings (not of gods); and if some few, puffed up with vanity, as Plato says, "with souls inflamed by youth and ignorance," have out of insolence assumed the style of gods, and the dedication of temples in their honor, yet their glory has flourished but a brief space, and thereafter they incurred the charge of vanity and arrogance, coupled with that of impiety and transgression of law:—

Raised up like smoke, they quickly fell to earth:

And now like fugitives that can be arrested, they are dragged out from their temples and altars, they keep nothing but their names and tombs. On which account, Antigonus the Elder, when a certain Hermodatus, in his verses, compared him to the Sun, and styled him a god, replied, "The carrier of my night-stool has not so good an opinion of me"; and with reason did Lysippus, the sculptor, censure Apelles, the painter, because in painting Alexander's portrait he had put a thunderbolt into his hand, whereas he himself had put a spear, the glory of which no time shall efface, inasmuch as it is genuine and appropriate.

Do they, therefore, better, who believe the legends told about Typhon, Osiris, and Isis, not to refer to either gods or men, but to certain *great Powers* (dæmons), whom Plato, Pythagoras, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus (following

<sup>1</sup> The common title of the Sassanean kings was "Masdesin," "servant of Ormuzd"; and the same probably was a title of this Manis.



the ancient theologians) assert to have been created far stronger than men, and greatly surpassing our nature in power, but yet having the divine part not entirely unmixed nor unalloyed, but combined with the nature of the soul and the senses of the body, susceptible of pleasure and pain, and all other emotions the result of these, that by their vicissitudes disturb, some in a greater, others in a less degree; for, in that case, as amongst men, so amongst dæmons, exist degrees of virtue and of vice. For the deeds of the Giants and Titans, sung of by the Greeks, certain atrocious actions of Saturn, the pitched battle between Python and Apollo, the flight of Bacchus, the wanderings of Ceres, do not fall short in absurdity of the legends about Osiris and Typhon, and the others that one may hear told by mythologists to any amount — all the things that are shrouded in mystic ceremonies, and are presented by rites, being kept secret and out of sight from the vulgar, and have a shape similar to those mentioned of the Egyptians.

We also hear Homer perpetually styling the surpassingly good, “godlike,” and “equal to gods,” and —

. . . having from gods their sense:

whereas he applies the epithet derived from dæmons indifferently to good and bad:—

Approach *Dæmonian*; wherefore fearest thou so — The Argives?

And again —

When like a *dæmon* the fourth time he charged:

O *dæmon-like!* what harm hath Priam done thee,  
Or Priam's race, that thus thou aye should strive  
The beauteous town of Troy from earth to raze?

As though the dæmons had a *mixed* and *inconsistent* nature and disposition. For which reason Plato attributes to the Olympian gods all things ingenious and extraordinary; but the opposite of these to dæmons; and Xenocrates thinks that the unlucky days of the month, and whatever festivals are accompanied with *stripes* and *blows*, *abusive* or *obscene language*, have nothing to do with honoring the gods or good dæmons: but that there are certain Powers

of Nature existing in the circumambient air, great and strong indeed, but malignant and ill-tempered, who take delight in such things, and if they obtain them, betake themselves to nothing worse. But the good ones, on the contrary, Hesiod styles "pure dæmons," and "guardians of men"; —

Givers of wealth; and with such royal power.

And Plato terms this species "Hermeneutic" and "Dæmonean," a middle class between gods and men, conveying up thither vows and prayers from mankind, and bringing down from thence to earth prophecies and gifts of things good. Empedocles even asserts that dæmons suffer punishment for their sins both of commission and omission: —

Celestial wrath pursues them down to sea;  
Sea spits them out on earth: earth to the rays  
Of Sol unwearied: he to the eddying air  
Sends back the culprits; each receives in turn,  
And all alike reject the hateful crew:

until having been thus *chastened* and *purified*, they obtain once more their natural place and position.

Akin to these and such like stories are, they say, the legends told concerning Typhon; how that he committed dreadful crimes out of envy and spite, and by throwing all things into confusion he filled with evils all the land and sea as well, and finally was punished for it. But the avenger of Osiris, his Sister and Wife, who extinguished and put a stop to the madness and fury of Typhon, did not forget the contests and struggles she had gone through, nor yet her own wanderings, nor did she suffer oblivion and silence to envelop<sup>1</sup> her many deeds of wisdom, many feats of courage, but by intermingling with the most sacred ceremonies, images, hints, and representations of her sufferings of yore, she consecrated at one and the same time, both lessons of piety and consolation in suffering for men and women when overtaken by misfortune. And she, together with Osiris, having been translated from the rank of good dæmons up to that of gods, by means of their virtue (as later was done with Hercules and Bacchus) receive, not inappropriately, the *united* honors of gods and

<sup>1</sup> ὑπολάβουσα, which makes no sense, add ν and it agrees with ἀμνηστίαν.

of dæmons everywhere, both in the regions above earth, and in those underground, possessing the supreme power, for they say that *Serapis* is no other than Pluto, and Isis Proserpine, as Archemoros of Eubœa has asserted; as also Heraclitus of Pontas, when he supposes the Oracle at Canopas to belong to Pluto.

Ptolemy Soter beheld in a dream the Colossus of Pluto at Sinope (though he had not before known nor seen what it was in appearance), ordering him to bring it as soon as possible to Alexandria; and when he was ignorant and at a loss as to where the statue then stood, and was relating the vision to his friends, there was found a man, a great traveller, by name Sosibius, that declared he had seen at Sinope just such a Colossus as the king had dreamt he saw. He therefore despatched Soteles and Dionysius, who after much time and with difficulty (not, however, without divine aid) *stole* and brought away the statue. And when it was brought and seen, then Timotheus, the interpreter, and Manetho, the Sebennite, and their fellows, *conjecturing* that it was a figure of Pluto (drawing this conclusion from the Cerberus and the Serpent), *made Ptolemy believe* that it is of no other god, but of Serapis, for it did not come bearing such a name from the other place, but *after* it had been brought to Alexandria, it got the name that Pluto bears amongst the Egyptians, namely, *Serapis*. And seeing that Heraclitus, the natural philosopher, asserts that "Hades and Dionysos are the same person, when they are infuriated and rave," they (the Egyptians) slip unconsciously into the same belief. For such as explain that *Hades* means the *Body*, because the Soul is as it were out of its senses, and drunken,<sup>1</sup> when confined therein, such people are too far fetched in their interpretation. It is better, therefore, to connect Osiris with Bacchus, and Serapis with Osiris, for the latter obtained this appellation after he had changed his nature,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as Serapis is common<sup>3</sup> to all, in the same way as such as have partaken of the sacred rites know that Osiris is.

For it is not worth while paying any attention to the

<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of the Alexandrian Platonists, as is fully set forth by Macrobius in his description of the descent of the Soul.

<sup>2</sup> The name being compounded of *Osiris* and *Apis*, expresses that his soul, after death, had passed unto the sacred bull.

<sup>3</sup> Probably meaning, universal god, not a mere local Egyptian divinity.

Phrygian sacred books, wherein it is said that Serapis<sup>1</sup> was the daughter of Hercules, and Typhon, son of Isaicus, son of . . ., nor yet to avoid treating Phylarchus with contempt for saying that Bacchus first brought two oxen out of India to Egypt; the name of one of which was *Apis*, of the other *Osiris*. For Serapis is the name of Him who puts in order the universe ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ), joined to "sairein" which some say means "to beautify and arrange."<sup>2</sup> For these remarks of Phylarchus are absurd; yet far more absurd the opinion of such as say Serapis is no god at all, but the coffin of Apis is so called:<sup>3</sup> (they also talk of certain brazen doors at Memphis, named the "Doors of Oblivion and Wailing," which when they bury Apis utter a deep and harsh sound, for which reason [we are forbidden] to touch any sounding vessel of brass). More endurable is the explanation of such as derive it from "stimulating" ( $\sigma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ) the motion of the universe. But the most part of the priests say that "Osiris" and "Apis" are united into the same word, for they explain and inform us that we ought to consider the Apis as a beautiful *image* of the soul of Osiris. But for my part, if the name of Serapis is really Egyptian, and I think it signifies Cheerfulness and Rejoicing, founding my conjecture on the fact that the Egyptians call the festival of Rejoicing, "Sai rei," in fact Plato says that Hades<sup>4</sup> is so named as the "Son of Respectfulness," and a god benevolent to such as dwell with him; and amongst the Egyptians many other of the names (of gods) are significant words; also that subterraneous place whither they believe the souls go after death, they call "Amenthen," the name signifying "that which gives and takes." But whether this be one of the names carried out of Greece in ancient times, and brought back again, we will consider further on; at present it is our business to go through the remaining parts of this belief.

Osiris and Isis passed from the rank of good dæmons to that of deities; but the power of Typhon although dimmed and crushed, and still, as it were, in the last agony and convulsions, they nevertheless propitiate and soothe by means of certain sacrifices: but occasionally they humiliate

<sup>1</sup> χαρσιῶς in text.

<sup>2</sup> This preposterous etymology is evidently that of Phylarchus.

<sup>3</sup> σορὸς Ἀπίδος.

<sup>4</sup> Ἅδης = Αἰδῶος υἱός.

Cratylus  
Plato disproves  
knowledge through  
sensible images.

and insult him at certain festivals, when they abuse red-haired men and tumble an ass down a precipice; for example this is done by the people of Memphis because Typhon was red haired, and like an ass in complexion. The people of Busiris and Lycopolis do not use trumpets at all because they make a sound like the ass: and altogether, they regard the ass as an unclean and dæmon-like animal on account of his resemblance to that personage: they make cakes also at the sacrifice of the month Paÿni and of Phaophi, and print upon them for device an ass tied. And at the sacrifice to the Sun, they enjoin those that worship this god, not to wear upon the person ornaments of gold,<sup>1</sup> nor to give food to an ass. The Pythagoreans, too, prove that they regard Typhon as a dæmonic Power, for they say in perfect measure that Typhon was born on the fifty-sixth; and again that the (figure) of the *Triangle* belongs to Pluto, Bacchus, and Mars; that of the *Tetragon* to Rhea, Venus, Ceres, Vesta, and Juno; that of the *Dodecagon* to Jove; but that of the Fifty-six sided figure to Typhon — as Eudoxus hath related.

The Egyptians, believing that Typhon was born with red hair, dedicate to sacrifice the red colored oxen, and make the scrutiny so close that if the beast should have even a single black or white hair, they consider it unfit for sacrifice; because such beast, offered for sacrifice, is not acceptable to the gods, but the contrary (as is) whatsoever has received the souls of unholy and unjust men, that have migrated into other bodies. For which reason they heap curses on the head of the victim, cut it off, and formerly used to throw it into the River, but nowadays they sell it to foreigners. But the ox intended for sacrifice, those of the priests entitled "Sealers" used to seal: the signet bearing (as Castor relates) an engraving of a man forced down on his knees, with hands twisted round upon his back, having a sword placed against his throat.<sup>2</sup> The ass has got the credit of this resemblance [to Typhon] as they think, on account of his stupidity and unruliness, as well as his color; for which reason as they detest Ochus especially of the Persian Kings, as sacrilegious and polluted, they surnamed him "the Ass," and he replying,

<sup>1</sup> Hence the Mohammedan rule of taking off all gold ornaments before saying prayers.

<sup>2</sup> Showing that the primitive *human* victim was commuted thus.

"The Ass shall feast upon your Bull," he slaughtered the Apis, as Dinon tells us. But those who say that Typhon made his flight out of the battle during seven days upon an ass; and after escaping begot Hierosolymus and Judæus — these are discovered by that very fact to be lugging the Jewish history into the legend.

These things, then, afford grounds for the explanations above advanced. Let us start afresh, and consider the most straightforward expositions; that is to say, those who are reputed to treat the subject in a more philosophic manner. These are such as pretend, like the Greeks, that Saturn symbolizes *Time*, Juno the *Air*, the birth of Vulcan, the change of Air into *Fire*; and similarly amongst the Egyptians, that Osiris is the *Nile*, copulating with Isis the *Earth*; Typhon, the *Sea*, into which the Nile flowing vanishes and is dispersed, except as much part as the earth has taken from him and received, and becomes productive thereby. There is, too, a religious lament made over Saturn, and it laments "him that is born in the *left* region, and that dies in the *right*." For the Egyptians hold that the Eastern parts are the *face* of the World, the Northern its right hand, the Southern its left. The Nile, therefore, flowing from the North, and in the South swallowed up by the sea, is as reasonably said to have his birth in the left hand region, and his death in the right. On which account the priests abominate the sea, and call salt "the foam of Typhon," and it is one of their prohibitions, "Not to put salt upon the table," and they do not speak to mariners, nor make use of the sea, and they keep the ox away from the sea, and from this cause principally do they reject fish, and write up "Hatè fish." At any rate, at Sais, in the forecourt of the temple of Minerva, there was sculptured a child, an old man, after this a hawk, next, a fish, and at the end of all, a river horse, and it signifies symbolically, "O ye that are coming into life, and ye that are going out of it [The Deity abhors impudence]<sup>1</sup> . . . for the reason [they put the] old man. . . ." By the hawk they mean *God*, by the fish, *hatred*, on account of the sea, as has been above stated; by the river horse, *impudence*, for that beast is reported to kill its sire, and copulates forcibly with its dam: and the saying of the

<sup>1</sup> Some words are here lost, but their sense appears from the context to have been what I supply in the translation.

Pythagoreans that the sea is Saturn's tears, seed, may seem to imply the impurity and unsociable nature of the same element.

Let these stories then be told by foreigners, since they offer an explanation within everybody's reach; but the more learned among the priests do not only call the Nile, "Osiris," and the sea, "Typhon," but give the name of Osiris generally to every Principle and Power productive of *moisture*; regarding this as the cause of generation and the essence of seed. "Typhon" they call everything *dry, fiery, desiccative, and antagonistic to moisture*; for which reason as they believe him to have been red skinned and yellowish in person, they do not very willingly meet, or converse with pleasure with people having such a complexion; on the other hand they fable that Osiris was black-colored because all water blackens earth, clouds, and garments, when mingled therewith; and in young people the presence of moisture renders the hair black, whereas grayness is, as it were, a *growing pale*, that by reason of desiccation, comes upon them who are past their prime. The Spring too is flourishing, generative, and agreeable; but Autumn through the deficiency of moisture is both injurious to plants, and pestilential to animals. And the Ox that is kept at Heliopolis, which they call Mnevis (sacred to Osiris, and which some believe to be the sire of the Apis)<sup>1</sup> is black, and receives secondary honors to those paid to Apis. Besides, Egypt which is of a black soil to the highest degree, as well as the black part of the eye, they call "Chemia,"<sup>2</sup> and compare it to a *heart*, for it is hot and moist, and is chiefly inclosed and annexed to the southern parts of the habitable world, in the same manner as the heart is in the left hand parts of man.

The Sun and the Moon they symbolize as using not chariots but boats for vehicles in performing their courses, expressing allegorically their nourishment and origin from moisture: and they think that Homer, like Thales, had learnt from the Egyptians to lay down that Water was the beginning and origin of all things, for that his ocean

<sup>1</sup> The Bull that was kept at Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> Is this the long sought for root of "Cameo"? The Nicolo was distinguished by the Romans as "Ægyptilla," and compared by them to the eye.

is Osiris, and his Tethys Isis, as nursing, and helping to breed up all things. For the Greeks call the emission of seed *ἀποουσία*, and copulation *συνουσία*; and *ἰὺς* from *ἰδωρ* and *ἴσαι*, and Bacchus they entitle "*γυς*," as being lord of the moist principle, he being no other than Osiris, in fact Hellenicus has put down that he heard Osiris called *Ἰσίρις* by the priests; and he persists in so denominating that god, probably on account of his nature, and his invention.

That indeed he is the same with Bacchus, who is more fitted to know than yourself, Clea, you who have headed the Bacchanals at Delphi, and have been initiated into the rites of Osiris, ever since your childhood? But if for the sake of other people we must produce testimony, let us put on one side the things not to be revealed; but the ceremonies the priests perform in public when they are conveying the body on a raft, at the burial of the Apis, differ in nothing from the Bacchanalea; for they tie fawn-skins about them, and carry thyrsi, and make shoutings and motions like those possessed with the divine frenzy in honor of Bacchus; for which cause many of the Greeks represent Dionysos in the form of a *Bull* in his images; and the women of the Eleians when praying, exhort the "god with the bull's foot," to come to them. The Argives too have a Bacchus by title the "Bull-born"; and they call him up out of water by the sound of trumpets, casting into the deep pool as offerings to the "Pylaochus." The trumpets they conceal within the thyrsi as Socrates has described it in his treatise on Rituals. The Titanic also and Nycteleian rites are of the same kind with the fabled tearing to pieces of the body of Osiris, his returnings to life, and his new births; and, similarly, the stories about his burials. For the Egyptians, as already stated, show Tombs of Osiris in many places; and the Delphians believe that the relics of Bacchus are deposited with themselves by the side of the Oracle:<sup>1</sup> and their "Holy Ones" offer a secret sacrifice in the Temple of Apollo at what time the Bacchantes waken up "Him of the winnowing fan." And that the Greeks hold Bacchus for lord and leader not only of the wine but of the whole element of Moisture, Pindar is sufficient testimony where

<sup>1</sup> Another proof of Indian origin, relics of a Buddha being indispensable for the foundation of any *dagobah*.



he says, "May Bacchus that rejoiceth greatly in trees and pastures, augment the pure light of Autumn," for which reason it is forbidden to those that worship Osiris to destroy any cultivated tree, or to stop up any spring of water.

For not the Nile only, but all moisture in general they call the "Issue of Osiris," and the water vase always leads the procession of the priests in honor of the god, and by the figure of a *fig-leaf* they represent a king, and the Southern quarter of the world; and the fig-leaf is interpreted as the *watering* and *stimulation* of all things; and it is supposed to resemble in its shape the organ of generation. And when they celebrate (as already stated) the feast of Pamyliæ, which is a phallic one, they expose and carry about an image of which the genital member is thrice the natural size; for the god is the Final Cause, and every Final Cause multiplied by generation a function, that which proceeds from itself: and for "often" we are accustomed to say "thrice," for example "thrice-happy," and —

Three times as many chains, without an end.

Unless perhaps, this triplication of the member was understood by the ancients in its strict sense; inasmuch as the moist Principle being the Final Cause and origin of all things, has produced from the beginning the three first elements, Earth, Air, Fire. For the tale that is tacked on to the myth, how that Typhon threw away the genital member of Osiris into the River, and that Isis could not find it, but deposited and prepared a model of the same, ordaining that people should honor it and carry the phallus about—all this permits us to infer that the generative and seminal power of the god had first for materials *moisture*, and by means of moisture was mixed up with the things fitted by Nature to participate in birth. There is another legend of the Egyptians that Apopis, being brother of the Sun, made war upon Jupiter, and that Jupiter adopted for son Osiris who had assisted him, and had brought the war to an end along with him, and surnamed him Bacchus. Of this legend the fabulous character can be shown to contain a touch of truth as regards natural history. For the Egyptians give the name of Jupiter to the *breath*,<sup>1</sup> to which everything dry and fiery is antago-

<sup>1</sup> Or wind.

nistic. This latter element is not the Sun, but has a certain affinity to the Sun; now moisture quenching the excess of dryness, augments and strengthens the exhalations by means of which the wind is nourished and made vigorous.

And, moreover, the Greeks consecrate the ivy to Bacchus, and amongst the Egyptians it is called "Kenosiris," the name signifying (as they say) the "plant of Osiris" — Ariston, therefore, who wrote the "Colonies of the Athenians," met with an epistle of Alexarchus (a writer without any knowledge of the subject) in which it is related that Bacchus, being son of Isis, was not called "Osiris" by the Egyptians, but "Arsaphes" (in his First Book), this name signifying *manliness*. Hermæus, too, declares the same thing in his First Book "Upon the Egyptians," for he says that "Osiris" interpreted is "weighty." I pass by Mnaseas who identifies with Epaphus both Bacchus, Osiris, and Serapis; I also pass over Anticlidias, who says that Isis was daughter of Prometheus, and consort of Bacchus — for the above-stated peculiarities in the sacrifices and ceremonies carry with them proof more convincing than any testimony.

Of the stars, they hold Sirius to be Isis's *Water-carrier*, they honor the Lion, and decorate the gateways of temples with gaping lions' heads, because the Nile swells: —

When first the Sun doth with the Lion join.

And as they hold and believe the Nile the issue of Osiris, so do they regard the earth as the body of Isis: not indeed the whole earth but just as much as the Nile inundates, fecundating and mingling with it; for from the union they beget Horus. Horus is that which preserves and nourishes all things, namely the Seasons and the regulator of the circumambient air; and they tell that he was nursed by Leto in the marshes round Buto, because the watery and thoroughly soaked earth chiefly *nurses* the exhalations that quench and relax the dryness and drought of the air. "Nephtys" they call the remotest parts and boundaries of the land, and those contiguous to the sea; for which reason they style Nephtys the "end," and say that she is the consort of Typhon. And when the Nile rising beyond the usual height, and growing

great, approaches on the opposite side towards the extremities of the country, they call this the copulation of Osiris with Nephthys, which is betrayed by the springing up of plants; amongst which is the melilote, by which flowers having fallen off and been left behind (by Osiris) Typhon made the discovery of the injury done to his bed; from which same copulation Isis indeed conceived Horus legitimately, but Nephthys had Anubis, a bastard. However, in the "Successions of the Kings" they record that Nephthys, being married to Typhon, was at first barren, and if they tell this not of a woman, but of a goddess, they express enigmatically that the entire extent of the country was unproductive, and bore no crops from barrenness.

The conspiracy and tyranny of Typhon means the power of drought getting the better of, and destroying the moisture that both generates and augments the Nile: and his helper, the Queen of the Ethiopians, signifies the south winds from Ethiopia; for when these prevail over the Etesian winds (which drive the clouds towards Ethiopia), and hinder them from dissolving into rains and swelling the Nile, then does Typhon take possession and burn; and at that time he has completely mastered the Nile, which through weakness is contracted and shrunk up within itself; and drives it out, hollow and humble, into the sea: for the shutting up of Osiris in the coffer probably means nothing else than the concealment and disappearance of the water: for which reason they say that Osiris vanished in the month Athyr, at which time, the Etesian winds having entirely ceased, the Nile recedes, and the country is laid bare, and night lengthening, darkness is increased, and the power of light wastes away and is subdued, and the priests also perform other dismal rites, and cover a gilt ox with a black veil of linen; and so exhibit it in mourning for the goddess (for they consider the ox as the animated image of Osiris) for four consecutive days, beginning with the seventeenth. For the things mourned for are four in number: first, the Nile failing and shrinking; secondly, the Northerly breezes entirely extinguished through the Southerly getting the upper hand; thirdly, the day growing shorter than the night; and in addition to all this, the exposure of the land, coupled with the stripping of the trees, which cast their leaves at that very time. But on the nineteenth

at night they go down to the sea, and the "Dressers" and priests bring out the sacred coffer containing a little golden ark, into which they take and pour water from the river, and a shout is raised by the assistants, as though Osiris had been found: next, they knead garden earth with this water, and mingling therewith frankincense and precious spices, they model a little image in the shape of the Moon, and this they robe and decorate, expressing thereby that they hold these deities to be the Principles of Earth and Water.

But when Isis has recovered Osiris, and is making Horus grow, strengthened by means of exhalations, clouds, and mists, Typhon has been conquered indeed, but not destroyed, because the goddess of the Earth hath not suffered the Principle opposed to moisture to be entirely exterminated, but she lowered and slackened the same, wishing that the mixture might still continue: inasmuch as it was not possible for the world to be complete if the fiery principle failed and were exterminated, and if all this is not told in so many words, yet one may not reasonably regret the story that Typhon of old conquered the party of Osiris. For Egypt was once sea; for which cause many places in the mines and in the mountains are found to contain shells to the present day; and all springs, and wells, whereof there are many, have their water brackish and bitter; as though being a stale remnant of the former sea which had collected there. But in time, Osiris got the better of Typhon; that is a good season of rains having come on the Nile drove off the sea, and brought to light the flat ground, and filled up the same with its alluvial deposits: a thing that has for it the testimony of our senses: for we see even now that through the River's perpetually bringing down fresh mud, and adding on the land, the deep water gradually recedes, and the sea runs back, in consequence of the bottom rising up through the alluvial deposit: and the Pharos which Homer knew as distant a day's sail from Egypt, is now a part thereof: not that the island itself has grown larger, or come nearer, but because the sea has retreated through the river's forming and making the mainland to grow. This however is of the same kind with the theological theories of the Stoics, for they too say that the generative and nutritive spirit is Bacchus; the impulsive and separative,

Hercules; the receptive, Ammon; Ceres and Proserpine, that which pervades the earth and her fruits; and Neptune that pervading the sea.

But such as mix with these physical doctrines others derived from astrology and the mathematics, think that Typhon signifies the solar world, and Osiris the lunar: for that the Moon having her light of a fertilizing and more watery nature is favorable to the breeding of animals and the growing of plants: but that the sun is ordained with his unmitigated light to heat and parch up things that grow up and flourish, and to render the great part of the earth utterly uninhabitable through his blazing, and also to get the better of the Moon herself. For which reason the Egyptians always call Typhon "Seth,"<sup>1</sup> which signifies *that which tyrannizes*, and which *forcibly constrains*, and they fable that Hercules resides in the Sun, and travels about with him, but Hermes does the same with the Moon; for the effects of the Moon resemble the actions of reason, and those dictated by wisdom; whereas those of the Sun are like strokes brought to pass through violence and force, and the Stoics say that the Sun is set on fire, and derives his nutriment from the sea, whereas to the Moon the fountain and lacustrine waters send up a sweet and gentle exhalation.

On the seventeenth day of the month took place, as the Egyptians fable, the death of Osiris, on which day the full moon being completed becomes most conspicuous; on which account the Pythagoreans call that day "Anti-phraxis" (*precaution*); and generally abominate that particular number, for sixteen being a square number and eighteen having sides of unequal length which alone of the integral numbers have the peculiarity of possessing external measurements equal to the areas contained by them,<sup>2</sup> the seventeen intruding hedges off and disjoins them from one another, and distracts the proportion of one to eight, because it is itself cut up into unequal parts. The number of years that some say Osiris lived, others that he

<sup>1</sup> This has no connection with the Hebrew name, which means "Placed," "Settled."

<sup>2</sup> ἑτερομήκης is applied to Eighteen, because it may be represented by a parallelogram of which the sides are 6 and 6, 3 and 3, alternately: two of these multiplied give the area of the figure, which also is Eighteen — the same comparison of numbers to mathematical figures Plato uses in the beginning of the Theætetus.

reigned, was eight-and-twenty: for just so many are the lights of the Moon, and for so many days doth she revolve about her circle. By the wood they cut down at the so-called burials of Osiris, and construct therewith a crescent-shaped coffer, they signify that the Moon when she approaches the Sun, becomes crescent-shaped and hides herself: and the tearing up of Osiris into fourteen parts they interpret of the days during which the luminary wanes after full moon, until the new moon, and the day when she first appears after escaping the brightness of, and passing by the Sun, they style "Imperfect Good"; for Osiris is a doer of good, and his name signifies many things, but especially, as they say, "the power that is active and beneficial"; and the other name of Osiris, namely, "Ompis," means, according to Hermaeus, by interpretation "Benefactor."

For they are of opinion that to the lights of the Moon the risings of the Nile bear a certain analogy: for the greatest rising, that about Elephantine, is of eight-and-twenty cubits, the same in number as the lights and measures of her monthly revolutions, the lowest, around Mendes and Xoïs, is of six cubits, analogous to her half-quartering; and the mean, that round Memphis, when it is of the regular height, is fourteen cubits, corresponding to the full moon. Apis, they say, is the animated image of Osiris, and he is conceived when a generative light falls strongly from the Moon, and touches a cow that is in heat; for which cause many of the decorations of Apis resemble the appearances of the Moon; for he blackens over his shining parts with dusky robes, because it is on the new moon of the month Phamenath that they hold the festival, called by them "the Entrance of Osiris into the Moon"; being the commencement of spring. Thus they place the power of Osiris within the Moon, and say that Isis, being cause of his birth, is also his consort. On this account they call the Moon the Mother of Saturn, and hold that she is of hermaphrodite nature, for she is filled and impregnated by the Sun, and again she emits and disseminates in the air generative principles: for that she doth not always express the mischief wrought by Typhon; but being after conquered by the birth, and bound thereby, she nevertheless emerges again and fights her way through to Horus: this latter is

the universe surrounding the earth, which is not entirely exempt either from generation or destruction.

Some make an allegory out of the rule of the eclipses, for the Moon is eclipsed at her full, when the Sun holds the station opposite to her when she falls into the shadow of the earth, in the same way as they tell Osiris did into the coffer; and she herself, upon the thirtieth conceals and puts out of sight, yet does not altogether destroy, the Sun, as neither did Isis Typhon. And when Nephthys conceives Anubis, Isis adopts him, for Nephthys signifies what is under the earth and invisible; Isis, what is above ground and visible; and the circle touching these, called the *Horizon*, and common to both, has been named Anubis, and is figured as a dog; for the dog has the use of his sight both by night and by day; and Anubis appears to have the same office with the Egyptians that Hermes has with the Greeks, being both infernal and celestial. Some, however, think that Anubis signifies *Time*, wherefore as he brings forth all things *out* of himself, and conceives all things *within* himself, he gets the title of Dog. Besides, the votaries of Anubis celebrate a certain mystery,<sup>1</sup> and in old times the dog enjoyed the highest honors in Egypt. But when Cambyses had slain the apis and cast him out, nothing approached, or tasted of the carcass, except the dog, so he lost his place of the first, and the most honored of all the other animals. And there are some that think he is the shadow of the earth into which the Moon passes when she is eclipsed, and they call him Typhon.

From all which, it is not unreasonable to conclude that no one singly says what is right, and that all collectively do so; for it is neither *drought*, nor *wind*, nor the *sea*, nor *darkness*, but generally every hurtful and mischievous part that earth contains, which belongs to Typhon. For we must not place the principles of the all in lifeless bodies, as do Democritus and Epicurus: nor yet assume as modeller of uncreated matter, one Reason and one Providence, like the Stoics, that prevails over and subdues all things: for it is impossible that anything at all, whether bad or good, should exist, where God is cause of nothing. For the harmony of the universe is reciprocal, like that

<sup>1</sup> A passage is lost here, containing a description of this rite, in which it is evident a dog played the principal part.

of a lyre or bow, according to Heraclitus, and according to Euripides: —

Evil and good cannot occur apart;  
There is a mixture to make all good well.

Consequently this is a most ancient notion, that comes down from theologians and lawgivers to poets and philosophers, which has its origin unattributed, but the belief therein strong and not to be effaced, not consisting in words and reports, but in ceremonies and sacrifices, of Barbarians and Greeks alike, and diffused in many places, that neither is the Universe without mind, without reason, and without guidance, and tossed about at random, nor yet is there One Reason that rules and directs all things as it were, by a rudder and by guiding reins,<sup>1</sup> but that there are many such directors, and made up out of good and bad; or rather, to speak generally, inasmuch as Nature produces nothing unmixed here below, it is not one Dispenser that like a retail dealer mixes together things for us out of two vessels and distributes the same,<sup>2</sup> but it is from *two opposite Principles* and *two antagonistic Powers*; the one guiding us to the right hand and along the straight road, the other upsetting and rebuffing us, that Life becomes of a mixed nature; and also the Universe (if not the whole, yet that which surrounds Earth, and lies below the Moon), is made inconsistent with itself, and variable and susceptible of frequent changes. For if nothing can happen without cause, and good cannot furnish cause for evil, it follows that the nature of Evil, as of Good, must have an origin and principle of its own.

And this is the opinion of most men, and those the wisest, for they believe, some that there are Two Gods, as it were of opposite trades — one the creator of good, the other of bad things; others call the better one "God," the other "Dæmon," as did Zoroaster the Magian, who, they record, lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. He therefore calls the former "Oromazes," the latter "Arimanios"; and furthermore explains that of all the objects of sense, the one most resembles *Light*, the other

<sup>1</sup> The Epicurean and Stoic theories of the government of the universe, as opposed to the Neo-Platonic.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the Homeric picture of Jove, and his two vases of good and evil.



*Darkness, and Ignorance*; and that Mithras is between the two, for which reason the Persians call Mithras the "Mediator," and he [Zoroaster] taught them to offer sacrifice of vows and thanksgiving to the one, of deprecation and mourning to the other. For they bruise a certain herb called "omoine" in a mortar and invoke Hades and Darkness, and mixing it with the blood of a wolf they have sacrificed, they carry away and throw it into a place where the Sun never comes, for of plants they believe some to belong to the good God, others to the evil Dæmon; and similarly of animals, dogs, birds, and land hedgehogs belong to the Good, but to the Bad One water rats, for which reason they hold happy men that have killed the greatest number of such things.

They too, nevertheless, tell many fabulous stories concerning their gods — for example, the following: that Oromazes sprang out of the purest Light, but Arimanius out of Darkness; they wage war upon each other. Oromazes created six gods, the first of Goodwill, the second of Truth, the third of Order, of the rest one of Wisdom, one of Wealth, one of Pleasure in things beautiful.<sup>1</sup> The other God created, as it were, opponents to these deities, equal in number. Then Oromazes, having augmented himself threefold, severed from the Sun as much space as the Sun is distant from Earth, and adorned the heavens with stars; and one star he appointed before all for guard and look-out, namely Sirius. And having created four-and-twenty other gods, he shut them up in an egg; but those made by Arimanius, being as many as they, pierced the egg that had been laid, and so the bad things were mixed up with the good. But a time appointed by fate is coming, in which Arimanius having brought on famine and pestilence must needs be destroyed by the same and utterly vanish; when the earth becoming plain and level there shall be one life and one government of men, all happy and of one language. Theopompus says that, according to the Magi, one of the gods shall conquer, the other be conquered, alternately for 3000 years; for another 3000 years they shall fight, war, and undo one the works of the other; but in the end Hades shall fail, and men shall be happy, neither requiring food nor constructing shelter: whilst the God who hath contrived all

<sup>1</sup> The same notion is expressed in the Jewish Sefiroth.

this is quiet and resting himself for a time, for that God may well slumber, but not long, like as a man reposing for a moderate space. The religious system of the Magi is of the aforesaid character.

The Chaldeans hold that the gods belong to the planets, of whom two they call "doers of good," two "makers of evil"; the other three they describe as intermediate and neutral. But the notions of the Greeks are, I suppose, plain enough to every one, for they make the good part that of the Olympian Jove, that of the hostile deity they give to Hades; and they fable that *Harmony* was the child of Venus and Mars, of whom the one is cruel and quarrelsome, the other gentle, and presiding over birth. Consider too the philosophers that side with them, for Heraclitus directly calls Mars, father, lord, and ruler of all things; and says that Homer, when he prays that

Perish Contention, both from gods and men,

forgets that he is cursing the origin of all things, inasmuch as they derive their origin from contention and antipathy, and the Sun will not overpass his appointed limits, otherwise:—

The avenging tongue of Law would find him out,

and Empedocles calls the Beneficent Principle "Love" and "Friendship," and frequently too, Harmony, "with glowing face," but the Evil Principle he styles

Contentiousness accurst, and blood-stained War.

Now the Pythagoreans characterize these Principles by several names: the Good One, as the "One," the "Definite," the "Abiding," the "Straight," the "Exceeding," the "Square," the "Equal," the "Right-handed," the "Bright"; the Bad One as the "Two," the "Indefinite," the "Unstable," the "Crooked," the "Sufficient," the "Unequally-sided" (parallelogram), the "Unequal," the "Left-handed," the "Dark" — inasmuch as these are supposed the final causes of existence — Anaxagoras defines them as "Mind," and the "Infinite"; Aristotle, the one as "Form," the other as "Deprival." Plato, as it were,

mystifying and veiling the matter, denominates in many places one of the opposing Principles as "The Same": the second, as "The Other"; but in his "Laws," being now grown older, he no longer speaks in riddles and symbolically, but names them directly. "Not by one soul," says he, "was the universe set in motion, but by several, perhaps, at all events, by not less than *Two*; whereof the one is beneficent, the other antagonistic to this, and the creator of opposite effects: and there is room for a *Third Principle* to exist, one intermediate between the *Two*, which is neither destitute of soul, nor of reason, nor of impulse from within (as some suppose), but subordinate to those *Two Principles*, ever seeking after the *Better One*, and desiring and following after it," as the part of the treatise which follows will show, for he adopts into this system chiefly the religious notions of the Egyptians.

For the origin and constitution of this world are mixed, being formed out of opposite principles — not, however, of equal force with each other, but the superiority belonging to the *Better One*. But it is impossible that the *Bad One* should be entirely destroyed, as it is largely implanted in the body, largely in the soul of the all, and always contending against the *Better One*. Now in the soul, *Mind*, and *Reason*, the best masters and guides, are *Osiris*; but in Earth and Water, Winds and Stars, that which is ordered, permanent, and healthy, in seasons, temperament, and revolutions, are the issue of *Osiris*, and the *image* of him made visible. But Typhon is the part of the soul that is subject to the passions, Titan-like, unreasonable, and impulsive; but of the body (he is) the part that is unsound, subject to disease, and liable to disturbance by bad seasons and inclement weather, by the concealments of the Sun, and the disappearances of the Moon — such as deviations from its course, vanishings, and whirlwinds. And the name "Seth," by which they call Typhon, proves this; for it signifies "That which tyrannizes and constrains by force," it likewise signifies a "return," and again an "overleaping." Bebaeon, again, some say, was one of the companions of Typhon, whilst Manethos asserts that Typhon was called "Bebon," and that the name signifies a "holding back," and "hindrance," — implying that the power of Typhon stands in the way of things going on regularly and towards their proper end.

For which reason, they give him for attribute the most stupid of all tame animals, namely, the *ass*; and of the wild, the most savage, namely, the *crocodile* and the *hippopotamus*. With respect to the ass we have already explained the meaning, but at Hermopolis they show as a figure of Typhon a hippopotamus, upon which stands a hawk fighting with a serpent; by the hippopotamus signifying Typhon, by the hawk *power* and virtue, [or *sovereignty*,] which Typhon frequently gains by force, and never ceases<sup>1</sup> to be disturbed by his own wickedness, and to disturb others; for which cause when they sacrifice on the 7th of the month Sybi (which they call "The Coming of Isis out of Phœnicia") they stamp upon the consecrated cakes the figure of a hippopotamus bound. In the city Apollinopolis, it is the custom that every one must by all means eat a bit of crocodile [once a year]. And on one day they catch and kill as many crocodiles as they can, and lay them out in front of the temple, saying that Typhon ran away from Horus changing himself into a crocodile, — thus making out all animals, plants, and feelings, that are noxious and bad, to be the productive parts and instigations of Typhon.

Osiris, on the contrary, they represent by an *eye* and a *sceptre*, whereof the one signifies *foresight*, the other *power*; in the same way as Homer by calling Jupiter, who governs and reigns over all, by the titles "Supreme" and "Knowing," probably indicates by the "Supreme" his *power*, by the "Knowing" his *good counsel* and *intelligence*. They frequently represent this god by the figure of a hawk, for that bird excels all in acuteness of sight and swiftness of flying; and by nature digests its food most rapidly of all. The bird is also said, when corpses are lying about unburied, to hover over them, and drop earth upon their eyes. And when in order to drink it descends upon the river, it sets its wings upright, and having drank bends them back again; by which it is evident that it protects itself, and escapes from the crocodile, for if it should be swallowed up, the wing remains as it stood fixed upright.<sup>2</sup> In many places also, they exhibit a statue of Osiris in the human shape, erecting the genitals, on account of his generative and nutritive character, whilst

<sup>1</sup> *ἀνῆται* in text, for *ἀνῆται*.

<sup>2</sup> In the crocodile's gullet, and so prevents his gulping down the bird.

the flame-colored robe investing his images, is [put] because they regard the Sun as the *body* of the Good Principle the *visible* form of the *Intelligible* Being. Hence we ought to pay no attention to such as assign to Typhon the sphere of the Sun — he that has nothing bright, nor salutary, neither order, nor power of generating, nor motion regulated by measure and reason; but all the opposite qualities belong to him. For drought which destroys many things, both of animals and vegetables, must not be put down as the effect of the Sun, but of the winds and waters in earth and air not being seasonably mingled together, when the Principle of disorderly and unregulated force has got loose and has extinguished the exhalations.

In the sacred hymns to Osiris they invoke "Him that is carried within the arms of the Sun," and on the 30th day of the month Emphi they celebrate "the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus," when the Sun and the Moon are come into one straight line, inasmuch as they consider not the Moon alone, but the Sun also as the *eye* and the light of Horus. And on the 8th day from the end of the month Phaophi they celebrate that of "The Sun's walking-stick," after the autumnal equinox, signifying that he requires as it were a support, and strengthening, as he grows weak both in heat and light, and moves away from us, bending down, and crooked. And again upon the eve of the winter solstice they carry the Cow seven times around the temple; and this circular procession is named the "Seeking for Osiris," as though the goddess were longing for the winter rays from the Sun; and they walk round so many times, because he completes his journey from the winter solstice to the summer solstice in the *seventh* month. And on the 4th day from the beginning of the month it is said that Horus, son of Isis, was the first that offered sacrifice, as it is written in what are entitled "The Birthdays of Horus," and in fact they on each day burn incense to the Sun of three different sorts, namely, resin at his rising, myrrh at noontide, that which is called "kyphi," at his setting, of which the signification that each bears I will explain further on; and by means of all these they believe they propitiate and worship the Sun. And what need is there to bring together many things to the same effect? There are some that assert point-blank that Osiris is the Sun, and is named Sirius by the Greeks (for amongst

the Egyptians the prefixing of the article has caused the name to be mistaken<sup>1</sup>), and make out Isis to be no other than the Moon; and one particular of her images, those figured with horns, are (say they) imitations of the crescent; whilst by those covered with black they interpret her wanings, and envelopment in darkness, during which she longs for, and follows after the Sun: for which reason they invoke the Moon for aid in *love affairs*; and Isis, says Eudoxus, presides over amours. These stories, indeed, have a certain share of plausibility, but as for those that make out Typhon to be the Sun, these are not even to be listened to. Let us, however, now resume our proper theme.

For Isis is the *Female Principle of Nature*, and that which is capable of receiving all generation, in virtue of which she is styled by Plato, "Nurse," and "All-receiving," but by the generality, "The one of numberless names"; because she is converted by the *Logos* (Reason) into, and receives, all appearances and forms. But she has, implanted in her nature, the love for the First and Supreme of all, the which is identical with the Good, and this she longs after and continually pursues: whereas the part that belongs to the Bad One she flees from and repels, though she is the *field* and *material* for them both; of herself always inclining towards the Better One, and permitting it to generate and discharge into herself emissions and likenesses, wherewith she rejoices and is glad to be impregnated, and to be filled with births—for birth is an image of existence in Matter, and that which is *born* is a copy of that which *is*.

From all this, they do not absurdly to fable that the soul of Osiris is eternal and incorruptible, but that his body Typhon did tear to pieces and put out of sight; and Isis wandered about, sought for it, and joined it together again; for that which is, the Intelligible and the Good, is above all change or corruption, but the Sensible and Corporeal models certain images after His likeness, and borrows certain rational principles, forms, and resemblances, which, like seal-impressions in wax, do not last forever, but the disorderly and turbulent Principle; driven down hither from above, seizes upon them—that Principle which

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks mistaking *Θεσις* for *ὁ Σελπιος*. "Egyptians" in text must be a slip of the scribe.

is at war with the Horus whom Isis bore, who is the Sensible image of the Intelligible World. For this reason he (Horus) is related to have had a charge of illegitimacy brought against him by Typhon, because he is not pure and without alloy like his father the Word (Reason), (who exists by himself free from admixture and from passion), but is bastardized by Matter, on account of his bodily part. Nevertheless he gains his cause through Hermes, that is the Word (Reason), bearing witness and proving how that Nature changing her from after the model of the Intelligible, produces the World. For the birth of Apollo that came to pass between Isis and Osiris, whilst the (twin) gods as yet lay within the womb of Rhea, darkly expresses that this world first became visible, and that Matter, being proved to be incomplete in itself, was *perfected* by the Word (Reason), and thus produced the first birth. On which account they tell that this god was *lame* and lying in *darkness*, and they name him the "Elder Horus"; for the world did not exist, but an image as it were, a spectre of the world that was to be.

Now this Horus is well-defined, and complete, he has not destroyed Typhon utterly, but stripped him of his activity and strength: for which reason they say the statue of Horus at Coptos grasps in his one hand the genitals of Typhon, and they fable that Hermes cut out the sinews of Typhon, and used them for lyre strings, thereby meaning that the Word brought the all into harmony, made it concordant out of discordant parts, and did not destroy its destructive principle, but merely ham-strung it. Hence, this principle is weak and inoperative here below, mingling itself and clinging close to such members as are subject to corruption and to change, it is the creator of earthquakes and tremors in the ground, of droughts in the air, and strange blasts; and, again, of whirlwinds and lightnings, and it infects waters and winds with pestilences, and rears up and tosses itself as far as the Moon, oftentimes checking and darkening her lustre, as the Egyptians believe. And they tell that Typhon at one time hit Horus; at another struck out his eye and swallowed it up, and then gave it back to the Sun; signifying by *blow* the monthly waning of the Moon, by *blinding*, her eclipse, which the Sun remedies, when he again reflects himself upon her, after she has passed through the shadow of the earth.

Now the better and more divine Nature is made up of *Three* — the Intelligible, Matter, and that formed out of these two, which the Greeks denominate *World*. Plato calls the Intelligible "Idea," "Model," "Father," and Matter he terms "Mother," "Nurse," the seat and receptacle of generation; and that which results from both he is accustomed to denominate "Issue," and "Birth," and we may conjecture that the Egyptians [reverence] the most beautiful kind of triangle,<sup>1</sup> because they liken it to the nature of the universe, and Plato seems to employ this figure in his "Republic," when drawing up his Marriage scheme. The triangle, too, has this property — *three* the right angle, and *four* the base, and *five* the hypotenuse, being of equal value with the lines containing it. We must therefore compare the line forming the right angle to the *male*, the base to the *female*, the hypotenuse to the *child* of the two; and the one to be Osiris, as the Final Cause; the other, Isis as the recipient; the third, Horus as the result; for as to the *Three*, the first, it is uneven and perfect; for the *Four*, a square with a perfect side, is the produce of the *Two*: as for the *Five*, it partly resembles the father, partly the mother, being made up of the three and the two; also the All derives its name from the Five (*πάντα, πέντε*) and to reckon is called "counting by fives," for the number Five produces when squared the same number as that of the letters of the Egyptian alphabet, and also the number of years that Apis lived. Horus they are accustomed to style "Kaimis," that is "He that is seen," for the world is an object of sense, and visible to the eye; and Isis is sometimes styled "Mouth," sometimes "Athyri" and "Methyer"; by the first of these names they signify "Mother," by the second "The worldly house of Horus" (in the same way as Plato has the "Seat" and "Receptacle of generation"); the third title is a compound form "full" and "cause," because Matter is *full* of the world; and is made up of that which is good, pure, and well arranged.

Hesiod too may be thought, when he makes the first elements of Creation to be Chaos, Earth, Tartarus, Love, to assume no other first Principles than those aforesaid. Let us therefore distribute his names and assign them thus:

<sup>1</sup> The right-angled.



to Isis that of *Earth*, to Osiris that of *Love*, to Typhon that of *Tartarus*, for his Chaos seems to imply a certain *place* or *basis* for the Universe; and the case, somehow or other, recalls that fable of Plato's which Socrates has related in the "Symposean" concerning the birth of Love, how that Poverty, being desirous of having children, laid herself down by the side of Wealth as he was asleep, and, conceiving by him, brought forth Love, who is small and of every shape, inasmuch as he is the offspring of a father that is good, wise, and competent for all things, but of a mother that cannot help herself, destitute, and through her need is always attaching herself to some one else and suing to some one else. For his "Wealth" is no other than the Primal Lover, Projector, Finisher, and All-sufficient; and by "Poverty" he means Matter, which is by itself in need of the Good One, is impregnated by him, is ever craving and ever receiving, whilst he that springs from the two (the *World*, or *Horus*), is neither eternal, nor free from passions, nor incorruptible, yet being ever re-born, contrives by means of the changes and revolutions of the passions to continue always young and never to be destroyed.

For we must make use of myths, not entirely as [real] histories, but taking out of them that which is to the purpose, and is in the form of a similitude. When, therefore, we speak of *Matter*, we must not borrow our notions from certain philosophers, and think of it as a body without soul, uncreative, idle, and inactive of itself, for we call oil the *material* of perfume, and gold of an ornament, though they are not devoid of every quality by themselves: and the soul itself and intellect of man we hand over to Reason to beautify and to regulate, as being the *material* of knowledge and virtue: and the mind some have made out to be the region of Ideas, and a thing modelled after the Intelligible world: and some are of opinion that the seed of generation is not a power nor final cause, but only the *material* and *instrument* of generation. These [theorists] we ought to follow, and conceive this goddess as having part in the Primal God, and ever joined with him out of love for the goodness and beauty that surround him, yet is never satiated; but like as we say that a man who is obedient to law and what is just, is *enamoured* of justice, and a virtuous woman that has a husband and lives with

him, always *desires* him, so we must conceive this goddess as always craving after the Good One, though she be ever in his presence, and is ever being filled with the most powerful and purest influences.

But where Typhon intrudes, laying hold of the extremities, in this case, where she appears to be of sad countenance, and is said to mourn and be seeking after certain scattered members of Osiris, and to robe the same, [she is] receiving into her lap and concealing the things that were destroyed, in the same way as she again brings to light the things that are born, and sends them forth out of herself. For the things that be in the heavens and the stars, the reasons, forms, and emissions of the God are unchangeable, whereas those disseminated through the things subject to passion, namely, in earth, sea, vegetables, animals, are interchangeable, perishable, and *buried*: and again afterwards come to light once more, and are made visible by their births: for which reason the fable tells that Nephthys was the wife of Typhon, but that Osiris lay with her by stealth; because the extreme parts of Matter (which parts they denominate "Nephthys" and "End") are chiefly possessed by the destructive Power, whereas the generative and life-giving Principle distributes amongst them but a weak and dull seed, and which is destroyed by Typhon, except what little Isis takes up and saves and nourishes, and unites together, for on the whole this world is *more good than bad*, as Plato suspected, as well as Aristotle.

For the generative and conservative Principle of Nature is set in motion against him (Typhon) for the purpose of *Being*, whilst the determinating and corrupting part is moved by him for the purpose of *not being*. Hence they name the former Isis, from its being "sent out" (*ἵεσθαι*), and travelling, with knowledge, as being a "motion endued with soul," and intelligence, since her Name is not a foreign word; for just as all gods have a common designation derived from "Visible" and "running" (*θεοὶ* from *θεαρός* and *θέειν*), so this goddess do we call Isis, and the Egyptians also Isis, from the word signifying "knowledge" and "Motion" at the same time. And thus Plato says that the ancients signified "Holy One" (*ἁγία*) by calling her "Isia," and similarly "Intelligence" and "Perception," as being a *current* and *movement* impulse of

the mind that longs for an object and is carried onwards; and that they placed understanding (*τὸ συνίεναι*) and, generally, goodness and virtue in the things that *flow* and that *run*; as on the other hand that thing is reviled by the opposite names, the which, according to its nature, is an impediment, binds down, holds back, and hinders from *rushing after* and *going*, for we denominate it "badness," "inability," "cowardice," "pain."

Now "Osiris" has got his name compounded out of the words *ἴσως* and *ἰερός*: for he is the common *Word* (Reason) of the things in heaven, and of those in hell, of which the former the ancients were wont to term *ἰερά*, the latter *δῶα*. And he that reveals the things of heaven, the *WORD* of those that move above, is named "Anubis," sometimes "Hermanubis,"<sup>1</sup> the former as belonging to those above, the latter as belonging to those below; for which reason people sacrifice to the one a *white* cock, to the other a *saffron-colored*<sup>2</sup> one; for they believe the former character of the god to be unmixed and public, the latter composite and multifarious. You must not be surprised at this derivation of names from the Greek, for there are an infinite number of other words that went into exile along with those that emigrated<sup>3</sup> from Greece, but remain in use and sojourn as foreigners amongst other nations; for adopting some of which certain people censure poetry as talking barbarously; those writers, [critics] I mean, who term things of the kind "dialects" (*γλώσσαι*). And in what are named "the Books of Hermes," they relate that it is written concerning the Sacred Names, that the Power appointed to preside over the circuit of the Sun, Horus, the Greeks call Apollo; and that which presides over the Wind some call Osiris, some Sarapis, others Sothi, in the Egyptian language. The last word signifies "pregnancy," and "to conceive"; hence, through a corruption of the word, the star is called the Dog<sup>4</sup> in Greek, which they consider an attribute of Isis. But we ought by no means to dispute about *names*, not but that we might have reclaimed from the Egyptians their name of

<sup>1</sup> The deity, so frequent on Gnostic talismans, bearing the caduceus of Hermes, and accompanied with the Cock.

<sup>2</sup> To typify infernal flames.

<sup>3</sup> Alluding to the old tradition about Danaus, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *κύων*, as if from *κύειν*: these derivations cannot be preserved in translation.

"Sarapis" rather than that of Osiris, the former being a foreign and the latter a Greek word; but we hold them both as belonging to one God and to one Power.

The Egyptian usage is cognate to the aforesaid, for they often designate Isis by the name of *Athene*, which expresses the same meaning, "I have proceeded out of myself," and is expressive of self-communicated motion. But Typhon, as above stated, is called *Seth*, *Bebon*, and *Syn* — these names being meant to declare a certain forcible and impeding check, opposition, and turning upside down. Besides, they call a loadstone "Bone of Osiris," but iron "of Typhon" (as Manetho relates), for just as the iron is often, like something alive, attracted to and following after the loadstone, but often turns away and is repelled from it in the opposite direction, in like manner the salutary good and rational motion of the world often attracts by persuasion, draws to itself, and renders more gentle that harsh and Typhonian force; and again, when it has been driven back into itself, it upsets the latter, and plunges it once more into helplessness. Besides, with respect to Jupiter, Eudoxus relates that the Egyptians have a legend that in consequence of his legs having grown into one, he was unable to walk, and out of shame remained in solitude, but that Isis, having cut asunder and separated these parts of his body, rendered his walking powers sound footed. Through these things also does Fable hint, that the Mind and Word of God, which had walked in the Invisible and the Hidden, came out into Knowledge by means of Motion.

The *Sistrum* too shows that the things that *are* must be *shaken*, and never *cease from motion*, but be as it were aroused and stirred up when they slumber and are slothful for they pretend they drive off and repulse<sup>1</sup> Typhon with the sistra, showing that when Corruption has tied fast and brought it to a standstill, Generation again unlooses and restores Nature by means of Motion. And as the sistrum is circular in the upper part, the arch contains the four things that are shaken, because the part of the universe that is born and perishes, is surrounded by the lunar sphere, but all things are set in motion and changed within it by means of the four elements, Fire, Earth, Water, Air.

<sup>1</sup> Hence the idea of driving away the Devil by the sound of bells.

And on the arch of the sistrum, at the top, they figure a *Cat* having a human face [sphinx], and on the lower part, below the things that are shaken, sometimes a head of Isis, sometimes of Nephthys, symbolizing by these heads *Generation* and *End* (for these are the Changes and Motions of the elements), and by the Cat, the Moon, on account of the pied color,<sup>1</sup> nocturnal habits, and fecundity of the animal, for it is said to bring forth one, and then two, then three, then four, up to five at a birth, and always adds by one up to seven [to her litter], so that in all it produces eight-and-twenty young, the which are equal in number to the illuminations of the Moon. This, however, may be somewhat fabulous, but the pupils in its eyes appear to grow full and dilate themselves at the full of the Moon, but become thin and dull during the wane of that luminary; and by the human head of the Cat they express the *intelligence* and *rationality* of the changes connected with the Moon.

And to speak comprehensively, neither Water, nor Sun, nor Earth, nor Rain, is it correct to regard as Osiris or Isis; nor on the other hand, Drought, or Sea, or Fire, as Typhon; but simply whatever in these elements is either excessive or disordered in its changes, or deficiencies, to assign this to Typhon: whilst all that is well-ordered, good, and beneficial, we must regard as the *work* indeed of Isis, but as the *image, imitation, and Reason* of Osiris. If so we worship and honor them, we shall not go wrong. Nay more, we shall make Eudoxus cease from disbelieving, and being perplexed, wherefore the superintendence of love-affairs is not given to Ceres, but to Isis; and why Bacchus is not empowered to *raise* the Nile or to rule over the Shades; — for by one common rule we hold that these two deities are ordained to preside over the whole empire of the Good; and that all whatever exists in Nature beautiful and good, exists through their means; the one supplying the final causes, the other receiving them, and continuing permanent.

In this way we shall also meet those common and trivial stories of people whether to identify the legends concerning these deities with the seasonable changes of the atmosphere, or with the growth, sowings, and ploughings of the grain;

<sup>1</sup> Showing the original color of the Cat to be tabby.

and who say that Osiris is then buried when the sown grain is hidden in the ground, and that he comes to life and shows himself again when there is a beginning of sprouting; wherefore Isis perceiving that she is pregnant, ties an *amulet round her neck* on the 6th of the first quarter of the month Phaophi, and that Harpocrates is born about the winter solstice, unfinished and infant-like in the plants that flower early and spring up early, for which reason they offer to him first fruits of growing lentiles, and they celebrate her being brought to bed after the vernal equinox. For when they hear all this, people are satisfied and believe it; drawing as they do conviction from home, from things at hand, and with which they are familiar.

And it is no great harm if in the first place they make the gods our common property, and not the exclusive possession of the Egyptians; instead of by confining these names to the Nile alone, and the region the Nile waters, or by talking of marshes, lotus-flowers, and god-making, thereby deprive the rest of mankind of deities of the highest order nothing to do with either — who have neither Nile, Butos, or Memphis. But Isis, and the gods connected with her, all men have and know — some of them indeed they have, not long ago, learnt to call by names brought from Egypt; but of each one they knew and revered the power from time immemorial. And secondly, and what is more important — let them take good heed, and fear lest they unwittingly degrade and resolve divine beings into winds and currents and sowings and ploughings, and affections of the earth, and changes of seasons; like as those who say that Bacchus is wine, Vulcan flame; and, as Cleanthes somewhere or other says, that Proserpine means the air that pervades the crops, and is slaughtered; and as a poet has it: —

What time the youths cut Ceres, limb from limb.

For these persons differ in no respect from such as should consider sails, cables, and anchor as a pilot, or yarn and thread as a weaver; or a jug and basin as a potter, or else honeyed potions and gruel as a physician.

But those theorists engender horrible and impious notions, who apply the names of deities to natural productions and to things that be without sense, without

life, and necessarily consumed by men in want of and making use of them. For these things themselves it is impossible to conceive as gods (for we cannot conceive God as an inanimate thing, subject to man), but from these productions we have drawn the inference that they who created them, and bestow, and dispense them to us constantly and sufficiently, are gods — not different gods amongst different people, nor Barbarian or Grecian, of the South or of the North — but like as the Sun, Moon, Sky, Earth, Sea, are the common property of all men, but yet are called by different names by different nations; in the same manner, as one reason regulates all things, and one Providence directs, and subordinate Powers are appointed over all things, yet different honors and titles are by custom assigned to them amongst different peoples: and these have established, and do employ, *symbols*, some obscure, some more intelligible, in order to lead the understanding into things divine. And this not without danger: for some having entirely missed their meaning, have slid into *superstition*; whilst others shunning every superstition like a quagmire, have unknowingly fallen into *Atheism*<sup>1</sup> as down a precipice.

For which cause it is especially fitting in this case that we borrow from Philosophy *Reason* for our guide, and so consider each particular of the things told and done: in order that we may not, as Theodorus expresses it, “when he offers words with his right hand some of his hearers take them with their left”; in the same way we should go wrong by taking in a different sense what the laws have ordained well concerning sacrifices and festivals. For that we ought to construe all things according to their sense, we may learn from these people themselves of whom we are treating: for on the nineteenth day of the first month they hold a festival to Hermes, and eat honey and figs, repeating “A sweet thing is the Truth”; and again the charm which Isis hangs about her neck is interpreted as “A TRUE VOICE”:<sup>2</sup> and Harpocrates we must not regard as an incomplete and infant god, or some

<sup>1</sup> Another allusion to the spread of Christianity, the preachers of which drew their strongest arguments from the, apparently, absurd symbolism of the old religions.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of the Coptic inscription upon the amulet, perhaps the famous “Abracadabra.”

sort of pulse, but as presiding over and correcting men's notions of the deities, when as yet new, incomplete, and inarticulate; for which reason he has his finger laid upon his mouth in token of reticence and silence. And in the month Messori, they serve up pulse, repeating "The Tongue is Fortune, the Tongue is a deity," and of all the plants growing in Egypt they say the Persea is the most sacred to the gods, because its fruit resembles a *heart*, and its leaf a *tongue*. For of all that man possesses by nature nothing is more divine than speech, especially that which concerns the gods; nor has anything greater weight towards his happiness: wherefore I enjoin<sup>1</sup> upon him that goes down here<sup>2</sup> to consult the oracle "to think religiously, to speak auspiciously": but most people act ridiculously, when in the processions and festivals they bid us speak auspiciously, whilst they both speak and think most blasphemously about the gods themselves.

In what manner therefore must we conduct those melancholy, laughterless, and mournful sacrifices, if it is neither right to omit what is established by custom, nor yet to adulterate our notions about the gods, and disorder them with absurd fancies? For amongst the Greeks also many things are done (and at the same time of year too) resembling the Egyptian ceremonies: for at Athens the women fast at the Thesmophoria, seated on the ground; and the Bœotians "move the house of Achæa," naming the festival "Epachthe"; as though Ceres were in mourning on account of the descent of her daughter into the shades. Moreover, this month coincides with the rising of the Pleiads, which the Egyptians call Athor, the Athenians Pyanepsion, and the Bœotians Damatrios; the Western nations<sup>3</sup> also, as Theopompus relates, consider and call the winter Saturn, the summer Venus, and the spring Proserpine; and believe that all things come out of Saturn<sup>4</sup> and Venus. But the Phrygians believing that God sleeps by winter, but wakes up in spring, at the one

<sup>1</sup> Some words are lost here; the sense requires, I enjoin on you in these matters, as the priests do him, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Delphi, where many of these small treatises were written, as appear from incidental remarks.

<sup>3</sup> The Celts; the regular expression for them in the early Greek writers.

<sup>4</sup> This seems connected with the belief of the Gauls that they sprung from *Dis Pater*, as Cæsar mentions.



time hold with revelry the feasts of his "Going to bed," at the other those of his "Getting up": whilst the Paphlagonians say He is bound down and imprisoned by winter, but loosened, and set in motion by spring.

The time of year too suggests a suspicion that the mourning takes place upon the burial of the corn; which corn, indeed, those of old time did not regard as *gods*, but as *gifts* of the gods, both great and indispensable to the not living savagely and like the beasts: and at what season they saw the fruits of the trees vanishing entirely, and failing them, whilst those they themselves had sown as yet sparingly and clumsily, scraping away the soil with their hands, and covering them over again, so depositing them with the uncertainty of their reappearing and arriving at maturity — they used to do many things like to those that *bury* and that *mourn*: — and then, just as we say that one that buys the *works* of Plato, buys *Plato*; and he acts *Menander* that represents Menander's *plays*, so did they not scruple to call by the names of the gods the gifts and creations of the gods; doing them honor and reverence by use: whilst those who came after, receiving these names without understanding, and ignorantly transferring to the gods the vicissitudes of the seed corn, and not merely calling, but believing the appearances and concealments of the necessaries of life, "births" and "destructions" of gods, filled their heads with absurd, wicked and confused ideas.

And yet people, having in view the absurdity of the contradiction, like Xenophanes of Colophon, and those following him, who said "that the Egyptians, if they believe in gods, do not *mourn* for them, and if they mourn for them do not *believe* in them"; but that it was ridiculous to lament and in the same breath to pray for the seed corn to show itself again, and ripen itself, in order that it may be again consumed and mourned for. But such is not really the case; for they mourn for the seed corn, but pray to the gods, the givers and authors of the same, to make more anew and cause it to spring up in the place of that which has perished. Whence there is a very good maxim amongst philosophers, "that they who learn not how rightly to understand *names* make a bad use of *things*"; just as those Greeks that have not learnt or accustomed themselves to call the brazen, painted, and

marble images, not *ornaments* and *honors* of gods, but *actual gods*, in the next place do not scruple to say that Lachares stripped Minerva bare; that Dionysius cropped an Apollo that wore curls of gold; that the Capitoline Jupiter was burnt and perished in the Civil Wars. Let them learn therefore that they are led astray, and imbibe false notions, modelled upon the *names*. This is especially the case of the Egyptians with respect to the animals to which honors are paid; whereas the Greeks in this particular, at all events, both speak and believe correctly, saying that the dove is the sacred animal of Venus, the dragon<sup>1</sup> of Minerva, the raven of Apollo, the dog of Diana (as Euripides hath it —

Thou wilt be a dog, torch-bearing Dian's pet).

But the most part of the Egyptians, by worshipping the sacred animals, and treating them as gods, have not only covered their rites with ridicule and mockery; although this is the least evil resulting from their simplicity; for a horrible belief grows up that gives over the weak-minded and innocent to superstition pure and unmitigated, whilst the acuter and bolder sort it leads into atheistical and bestial incredulity: hence it is not out of place to discuss the subject in the way that seems most appropriate to treat it.

The notion that the gods changed themselves into these animals out of fear of Typhon, as it were hiding themselves in the bodies of ibises, dogs, and hawks, exceeds in absurdity every kind of jugglery and fabulous tale. Also the notion that the *new births* of the souls of the deceased, so many as continue to exist, is merely the being born again under these shapes, is equally incredible. And of such an attempt to assign some political cause for these legends, some pretend that Osiris upon his great expedition divided his forces into several parts ("companies" and "ranks" the Greeks call them), and gave them badges of the figures of animals, each of which became sacred and venerated by the family of those banded under it. Others, that the succeeding kings, for the sake of striking terror unto their adversaries, used to make

<sup>1</sup> Crested serpent, much resembling the Hindoo *cobra*.

their appearance in the battles wearing the heads of wild beasts made of gold and silver: but one of these clever and ingenious monarchs, they tell, observing that the Egyptians were naturally fickle and disposed to change and innovation, because they were easily cajoled, whilst from their numbers they possessed irresistible and ungovernable strength in unanimity and joint action — on that account taught them an everlasting superstition in the sowing of the ground, as a pretext for unceasing dissension among themselves. For, inasmuch as the beasts, different kinds of which he ordered different tribes to honor and worship, behave with ill-will and hostility towards each other, and are respectively inclined by nature to live upon different sorts of food, each party, in defending their own animals and being indignant when they suffered harm, should unwittingly be involved and compromised in quarrels against each other through the enmities between the different beasts. For even at the present day the people of Lycopolis are the only Egyptians that eat the sheep, because the Wolf, whom they worship, does the same; and the Oxyrynchites on one day, when the people of Cynopolis (Dog-Town) were eating the fish called Oxyrynchus, collected dogs and sacrificed and ate them as victims; and from this occasion setting to war, they handled each other roughly, and afterwards being punished for it by the Romans, were equally ill-treated.

And as many pretend that the soul of Typhon himself is divided amongst these animals, the fable may be thought to express enigmatically that every irrational and bestial nature belongs to the share of the Evil Spirit: and that people in order to propitiate and soothe Him, treat these animals well, and do them worship: and if a long and severe drought should come on, inducing to an extraordinary degree either pestilential diseases, or other strange and inexplicable calamities, then some of these honored animals do the priests lead out in darkness, quietly and in silence, and at first they threaten and scare away the creature; but if it remains fixed,<sup>1</sup> then they consecrate and sacrifice it, as though this were some kind of punishment for its deity, or else a great mean of purification in the greatest emergencies. For in the city Idisthyas they

<sup>1</sup> The ceremony of the scape-goat.

used to burn men alive, as Manetho relates, calling them "Typhonians," and by tossing their ashes in a winnowing-fan made away with and scattered the same. This, however, was done publicly, every year, in the Dog-days, whereas the sacrificings of the worshipped animals are *secret*, taking place at irregular times according to the emergency, and are unknown to the commonalty, except at what time the animals receive burial, when the priests produce some of the other animals, and in the presence of all throw them along with the rest into the grave; thinking to retaliate upon Typhon's conduct and to prevent what he delights in. For the apis, along with a few others, is reputed sacred to Osiris, and if this explanation be true, I am of opinion it indicates what we are in search of in the case of the animals that are acknowledged and have joint honors with him, for instance, the ibis, the hawk, the baboon, and the apis himself; for so do they call the goat, that is, at Mendes.

There remains the *utilitarian* and *symbolical* part of the question, where some of these figures partake of one quality, some of the other, many of both combined. The ox, the sheep, the ichneumon, it is evident they venerated on account of their usefulness to man, just as the Lemnians do the larks that seek out and break the eggs of the locusts; and the Thessalians the storks, because when their land bred many snakes the birds made their appearance, and destroyed them all; wherefore they made a law that whosoever killed a stork should be banished the country. The asp, weasel, beetle, — because they discerned in them certain faint reflections of the power of the gods, like that of the sun in raindrops. And of the weasel many hold and say that as it is impregnated through the ear, and brings forth its young through the mouth, it is a similitude of the generation of Reason; whilst the beetle has no female, all being males, and discharge their semen into the material they have rolled into balls, which they roll along, pushing it with their feet as they walk in the opposite direction, in the same manner as the sun seems to surround the heavens backwards, whilst he himself is travelling from west to east. The asp as being immortal and capable of motion without limbs, with equal facility and suppleness, they likened to a star.

Not even the crocodile receives honors that are devoid

of any plausible reason, for it is said to have been made an emblem of the Deity, as being the sole animal destitute of a tongue. For the Divine Reason stands not in need of voice, but walking along a silent path and rule, guides mortal affairs according to justice; and the crocodile alone, of things living in liquid, veils its eyes with a thin transparent membrane which it draws down from the upper lid, so as to see without being seen, which is the attribute of the Supreme Deity; and wherever in the ground the female may have laid her eggs, that place they know is beyond reach of the rising of the Nile, because she cannot lay eggs in the wet, and yet is afraid to lay them at a distance from the water; so exactly do they foresee the future that they make use of the advancing river as they are bringing forth and hatching, and yet keep the eggs dry and free from damp, for they lay sixty and hatch them in as many days, and so many years live those that live longest, the which number is the first measure to the phenomena in the heavens. Again, as regards the animals worshipped — concerning the dog we have already spoken, but the ibis, besides destroying the venomous reptiles, first taught men the use of medicinal purging, when they observed the bird using clysters and getting cleared out by herself. Those of the priests that be most observant of rules, when they sanctify themselves use for the water of purification that out of which an ibis has drunk, because it neither drinks unwholesome or poisoned water, and does not even go near it, whilst by the relative position of its legs to each other (and the beak), it forms an equilateral triangle; besides, the variation and mixture of the black feathers with the white resembles the figure of the half moon.

We ought not to wonder at the Egyptians being so pleased with these imperfect resemblances; the Greeks too, in their painted and in their sculptured images of the gods, have employed many things of the same kind; for example, in Crete there was a statue of Jupiter, which had no ears, because it behooves the Ruler and Lord of gods to hearken unto no one; at the side of his Minerva, Phidias has placed the serpent; at the side of the Venus at Elis, the tortoise, implying that virgins stand in need of watching after, but home-keeping and silence are suitable to married women; and Neptune's trident is an emblem of

the third place which the sea occupies, assigned to it after sky and air, on which account *Amphitrite* and the *Tritons* have been so named [as derived from *τρίτος*]. The Pythagoreans have even adorned numbers and geometrical figures with the appellations of the gods; for the equilateral triangle they have named *Minerva*, "born out of the head," and "*Tritogeneia*," because it is described by three lines drawn from the angles: Unity they call *Apollo*; and by a plausible pretext, when the unit is doubled, the Two they name *strife* and *audacity*: but the Three they call *justice*, for it seems that wronging and being wronged exists by means of deficiency and excess, but what is just stands in the middle by reason of *equality*: and what is called the Four (the six and thirty) was their mightiest oath, as has been commonly reported; and the *world*<sup>1</sup> has been so denominated because it was completed by the four first elements, and the four superfluous qualities being joined together into One. If, therefore, the most illustrious philosophers when they discerned an emblem of the Divinity even in lifeless and incorporeal things did not think right to neglect or slight any of them, still less, I fancy, did they do so,<sup>2</sup> when they discerned moral qualities in natural objects endowed with sense, possessing life, passions, and tempers.

We must therefore put up with, not indeed their paying honors to these creatures, but their discerning through their medium (as in clearer mirrors) the work of Nature; and conceiving rightly that which is Divine as being the *instrument* and *act* of the God who ordereth all things. And it is right that nothing without a soul be held superior to that with a soul, or that which is without sense to what possesses sense, not even though one should bring together all the gold and emeralds that are in the world (for Divinity does not reside in uses, forms, and polish), but those things hold a place lower in estimation than the dead, whatever neither have participated, nor by their nature can participate in life; whereas that Nature which lives and sees, and has the final cause of motive from within itself, as also the knowledge both of what is its own and that of others, and besides, hath derived an influence and a portion from the Wisdom by which the

<sup>1</sup> Allusive to the primary sense of *κοσμός*, *order*, *arrangement*.

<sup>2</sup> The early Egyptians.

universe (according to Heraclitus) is governed. For which reason, the Deity is not worse shadowed forth in these things, than in artistic works in bronze, which, while equally susceptible of decay and defilement, are by their nature devoid of perception and understanding. As regards the worshipped animals, therefore, this explanation I approve of the most of all those offered.

Now to treat of the vestments of Isis, differing in their colors (for her power relates to Matter, as it turns itself into and embraces all things — light, darkness, day, night, life, death, beginning, end), whereas that of Osiris has no shadow nor variation but one, simple, the image of light; for pure is the Final Cause, and free from mixture the Primal and Intelligible. Wherefore, when they have once for all taken off that (vestment) they put it away, and preserve it out of sight and untouched. Whereas those of Isis they use on many occasions, because the objects of sense, being obvious and in constant use, present many *unfoldings* and exhibitions of themselves, as they succeed one after the other, whereas the conception of the Intelligible, the Unmixed, and the Holy, shines through at once, like a flash of lightning, touches the soul, and allows itself to be seen. For which reason Plato and Aristotle termed this part of philosophy “Speculative,” because they passed over in reasoning these apparent, heterogeneous, and multiform ideas, and soar up towards the Primal, the Simple, and the Everlasting, and when they touch in any way the clear truth concerning these matters they think that philosophy is complete, and has gained its end.

And what the present priests of these days darkly reveal, making scruples about it, and disguising it with caution, namely, that this Deity presides over and is king of the dead (being no other than the Hades and Pluto amongst the Greeks) — since it is not known in what sense the doctrine is true, disturbs the minds of the vulgar, when they have the idea that the sacred and truly holy Osiris dwells *in* the earth, and *under* the earth, where are hidden the corpses of such as seem to have come to an end. But He Himself dwells at the greatest distance from the earth, being unmixed, undefiled, and pure from all nature admitting of corruption and of death; but the souls of men here below, enveloped in bodies and passions,

have no participation in the Deity, except as far as lies in grasping Him by conception, like an indistinct dream, by means of philosophy; but where they are set free and migrate to the Formless, Invisible, Impassive, and Good, then this God becomes leader and king over them, whilst they hang, as it were, upon him, and contemplate without ever being satiated, and long for that Beauty which can neither be spoken nor described — for which the old legend makes Isis desire, seek after, and dwell with, and fills things here below, whatever partake of birth, with all things beautiful and good. Such notions as these, then, have a sense best befitting the idea of the Deity.

And if I must speak of the kinds of Incense offered or their respective days (as I promised), let the reader before all things bear in mind that men have always felt the greatest anxiety about practices connected with health, especially as to religious ceremonies, purifications, and ways of living; this being done no less on account of religion than of health, because they did not consider it fitting to worship with festering or sickly bodies or souls, that which is pure, entirely exempt from decay, and free from pollution. And inasmuch as the air of which we make the most use and have most to do with, does not always keep the same constitution, but at night is condensed and weighs down the body, and disposes the soul to gloom and thoughtfulness, becoming, as it were, misty and heavy, therefore as soon as they get up they burn for incense *Resin*, thereby rectifying and purifying the air by its virtue, and blowing away the corrupted exhalation naturally given forth by the body, because this perfume possesses a strong and penetrating quality; and again at midday, perceiving that the sun draws strongly out of the earth a heavy exhalation, and mixes it with the air, they burn *Myrrh*, because its hot nature dissolves and disperses the turbid and muddy element in the surrounding air; in fact, physicians think they counteract pestilential diseases by making a great blaze, on the supposition that it subtilizes the air. It subtilizes it better, if they burn woods of a dry nature, such as of cypress, juniper, and pine. Acon, therefore, the physician at Athens during the Great Plague, is said to have gained credit by ordering fires to be burnt by the side of the sick, for he benefited them not a little thereby. And Aristotle asserts that the



sweet smelling exhalations of perfumes, flowers, and meadows, conduce no less to health than to enjoyment, because by their warmth and subtileness, they spread themselves through the brain, which is by nature cold and in a state of congelation, and if amongst the Egyptians they call myrrh "Bal," and this word interpreted signifies pretty nearly "sweeping out of evacuations," the name furnishes some evidence to my explanation of the reason for which it is used.

The  $\kappa\phi\iota$  is composed of sixteen ingredients: honey, wine, raisins, sweet-rush, resin, myrrh, frankincense, *seselis*, and besides, of calamus, asphalt, *thryon*, dock, and besides these of both *arceuthids* (one of which is called the greater, the other the less), and cardamums, and orris-root. These are compounded not at random, but sacred books are read aloud to the perfume-makers, whilst they are mixing the ingredients. And as for their number, if it certainly looks like a square made out of a square, and alone containing the equal number an equal number of times, and to bring its external measurement exactly equal to the area, this accidental circumstance must by no means be said to contribute nothing to this effect: but the majority of the ingredients possessing aromatical properties, send out a sweet breath and salubrious exhalation, whereby, when the air is changed and the body excited in the proper manner, they are <sup>1</sup> themselves lulled to sleep, and have a seductive tendency; whilst the troublesomeness and tension of our daily anxieties they loosen and untie, like so many knots; and the imaginative and prophetic part of dreams, they brighten up and render more clear, like as it were a mirror, to no less degree than do the tunes on the lyre which the Pythagoreans used to play before going to sleep; thus charming down and doctoring the irrational and passionate portion of the soul. For things smelt at often call back the failing sense, often on the other hand blunt and stupefy the same; their evaporations diffusing themselves through the body by reason of their subtilty in the same way as some physicians say that sleep is produced when the exhalations from the food taken, creeping gently, and as it were feeling their way around the inward parts, cause a kind of tickling. The  $\kappa\phi\iota$  they use both as a drink and as a

<sup>1</sup> Rather, "they of themselves lull people to sleep."

composition [pastile]; for taken in drink, it is thought to purge the intestines, having the property of loosening the bowels.

And apart from these considerations, *resin* is the work of the Sun; whilst the shrubs drop their tears of myrrh under the influence of the Moon: whereas the *κνφὶ* is compounded of those things that delight most in night, inasmuch as they are made by Nature to be nourished by cold airs, shade, dews, and moisture: because the light of day is one and unmixed (for Pindar says, "the Sun rushes through empty æther"), whereas the night air is a compound and medley of many lights and properties; as it were, of seeds showered down from every star into one place. With good cause then do the first-named perfumes, as being simple and deriving their origin from the Sun, exhibit their virtues by day, whereas the last-mentioned do so when night begins to set in.

draw from the oracular fount: as for the rest, either silence or utter desolation has taken possession of them, and yet, at the time of the Persian War, that of Amphiaraus was in no less repute than the one at Lebadeia, and [Mardonius], as was natural, consulted both. And the prophet of the oracle there uttered in the Æolic language a response to the envoys of the foreigners, so that none of the holy men present understood what he was saying: because barbarians have no partnership in inspiration — neither is it granted unto them to receive a language that subserves what is ordained.<sup>1</sup> And the slave who was sent to the temple of Amphiaraus dreamed in the usual sleep,<sup>2</sup> that a minister of the god appeared, and at first drove him away by word of mouth alone, on the score that the deity was not at home, but afterwards pushed him out with his hands, but when he persisted in staying, the minister took up a good-sized stone, and knocked him on the head; and these things were, as it were the counterparts of what came to pass, for Mardonius was beaten not by a *king*, but by the guardian and ministers of a king, who was general of the Greeks, and was hit by a stone, and fell, in the same way as the Lydian fancied he was struck in his sleep. At that time, too, the oracle at Tagyræ was in a flourishing condition, at which place the legend goes that the god (Apollo) was born; and of two brooks that flow past, the one is called the Palm, the other the Olive-tree to this day: and in the Persian War, Echebrates being prophet there, the god predicted victory and successive war to the Greeks. And it is said that during the Peloponnesian War an oracle from Delphi was brought to the Delians, who had been expelled from their native island, bidding them look out for the place where Apollo was born, and to perform certain sacrifices there. And when they had offered these sacrifices, and were disputing whether the god was born not amongst themselves, but in some other place, the Pythia gave an additional response that a *crow* would tell them the spot. They went off therefore and arrived at Chæronea, where they heard their landlady talking with some guests that were going to Tagyræ,

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* declares the will of Fate.

<sup>2</sup> The answers were communicated in dreams to the inquirers sleeping inside the Temple.

about the oracles; and when the guests, as they were departing, saluted and addressed their hostess by the name she was called, namely *Coronè*, the Delians understood the meaning of the response, offered sacrifice, and obtained permission to return home after no long time. There have also been manifestations of the divine will at these same oracles more recent than the above-named events, but now they are completely come to an end, so that it were worth one's while to inquire at the Pythian oracle respecting the cause of the change."

And now, walking forward from the Temple, we arrived at the doors of the Hall of the Cnidians; and having passed within, we perceived the friends to whom we were going, sitting down and waiting for us. There was silence on the part of the others, on account of the hour, for they were either engaged in anointing themselves, or else in looking at the wrestlers: then Demetrius said with a smile: "Shall I be wrong, or shall I speak truth? You appear to me to be attending to a spectacle not worth your trouble, for I see you seated very listlessly, and with an idle air upon your countenances." Then Heraclitus of Megara, taking him up, replied: "Yes, for we are not seeking after the solution of the problem why the verb should lose one of its two lambdas in the future tense, or from what word in the positive the comparative *χείρον* and *βελτιον*, or the superlatives *χείριστον* and *βέλτιστον* are derived; for these and such like questions, perhaps, do contract and consolidate the face. Other subjects you will find people inquiring into and discussing, with their eyebrows in their proper places, and looking untroubled, and not terrific, and not quarrelling with all present." "Admit us, therefore," replied Demetrius, and "in company with us follow up the question which has just occurred to us, as being one proper for the place, and, on account of the god, a matter of interest to all, and consider in what way you shall not have to contract your brows in discussing the same."

As soon therefore as we had joined company and sat down amongst them, and he had laid the question before us, then Didymus the Cynic, by surname Plane-tiades, jumped up, and striking on the ground two or three times with his staff,<sup>1</sup> cried out, "Ho, ho! A diffi-

<sup>1</sup> The regular badge of his sect.

cult problem, truly, one demanding much investigation, is what you are come to bring us: for it were a wonder, when so much wickedness is spread abroad, if not merely Modesty and Shame (as Hesiod said of old) should have abandoned mankind, but if the divine Providence should not have packed up its oracles out of every quarter, and taken its departure! On the contrary, I propose to you to inquire how it was that oracles did not come to an end long ago, and why Hercules did not for a second time (or else some other of the gods), steal away the Tripod, all bewrayed as it was with filthy and impious questions that people propound to the deity; while some make trial of his cleverness, as though he were a Sophist, and others tease him with questions about treasure-troves, successions to property, and illegal marriages: so that Pythagoras is most signally confuted in saying that men are then at their best when they are going to worship the gods: in such a way, those very thoughts and passions of the soul, which it were but decent to disclaim and to hide, if one's elder should be present, these same thoughts do they carry naked and fully exposed, into the presence of the gods." And while he was still intending to speak, Heracleon caught hold of his cloak; I too, being about the most intimate with him of all the company, said: "Stop, my dear Planetiades, from provoking the god, for he is irritable and not good-tempered, for 'he has been blamed for having been angry with mortals,' as old Pindar hath it; and whether he is the Sun, or the lord and father of the Sun, and placed at the farthest side of the visible creation — it is not likely he deems unworthy of his voice men as they now are; to whom he is the source of life, of nutrition, of being, and of thought, nor at the same time that Providence, who like a benevolent and kind mother makes and keeps aright everything for our benefit, should be revengeful in the matter of oracles alone, and take the benefit away from us, after having given it at first — just as though the greatest part of mankind were not evil in more respects than now at the very time when the oracles were established in many places. Come hither, pray, sit down again, and after making a 'Pythian truce' with Vice, which you are wont ever to chastise with your speech, assist us in seeking for some other cause of the aforesaid cessation of oracles; but keep the

god in good humor, and exempt from blame.”<sup>1</sup> By saying this I effected thus much — that Planetiades walked out through the folding-doors without saying a word.

There was a silence for a short time, when Ammonius addressing himself to me said, “Take heed, Lam-prias, to what we are doing, and look carefully to the argument, as to how we drop the god out of the case. For he that supposes the extinct oracles to have *failed* from some other reason otherwise than the will of the gods incurs the suspicion of believing that they did not *arise*, nor had their being through the agency of the gods, but through some third means, since there is no greater and stronger power to take away and extinguish prophecy, it being an operation of the deity. The argument of Planetiades does not satisfy me for many reasons, especially for the inconsistency which he imputes to the god in his, at some places, turning his back upon Vice, and denying it admission to his presence, whilst in other places he admits her, just as though some king or tyrant should shut out the wicked at one door, but admit them at the other and do business with them. But as for the cause — the greatest, satisfactory, nowhere extravagant, everywhere sufficient, reason, and above all others suitable to the character of the gods, is if one should assume *this* for the final cause, and say that in the general depopulation which the former factions and wars have brought about over nearly all the world, *Greece* has had the largest share, so that she, taken altogether, can hardly raise three thousand fighting men, the same number that the single town of Megara sent to Plateæ, and that the fact, therefore, that many oracles of the gods are become extinct is nothing else than a proof of the desolation of Greece. I would grant him the credit of exactly hitting the mark. For what use would be an oracle in Tegyra, as there formerly was, or at Ptoum, where now it would take you a good part of a day to meet a man keeping of sheep! For certainly the latter place, though the most ancient in point of time, and the most celebrated by fame, according to report has now been long deserted and unapproachable in consequence of a terrible animal, a dragon that haunts

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps “refraining from abusive language.”

it, which they improperly assume as the *cause*, though it is the converse, for it is the *desertion* that brought the creature thither, and not the creature has caused the desertion of the place. For at what time, as it so pleased God, Greece was strong in cities, and the place<sup>1</sup> was thronged with people, they used to employ two prophetesses, sitting in turn, whilst a third was appointed as assistant to them. At present, there is a single prophetess, and we do not grumble, for she is amply sufficient for those that want her services. We ought not therefore to make the god in fault, for the oracular power<sup>2</sup> that still exists and survives is sufficient for all requirements, and sends away every one satisfied in what they demand. Just as Agamemnon employed nine criers and yet hardly kept the assembly in order, by reason of its greatness, whereas you will see here in a few days' time a single voice, in the theatre, making itself audible to all; in the same way, in those times, did the oracular power use more voices to speak to more people. But, on the contrary, one would be surprised at the god's suffering prophecy to run to waste, like so much water, or else to echo to the voices of shepherds and their flocks in the loneliness, after the manner of the rocks."

When Ammonius had said this, and I remained silent, Cleombrotus addressing me, observed: "You have already conceded the point, that the god did both *establish* and *abolish* these oracles here." "Not so," I replied, "I assert that no oracle or place of prophecy is abolished through the fault of the god, but as with many other things that she makes and provides for us, Nature produces a wasting away and a deprivation, or to put it better, Matter being itself a *deprivation*, reverts to itself, and dissolves what was made by the Better Cause; and thus obscurations and extinctions of oracular powers are brought about, inasmuch as God giveth many good things to men, but not one that is everlasting, so that 'the things of the gods do die, but not God,' as Sophocles hath it. Their *essence* and their *operation*, such as be knowing

<sup>1</sup> Should read "*this* place," Delphi, the scene of the dialogue.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the intoxicating exhalation from the Delphic Cave was as powerful as formerly — an important notice, as refuting the story that it had been blocked up and destroyed by order of Nero, when Apollo rebuked him for his matricide.

in Nature and in Matter ought to investigate, their *final cause* being, as is right, reserved for God. For it is silly, and very childish to suppose that the god, like the ventriloquist spirits formerly called 'Eurycles' now 'Pythons,' enters into the bodies of the prophets and makes proclamation, employing their mouths and voices in the way of instruments; for in mixing Himself up with human means, He does not respect His own majesty, neither does He maintain His dignity, nor the superiority of His being."

Then Cleombrotus: "You say right; but since the assuming and defining *how* and *how for* we must employ the idea of a providence, is a difficult thing, whilst some make out the Deity to be simply the author of nothing at all, others, of all things universally, they miss what is reasonable and proper. Now, they say well who say that Plato having discovered the element that is the *subject* of the existing qualities (to which element they nowadays give the name of Matter, or Nature), has delivered philosophers from many and great difficulties. But to me those men appear to have solved more and greater difficulties who have made out a family of *dæmons*, intermediate between gods and men, and after a certain fashion bringing together and uniting in one the society of both; whether this doctrine belong to the Magi and the followers of Zoroaster, or is a Thracian one coming from Orpheus, or Egyptian, or Phrygian, as we may infer from the rites which point in either direction, for we perceive many things belonging to death, and of lugubrious sort in the orgies done and the ceremonies performed of the Greeks. Homer appears to have used both names indifferently, in some places calling the gods 'dæmons'; Hesiod, however, was the first clearly and distinctly to make four species of rational beings — gods, then dæmons 'numerous and beneficent,' then heroes, lastly men, the demigods being ranged in the class of heroes. Others make out a change in the bodies equally with the souls, in the same way as water is seen to be produced from earth, air from water, fire from air, in consequence of the essence tending upwards, so from men to heroes, from heroes to dæmons, souls of the better kind go through a transition. Of dæmons, some few in long process of time, having been thoroughly purified



by means of virtue, become partakers of divinity; whilst with others it comes to pass that they do not contain themselves, but becoming relaxed and dissolved again into mortal bodies, they receive an existence without light and without form, like an exhalation. But Hesiod is of opinion that after certain periods of time dæmons themselves have an end, for he says, speaking in the person of the Naiad and even obscurely defining the period: —

“ Nine generations lives the noisy Crow  
Of lusty men: four times the crow the Stag.  
Three stags outlives the Raven: but the Phœnix  
Nine times the raven: ten phœnices we  
The long-haired Nymphs, daughters of mighty Jove.

This space is calculated at a vast extent of time by people incorrectly understanding the word ‘generation’ (for it really means a *year*), so that they make the total duration of the life of dæmons to be nine thousand seven hundred and twenty years. Most mathematicians assign them a shorter duration, none a longer. Pindar hath said in verse, ‘Nymphs that have allotted them a term of life equal to a tree’s’; for which cause, too, people call them ‘Hamadryads’”; and whilst he was still speaking, Demetrius interrupting him said, “How do you mean, Cleombrotus, that ‘a generation of man’ means a *year*, for such a period is neither that of a life that is ‘young,’ or that is ‘old,’ as some people read the passage? But those who read ‘young,’ reckon the generation at *thirty* years, according to Heraclitus, in which space of time, he who has begotten furnishes that which has sprung from himself *capable* of propagation in its own turn; whilst they who read ‘old’ in the place of ‘young,’ assign one hundred and eight years to a generation, on the ground that fifty and four years are the mark of the middle of human life, being a number made up out of unity, the two first even numbers, two squares, and two cubes,<sup>1</sup> which calculations Plato too has accepted in his ‘Generation of Souls.’ But the whole story of Hesiod’s seems to have an obscure allusion to the general conflagration, when it is natural to

<sup>1</sup>  $1 + 2 + 4 + 4 + 9 + 8 + 27 = 55$ , not 54; but this is near enough for the argument.

suppose that together with all things *moist* the Nymphs shall come to an end: —

“Who haunt the beauteous groves,  
The river-fountains and the grassy meads.”

“I hear,” replied Cleombrotus, “the same story from many people, and I behold the Stoical ‘general conflagration,’ as it devours the verses of Heraclitus and of Orpheus, at the same time attacking the lines of Hesiod: but I do not put up with talk about the destruction of the universe, and as for things impossible, particularly stories about the Crow and the Deer. . . .<sup>1</sup> For the *year*<sup>2</sup> does not supply all at once within itself (its course) everything that the seasons bring forth, and the earth produces, neither is it called a ‘generation’ according to the rule with mankind. For you admit, I suppose, that Hesiod calls a man’s lifetime a ‘generation,’ is it not so?” Demetrius assented. “But this also is evident,” Cleombrotus went on, “that both the measure and the things measured are called by the same names: for example, the pint, the quart, the cask, the butt, according to which rule therefore, *Unity*, which is the smallest measure and beginning of all numbers, we call ‘number.’ In the same manner, the year by which first we measure the life of man, the poet has styled ‘a generation,’ as synonymous with the thing measured. For what those philosophers take for their numbers in this calculation have nothing in them, as numbers, of what is considered striking and conspicuous, whereas he has got his nine thousand seven hundred and twenty by the product of the four numbers following, unity being made successively four times four, these being four times squared produce the sum specified. But on these points it is not necessary for us to argue with Demetrius, for if the time be more or if it be less, if it be fixed or if it be indefinite, in which the soul of a dæmon comes to an end, and the life of a hero also, the thing at which he is aiming will be proved for him all the same, and by testimony the most clear and ancient, namely, that beings exist, as it were,

<sup>1</sup> This passage is hopelessly corrupt, but seems to have implied that one story was as ridiculous as the other.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to Lamprias’s explanation of Hesiod’s “generation” by “year.”

in the intermediate place between gods and men, that are susceptible of mortal vicissitudes and of involuntary changes, whom it is right for us, according to the law of our fathers, to regard as and name 'dæmons,' and to hold in reverence.

"As an illustration of the subject, Xenocrates the friend of Plato has taken the different kinds of triangles, comparing the *equilateral* to the divine, the *scalene* to the mortal, the *isosceles* to the nature of dæmons. For the first is equal every way, the second unequal every way, the third equal in one way, unequal in another, just as the being of dæmons, which has in it mortal passions and divine power. And Nature has produced sensible images and visible likenesses of the gods in the sun and stars, of men in flashes of light, comets, and falling meteors, as Euripides hath said in his verse:—

"The man erst sturdy, like some falling star  
Is clean gone out, leaving his breath in air.

But as a mixed body, and truly a copy of a dæmon, she (Nature) exhibits to us the moon, through her resembling the revolution (cycles) of the class, and her being subject to visible decrements, augmentations, and changes; from seeing which, some have called her an 'earthly star,' some a 'heavenly earth,' others the 'province of Hecate,' who is at once celestial and infernal. For just as if one should take away the Air, and withdraw that which is between the earth and moon, he would destroy the unity and the connection of the universe, because a void and disunited space would be made in the middle; similarly they who do not admit the existence of the order of dæmons, necessarily make gods and men out as having no intercourse and no compact with each other, by taking away the 'interpreting and communicating being,' as Plato calls it; or else they force us to mix up and huddle all things together by making the Deity enter into human passions and affairs, and drawing him down to our wants, just as the Thessalian women are said to do the moon. But the craft of the latter received confirmation amongst women, when Aglaonice, daughter of Hegetor, as they tell, being one skilled in astrology, did always, during an eclipse of the moon, pretend to use enchantment and

draw her down. Let us, then, neither listen to people saying that oracles are not divinely inspired, or that certain ceremonies and wild rites are unheeded by the gods; nor, on the other hand, let us imagine that the Deity goes up and down, and is present at, and assists in, things of the sort; but as is right and proper, let us assign these operations to *agents*, or as it were, servants and clerks of the gods, and believe in dæmons, presiding over the performers in the divine rites and mysteries, whilst others go about as punishers of the proud and mighty sinners: some of them Hesiod has styled, very solemnly,

“Of wealth the pure and sanctified bestowers,  
Whose royal privilege is this to do,

as though doing good were part of the kingly office. For in dæmons, as in men, there are degrees of virtue; some having but a feeble and obscure trace, as it were a remnant, of the part subject to passion and destitute of reason, whilst others have in them a large and scarcely extinguishable portion of the same, the vestiges and symbols of which ceremonies, sacrifices, and legends do in many places preserve and lock up interspersed amongst their own proceedings.”

“Now with respect to matters belonging to the Mysteries, in which one can obtain the plainest manifestations, and hints of the truth respecting dæmons, ‘let a bridle be set upon my tongue,’ as Herodotus hath it; but as for festivals and sacrifices, as well as inauspicious and mourning days, upon which the eating of raw flesh, and the tearing to pieces of victims, as also fastings and beatings of the breast are in use, and again in many places, abusive language at the sacrifices and other mad doings attended with tumult and head-tossing, all which I should say they perform for the sake of no one of the gods, but for the purpose of turning away wicked spirits, as being actions propitiatory and soothing to the same. And the human sacrifices offered of old, it is not credible that it was the *gods* who demanded and accepted them; neither would kings and chiefs have vainly submitted to give up their own children, to cut off their hair as a preliminary, and to slaughter them, but that they were averting and satiating the rage of certain malignant and hardly

pacified evil genii, and satisfying of some the furious and imperious lusts, that were neither able nor willing to have intercourse with *living* bodies, and by the *instruments* of bodies. But like as Hercules besieged Œchalia for the sake of a maid, so do powerful and impetuous dæmons, when craving for a human soul yet enveloped in a body, and unable to have intercourse with it by the organs of the body, bring upon cities pestilences and barrenness of the earth, and stir up wars and seditions until they get and obtain what they lust after. Some people, on the contrary (as I observed when spending a considerable time in Crete), celebrate an absurd festival, in which they exhibit the headless figure of a man, and say that this was Molos, father of Meriones, who, lying with a nymph against her will, found himself without his head.

“And again, all the stories they tell and sing of in legends and hymns, here the rapes, there the wanderings, the hidings, and banishments, and servitudes, are not of the gods, but are the sufferings and vicissitudes of dæmons, converted into legends on account of the superiority and power of these beings, and neither has Æschylus said,<sup>1</sup>

“Apollo pure, from heaven a banished god;

nor the Admetus of Sophocles,

“My consort made him labor at the mill.

But the farthest of all from the truth wander the theologians of Delphi, in believing that the battle took place there between the god and serpent for possession of the Oracle; and in allowing historians and poets to tell the tale, when contending for the prize in the theatres, as though purposely bearing witness against their own proceedings at the most sacred rites. But when Philip (for the historian was present) expressed his surprise at this statement, and inquired upon what deities<sup>2</sup> he supposed the actors in the theatre declaimed? ‘upon those,’ replied he, ‘that belong to this Oracle, into whose mysteries the

<sup>1</sup> Of the real Apollo, that is.

<sup>2</sup> The *real* object of their verses and declamations was not the *god*, but the *genii* who haunted Delphi.

city lately initiated all the Greeks dwelling beyond Pylæ, and marched out as far as Tempe. For the nest of fagots that is built up here around the threshing floor every tenth year is not a memorial of the subterraneous lurking hole of the Serpent, but of the habitation of some tyrant or king. The procession also made to it in silence along the road called 'Doloneia,' in which they conduct, with lighted torches and in a zigzag course (*ἀίολα*), the virgin with both parents living, and having set fire to the nest, and overturning the table, they fly without looking back, through the gates of the Temple; and finally, the wanderings up and down, and the servitude of the boy, as also the rites of purification at Tempe, all raise a suspicion of some great crime or atrocity thereby implied. For it is utterly ridiculous to suppose, my good friend, that Apollo after slaying the reptile, fled away to the other end of Greece, seeking after purification, and caused a few pitchers to be poured over him, and did all the other things people do when they wish to propitiate and end the wrath of the dæmons whom they call 'Alastors' and 'avengers of blood,' as if they were following up the recollections of some never-to-be-forgotten and antique atrocities. As for the tale I have heard long ago about the 'Flight,' and the 'Change of place,' it is terribly absurd and marvellous, but if it contains some portion of truth, let us not think it was something trifling and commonplace that was done with respect to the Oracle in those ancient times. But that I may not appear to be as Empedocles says, 'to be fitting<sup>1</sup> the heads of one set of fables to another set, and not to follow one path in my discourse,' permit me to put the proper end to the first discussion, for now we are arrived at it; and let me be bold enough to say, as many have already done, that together with the extinction of the dæmons appointed to preside over oracles and places of prophecy, this sort of thing does likewise come to an end, and lose their force when the spirits aforesaid either flee from or change the place, and then, after a long interval, when they return, the places give out a sound like organs when those that play thereon are present and stand over them."

When Cleombrotus had finished thus, Heracleon

<sup>1</sup> *προσάπτων* in text, must be *προσάπτειν*.

said: "There is no one present of such as be profane, uninitiated, and holding opinions about the gods, uncongenial with your own; but yet, my dear Philip, we must take heed to ourselves, lest we unconsciously assume absurd, and very extravagant hypotheses to support the argument." "Well said," replied Philip, "but, what is it in the opinions expressed by Cleombrotus, that particularly displeases you?" "The remark," replied Heracleon, "that it is not the gods (whom it is right to relieve — keep distinct — from matters pertaining to earth), but dæmons subserving to them, seems to me a reasonable postulate enough; but to take these dæmons, all but bodily, out of the verses of Empedocles, and impute to these some dæmons' sins committed, calamities endured, wanderings imposed by heaven, and finally to suppose in their case *deaths*, as if they were mere men, seems to me too bold and uncivilized a theory." Hereupon, Cleombrotus inquired of Philip, who and whence the young man was that had just spoken, and having learnt his name and country answered: "We do not, Heracleon, conceal from ourselves that we are fallen into a strange line of argument; but in the case of great subjects, it is not possible, without making use of great assumptions, to arrive at an end consistent with our expectation. But you yourself do not perceive that you are retracting what you concede, for you allow there *are* dæmons; but by your claiming that there are none bad, nor yet subject to mortality, you no longer keep your *dæmons*; for in what respect do they differ from *gods*, if in regard to *essence* they possess immortality, and in regard to *virtue*, freedom from passion and immunity from sin."

Thereupon, whilst Heracleon was considering something with himself in silence, Cleombrotus continued, "Nay, but not only Empedocles has bequeathed to us evil dæmons that be evil by nature, but Plato, too, has done the same, as well as Xenocrates and Chrysippus; besides, Democritus, when he prays that 'he may meet with auspicious *idola*' (apparitions), shows plainly that he knows of others that have morose and mischievous dispositions and inclinations. But with respect to the *mortality* of beings of the kind, I have heard a tale from a man who is neither a fool nor an idle talker — from that Æmilian the rhetorician, whom some of you know

well; Epitherses was his father, a townsman of mine, and a teacher of grammar. This man (the latter) said, that once upon a time he made a voyage to Italy, and embarked on board a ship conveying merchandise and several passengers. When it was now evening, off the Echinad Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship, carried by the current, was come near Paxi; most of the passengers were awake, and many were still drinking, after having had supper. All of a sudden, a voice was heard from the Isle of Paxi, of some one calling 'Thamus' with so loud a cry as to fill them with amazement. This Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, known by name to many of those on board. Called twice, he kept silence; but on the third summons he replied to the caller, and the latter, raising yet higher his voice, said, 'When thou comest over against Palodes, announce that the great Pan is dead.' All, upon hearing this, said Epitherses, were filled with consternation, and debated with themselves whether it were better to do as ordered, or not to make themselves too busy, and to let it alone. So Thamus decided that if there should be a wind he would sail past and hold his tongue; but should there fall a calm and smooth sea off the island, he would proclaim what he had heard. When, therefore, they were come over against Palodes, there being neither wind nor swell of sea, Thamus, looking out from the stern, called out to the land what he had heard, namely, 'That the great Pan is dead': and hardly had he finished speaking than there was a mighty cry, not of one, but of many voices mingled together in wondrous manner. And inasmuch as many persons were then present, the story got spread about in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Cæsar; and Tiberius gave so much credence to the tale that he made inquiry and research concerning this Pan; and that the learned men about him, who were numerous, conjectured he was the one that was born from Hermes and Penelope.

"Now, Philip found amongst those present witnesses to the truth of the story, who had heard it from the aged Æmilian.

"Demetrius said, that of the islands lying round Britain, there were many desert, and scattered about, some of which were named after dæmons and heroes; and that he, for the purpose of inquiry and investigation, sailed,



by the emperor's order,<sup>1</sup> to that which lay nearest of the desert isles, which had but a few inhabitants, and those religious men, and held sacred by the Britons. Just after his landing, there occurred a great tumult in the air, and many meteors, and blasts of wind burst down, and whirlwinds descended. But when it was calm again, the islanders said, that the extinction had taken place of some one of the superior powers, for as (said they) a lamp when burning does no harm, but being put out is noxious to many people,<sup>2</sup> in like manner great souls, when first kindled, are benignant and harmless, whilst their going out and dissolution, often, as in the present case, stirs up stormy winds, and aerial tumults; nay, often infects the air with pestilential tendencies. In that region also, they said, Saturn was confined in one of the islands by Briareus, and lay asleep; for that his slumber had been artfully produced in order to chain him, and round about him were many dæmons for his guards and servants."

Then Cleombrotus, taking him up, said: "I, too, have something of the same sort to narrate, and it suffices for the supposition, that there is nothing that is contrary to, or prevents these things being so constituted. And yet the Stoics, we know, hold the same opinion that you mention, not only as regards the dæmons, but also of the gods, so numerous as they be; they keep One as the Eternal and Incorruptible, but believe that the others are both born and die. As for the jeers and scoffs of the Epicureans, we must by no means be afraid of *them*, for such (weapons) they employ against Divine Providence, also making it out to be a fable. But we say their own *ignorance* is a fable that has, amongst so many worlds, not one that is guided by Divine order, but all of them spontaneously created and put together. But if we must laugh in matter of philosophy, we ought to laugh at their *spectra*, which, being both dumb, blind, and lifeless, *where*

<sup>1</sup> This emperor must be Trajan, as Demetrius was just returned from Britain at the time of the dialogue. The island, as lying nearest to the coast, must have been Anglesey, the focus of Druidism. If Æmilian was an "old man" when he told the story just quoted, and his father had flourished under Tiberius, this dialogue comes down to the end of the first century.

<sup>2</sup> Lucretius mentions that the fumes of a smouldering lamp-wick produce apoplexy — which is still the popular belief in Italy.

do they remain<sup>1</sup> during infinite periods of time? making their appearance, and roaming about everywhere — *spectra* thrown off, partly from persons yet living, partly from those long ago reduced to ashes, or mouldered into dust, whilst their inventors drag bubbles and shadows into the domains of Natural History, and go into a rage<sup>2</sup> if any one says there are dæmons, not only by nature but by report, and that they possess the power of preserving themselves and lasting for immense time.”

After these things had been said, Ammonius went on: “Theophrastus seems to me to have given sentence rightly,<sup>3</sup> for what objection is there to accepting a sentiment at once noble and in the highest degree philosophical. Rejecting as it does many of things possible, yet not capable of being proved, it ignores them entirely; and being accepted as a rule, will involve many consequences, both impossible and without any shadow of reality. The only thing, however, that I have heard Epicureans advancing against the dæmons introduced by Empedocles — ‘that it is not conceivable that being wicked and liable to error, they should be at the same time happy and long-lived, inasmuch as wickedness involves the idea of blindness, and a liability to fall into things destructive’ — is a silly argument. For, according to this way of reasoning, Epicurus is made out worse than Hippias the Sophist, and Metrodorus than Alexis the comedian, for the latter lived twice as long as Metrodorus, and the former above one-third longer than Epicurus. Besides, we say that virtue is a strong and vice a weak thing, not in reference to any durability or dissolution of body; for amongst animals we observe many that be dull and stupid, and again, others that be lascivious and untamable, live longer lives than the intelligent and sagacious kinds. Hence, they do not well to make God’s eternity result from the guarding against and repulsion of the causes of destruction; because the freedom from passion and from corruptibility must necessarily exist in the nature of the Blessed One, and stand in need of no exertion on his

<sup>1</sup> *ποι μένουσιν* must be corrupt, as a plural following a neuter noun — *ποιμαίνουσιν* is clearly the original reading, and gives the funny image of these philosophers driving about “their flocks of spectra.”

<sup>2</sup> *δυσκολαινοντας* must be *δυσκολαινοντες*, and still referring to the Epicureans.

<sup>3</sup> Upon the theory of the Epicureans; which he goes on to quote.

part. But, perhaps, to talk of people behind their backs is not very polite; and therefore Clemobrotus, who lately dropped the word about the 'flight and migration of dæmons,' has a right to resume the subject."

Then Cleombrotus: "I shall be surprised if *it* does not strike you as even stranger than what has already been advanced by me; and yet it appears to be connected with Natural History, and Plato even has allowed its possibility — not that he has stated it directly, but from a vague supposition, and throwing out an enigmatical hint in a cautious manner — but, nevertheless, a great outcry was made against it by the other philosophers, and seeing that a bowl of mingled fables and facts is set before us, and, possibly, some one amongst our kinder listeners, as though he had met with foreign coins, will put these same stories to the touchstone. I do not scruple to present you with the narrative of a man, a barbarian, whom I hardly found out after long wanderings, and paying heavily for information, who made his appearance once every year among the tribes living round the Red Sea, and spent the rest of his time in company with the pastoral nymphs, and with the dæmons, as he asserted, and with whom I obtained a conference and friendly reception. He was the handsomest of all men to look at, lived ever free from all disease, eating once a month the fruit of a certain herb that was like a drug<sup>1</sup> and bitter to taste. He understood several languages, but to me he chiefly spake Doric,<sup>2</sup> not far removed from poetry. Whilst he was speaking, perfume filled the air, from his mouth sending forth the sweetest smell. His other learning and recollections continued with him the whole time; but as regards *prophecy* he was inspired but for one day in each year, at which time he went down to the sea and delivered his predictions, and nobles and secretaries of different princes flocked to hear him, and then sailed away. His inspiration he ascribed to dæmons. He talked with much pleasure about Delphi; as for the things related concerning Dodona, and the rites performed there he was ignorant

<sup>1</sup> The chewing of betel-nut may be at the bottom of this story, and the man a Buddhist hermit.

<sup>2</sup> The popular dialect at Alexandria, which was peopled by emigrants from Sicily: the source whence a Hindoo would naturally get his smattering of Greek.

of none; he said they all were the mighty workings of dæmons, and the same respecting the Python, and that the slayer of the Python did not suffer an exile of nine years, or to the distance of Tempe; but that being expelled thence he went into another world, and there abode for the revolutions of nine *Great Years*, until at length having become pure, and really 'bright' (*φαιβος*) he returned, and received possession of the Oracle, which had in the meanwhile been taken care of by Themis. Of the same nature was the story of Typhon; and the affair of the Titans was only the fights of dæmons against dæmons, succeeded by the fleeing away of the vanquished; or else the punishment taken by a god upon such as had offended in the same way that Typhon is said to have sinned against Osiris, and Saturn against Uranus; of both of whom the honors have consequently become tarnished; or else these legends refer to such as have completely migrated to another world; since I learn that the Solymi, neighbors of the Lyceans, pay the highest honors to Saturn;<sup>1</sup> but when, after killing their chiefs, Arsilas, Dryos, and Trosobeos, he fled away, and migrated somewhere or other, (for I cannot tell you this,) he is neglected, and the Lycians call Arsilas and his companions hard-hearted gods, and utter solemn imprecations upon this crime, both in public and in private. Many like instances to these you can extract out of religious legends. And if we designate dæmons by the customary names of the gods, there is nothing to be surprised at in our so doing (said the stranger), since to whatever god each dæmon is assigned, and from whom he derives his power and privileges, after this one he is wont to be called. For amongst ourselves one man is 'Diius,' another 'Athenæus,' another 'Apollonius' or 'Dionysius' or 'Hermæus,' but only some few are by accident properly so entitled, the most part have taken possession of the names of gods far from appropriately, in fact quite the reverse."

And when Cleombrotus had done speaking, his story appeared to all a strange one. But on Heracleon's asking whereabouts in Plato these things are to be found, and in what way *he* had afforded a foundation for the argument, Cleombrotus replied: "You do well to remind

<sup>1</sup> An obscure allusion to the Jews, who claim Saturn for their star.

me; for Plato from the first acknowledged the plurality of worlds, but with respect to their precise number he remained in doubt: and though as far as *five* he conceded the probability, to humor such as supposed one world for each element — yet he confined *himself* to a single one. And this appears to be peculiar to Plato, for the others were terribly alarmed at the notion of a plurality, as though when they did not limit the number to *one*, but went farther, an indefinite and perplexing infinity would take them up." "But," said I, "did the stranger decide about the plurality of worlds in the same way as does Plato, at what time you were in his company,<sup>1</sup> or did you fail to put the question to him?" "I was not likely," replied Cleombrotus, "not to be an inquisitive and glad hearer of his opinion upon this subject, above all others, when he gave me the occasion, and showed himself so well disposed. He told me, in fact, that there were neither an infinite number of worlds, nor a single one, nor yet five, but one hundred and eighty-three, arranged in the form of a triangle, each side of which contains sixty worlds. Of the remaining three, one is placed at each angle; and those in line touch each other, revolving gently as if in a dance. The area within this triangle is the common hearth of them all, and is named the 'Plain of Truth,' in which the reason, the forms, and the pattern of all things that have been, and that shall be, are stored up not to be disturbed; and as eternity dwells around them, from thence Time, like a stream from a fountain, flows down upon the worlds. The sight and contemplation of these things is vouchsafed to the souls of men, once in every ten thousand years: that is, if they shall have lived a virtuous life. The best of our initiatory rites here below are the dreamy shadow of that spectacle, and of that rite; and the words used therein are ingeniously devised for the purpose of reminding us of the beauties of that place — or else are used to no purpose at all.<sup>2</sup> All this did I hear him reciting exactly as though he were so doing at some ceremony, or rite of initiation, without offering any evidence or proof of his statements."

<sup>1</sup> ὅθεν εἰς ἐγγύου in text, must be δε συνεγένου.

<sup>2</sup> According to this explanation, the Mysteries taught the theory of the creation, and of the government and laws of the universe: a doctrine clearly set forth in Julian's "Mother of the Gods."

Then I, addressing Demetrius, said: "How do the words of the suitors run, when they are wondering at Ulysses whilst handling the bow?" and when Demetrius had repeated them,<sup>1</sup> I continued: "The very same thing it occurs to me to say with respect to this stranger. Supposing he were really some seeker after and pillager of creeds and legends of all sorts; one much versed in books of religion; no foreigner at all, but a Greek by birth, and well-stocked with Grecian learning? The *number* of his worlds betrays him, *that* being neither Egyptian nor Indian, but Dorian, and coming out of Sicily, and the property of a man of Himera, by name Petron. The treatise of that philosopher I have not read, nor indeed know whether it be still extant. But Hippys of Rhegium, whom Phaneas of Eresos quotes, bears witness that this notion and tale belongs to Petron, that is, about there being one hundred and eighty-three worlds, all touching one another in a row; but what this 'touching one another in a row' means, he neither explains, nor adduces anything plausible in its support." Demetrius taking me up replied: "What plausible argument can be found in matters of the sort, where not even Plato would say anything reasonable or probable when he commenced the subject." Then Heracleon: "But again, we hear you grammarians referring your notions to Homer, as though he divided the Universe into Five Worlds; viz., Heaven, Water, Air, Earth, Olympus: of which, two he leaves in common; Earth, belonging to all that is below; Olympus to all that is above; and the three in the middle are assigned unto the three gods. In this way, then, Plato appears to connect the first and most beautiful forms and patterns of bodies with the divisions of the Universe, and calls them Five Worlds — viz., that of Earth, that of Water, that of Air, that of Fire, and last, that which envelopes them all — namely, that of the Twelve-sided figure, which is widely diffused and versatile,<sup>2</sup> by which supposition, forsooth, he has invented a figure the most appropriate and congenial to the revolutions and the movements of souls." Thereupon Demetrius: "Why do we meddle with Homer in the present case? we have had

<sup>1</sup> "Perhaps he makes bows or perhaps he steals."

<sup>2</sup> Julian's *πεμπτόν, εἰλικτόν σῶμα*: the Quintessence of the later Aristotelians.

quite enough of fables. But Plato is very far from calling the five varieties of the universe Five Worlds — in which he is at war with those that suppose an infinity of Worlds: in fact he says thus much — “that he is of opinion this world is One, the sole production of God, and satisfying Him; being generated whole, perfect, and self-sufficient out of the entire Bodily element.” Whence one may well be surprised how he, after having told the truth, has furnished others with the grounds of a notion equally improbable and irrational. For the very fact of not retaining one *single* world involves somehow the hypothesis of the *Infinity* of worlds; whilst to make them a definite number, just so many, neither more nor less than *Five*, is exceedingly strange, and remote from all probability — unless you have anything to say to the contrary,” he added, looking at me. “It seems then,” replied I, “that so we have thrown aside the question about Oracles as entirely concluded, and are taking up another quite as extensive.” “Not throwing aside the former question,” answered Demetrius, “but not passing over the present one that equally claims our attention, for we will not dwell upon it, but only sketch it out sufficiently to examine its probability, and then pass on to the original subject of discussion.”

“In the first place then (said I) the objections to supposing an infinity of worlds do not preclude our supposing there is more than *one*, for it is possible for prophecy and foreknowledge to exist in several worlds at once, and Chance comes into the question very slightly; whilst the greatest part of, and those the most important things, are susceptible of birth and of change, neither of which does infinity by its nature admit of. In the next place, it is more consistent with reason to suppose the world neither to be the sole production of God, nor yet an empty one. For as He is perfectly good, and in no one virtue wanting, least of all in what concerns justice and love (for these are the most beautiful of virtues and the best befitting the Godhead), and as God has nothing in vain, or not to be put to use, then consequently must exist other Powers and worlds outside of this, to whom he extends his communicative virtues. For it is not upon Himself, nor upon a portion of Himself, that the exercise of His justice, of His benevolence, or of His goodness, is

directed, but upon others; wherefore it is not probable that He is without a friend, and without a neighbor, nor that this world tosses about unsocially in a void infinity; since we observe that Nature also envelopes things one by one, as it were in vessels, or in the shells of seeds. For there is nothing in the number of things that be, neither is there a Common Reason, (or what receives such designation,) that is not of its own nature something acting in common with something else. Now the world is not predicated as 'common,' but it effects whatever it is capable of, through difference between individual parts; having itself been created such as it is, homogeneous and of one species. And if in Nature a *single* man, or a *single* horse has not been produced, nor yet a *single* star, god, or dæmon — what objection is there to Nature's containing more worlds than One? For he that says there is a single earth overlooks what is self-evident — the circumstance of similar parts; for we divide the Earth into parts of the same name, and the Sea in like manner, whereas a part of the world is not a world, for the world is made up out of different parts.

“And again, the thing that some people especially fear, and therefore use up the whole of Matter upon a single world, in order that nothing may be left outside and either by its impact or its concussions may disturb the constitution of *this* — there is no good cause for such apprehension. For if there be a plurality of worlds, and each one has individually had allotted to it an existence<sup>1</sup> and materials possessing both measure and limitation, there is nothing left irregular or disorderly, like a superfluity, to dash against it from external space. For the Reason presiding over each world, being master of the accumulated Matter, will allow nothing out of course or running wild, to impinge upon another; nor yet any such accident from another world upon itself, by reason that Nature does not admit of an unlimited and infinite plurality, nor yet an irrational and irregular movement. And even if any emanation is carried from one set down to another, it must be congenial, agreeable, and mixing with them all in amicable fashion, like the

<sup>1</sup>The dative of these words must be corrupt, read them in the accusative.



rays and union of the several stars: whilst they must be delighted themselves in benevolently contemplating each other; whilst to numerous and good deities presiding over each, they afford the means of intercourse and hospitality. Nothing of all this is impossible, or romantic, or inconceivable, unless in truth some people will regard it with suspicion, after Aristotle's fashion, because it involves the idea of *natural causes*. For as he says: 'In the case of bodies, when each one has its own place, it is a necessary consequence that the Earth tends from all parts towards the centre, and the Water in the same way, because by its weight it sinks under the lighter particles.' If, then, there be several worlds, it will come to pass that the Earth will be placed frequently above the Fire and the Air, and as frequently below them; and Water and Air will be similarly treated; in some positions they will be in their natural places, in others in unnatural, which supposition being impossible (as he believes) there must be neither two nor several worlds, but this single One, composed out of all existence, and filled according to Nature, as is best suited to the varieties of bodies going to its composition.

"But this theory, too, is advanced more as a matter of probability than of certainty. View the matter," said I, "my dear Demetrius, in this manner: of bodies, some have a motion towards the centre, and downwards, as Aristotle says, some from the centre and upwards, others round the centre and in a circle; at what point does he assume his *centre*? Not certainly in the *vacuum*, for there is no *vacuum* according to him; for where a vacuum is, it admits of no middle point, neither does it of first or last, for these are *limits*, but the *infinite* is also *unlimited*. And if any one should endeavor to prove that it is set in motion by Reason, although it be infinite, what is the difference in the movements of solid bodies, as compared with this? For neither does any force of the bodies exist in the vacuum, nor do the bodies possess any predisposition or property that tends towards the centre, and converges towards this point from every quarter. But yet it is impossible to conceive [the tendency] of bodies inanimate towards a place incorporeal, and unaffected by them; nor how a forward motion by them is produced, or a preponderating influence exerted

by the other. The alternative then remains, that 'centre' is used not in the sense of *locality*, but of *body*. For as this world possesses a single unity and constitution, made up out of many and dissimilar bodies, these differences necessarily produce the motions of the several parts towards each other; since it is evident that the several parts when rearranged in their essences, will at the same time change their places also; since their repulsion from the centre will distribute in a circle the matter that raises itself upwards; whereas their mixing together and condensations press the same matter down, and impel it together towards the centre.

"Upon which subjects it is not necessary to expend more words; for if one should assume that the Creator is the author of these liabilities and changes, this cause will confine each world within itself; for each world contains an earth and a sea; each, also, possesses a centre and properties and changeabilities of component parts, and a nature, and a power that keeps in place and preserves each one. For that which is external — whether it be nothing at all, or whether it be an unlimited vacuum — does not afford a centre, as already stated. And if there be several worlds, in each one there exists a centre of its own; so that there is a movement of some bodies towards it, of others from it, and of others around it, in what manner they themselves determine. But he who demands that in the case of *several* centres, weights should tend down to a *single* centre only, differs not at all from one that should demand that in the case of several men their blood should all flow together in a single vein from all parts; and that the brains of all should be enveloped in one and the same membrane, because he thinks it hard that of things corporeal and physical the solid parts should not occupy one and the same place, and the liquid parts another! For the latter would be absurd in his conception; and equally so the man who makes a fuss if things collectively employ their own parts, which have their natural position and order inherent in each of them; for it were utterly absurd should any one assert that there is a world<sup>1</sup> . . . containing in itself the moon, just as

<sup>1</sup> Something is wanting here; but what follows shows it to have been an hypothesis of the existence of several worlds depending upon some common and superior body.

though a man should carry his brain in his heels and his heart in his temples. But that in supposing several worlds distinct from each other, you define and divide their parts in conformity with the whole, this is not an absurdity: for in each of them the earth, the sea, the sky, will remain, after its nature, in its fitting place; also, each one of the worlds has its *above*, its *below*, its round-about centre, not with reference to any other world, or to what is external, but contained in itself, and with reference to itself.

“The case they put of ‘the stone outside of the world,’ does not easily present an idea either of immobility or of motion; for how will it remain motionless, being possessed of weight, or how will it move towards the world, like other weights, if it neither is a part thereof, nor yet constitutionally subordinate to its nature? And as for that (nature) which is presented, and contained within *another* world, there were no need to discuss, how it is that it does not pass over netherwards, detaching itself from the mass by reason of its weight, — when we consider the nature and tension of the bonds whereby each of the parts is kept together. Since, if we admit the ideas of *above* and *below*, not with reference to the world itself, but as *external* to it, we fall into the same difficulties with Epicurus, when he makes all his ‘atoms’ move towards the place under his feet, just as though the vacuum had any feet at all, or infinity allowed one to conceive the ideas of *above* and *below* within itself. For which reason we have cause to wonder at Chrysippus, or rather, indeed, to be at a loss to know what possessed him when he supposed that the world is fixed in the centre, and that its essence having taken possession of this middle place from all eternity, has principally worked it up for the object of stability, and as it were, for incorruptibility.<sup>1</sup> For this very thing he asserts in his Fourth Book ‘Upon Possibilities,’ where he is dreaming absurdly about a ‘centre of infinity,’ and still more preposterously ascribing the efficient cause of the perpetuity of the world to the ‘centre that has no beginning’ — and this, too, when he has declared in other places, and frequently also, ‘that existence is both regulated and kept together by motions

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the chief end at which the Essence has been working from all eternity is the stability and incorruptibility of the world.

either tending towards the centre thereof, or away from the centre.'

"And again, who will be frightened by the objections of the stoics, when they ask how will a single Fate and a single Providence stand, or how will there not be several Jupiters and several Joves if there be a plurality of worlds? <sup>1</sup> In the first place, then, if the notion of there being several Jupiters and Joves be absurd, surely those ideas of their own are much more absurd: for suns, and moons, and Apollos, and Dianas, and Neptunes, they suppose in infinite numbers in their infinite revolutions of worlds. Secondly, what absolute necessity is there for there being several Jupiters, if there be a 'plurality of worlds; and not <sup>2</sup> one Ruler and Director of the Whole to each — a God possessing Reason and Intelligence, in the same way as He that is with us, entitled Lord and Father of all'? Or what objection is there to all these worlds being subject to the Fate and the Providence of Jupiter, and that He should superintend and direct them in turn, implanting in each and every one of them, final causes, and germs, and reasons of all things that come to pass therein? For, is not one body here below often made up out of several separate bodies — for example, a popular assembly, an army, a chorus — to each individual of whom belongs the faculty of living, of thinking, and of learning, as Chrysippus believes; whilst that in the whole universe the worlds, whether fifty or one hundred in number, should obey or follow a single Reason, and be administered under one government, is a thing impossible! But yet such a constitution as this is exactly adapted to the Divine character. For we ought not to imagine gods like queen-bees, never stirring from home, nor yet imprison them by fencing them round with matter, or rather fencing them in *along* with matter, as people do when they make out the gods to be *influences of the atmosphere*; and when they invent powers of Water and of Fire mixed up in the substance, and beget them along with the world; and, again, burn them up along with it, as not being removable or free agents, like charioteers,

<sup>1</sup> The same difficulty has perplexed modern divines, substituting the technical terms "sin" and "atonement" for "Fate" and "Providence."

<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἑκαστον, an evident allusion to the Supreme and Nameless Deity, then recognized as supreme above all the gods of the old mythology.

or pilots: but just as images are nailed up and soldered down in spite of themselves, so do they make them out locked up in the corporeal nature, and riveted down thereto, partners with it even so far as its entire destruction and transformation.

“But that opinion, I think, is the more respectable and dignified, namely, that the gods, being immortal and independent, in the same way as the Tyndaridæ come to the aid of tempest-tossed mariners, and calm the sea in spite of itself and the swift blasts of the winds, not that they themselves go on board the ship, or are partakers in the peril, but show themselves up aloft, and save it from destruction — by like manner that the world is put under gods, a different one to each, who are attracted by the pleasure of the spectacle, and assist Nature in the direction of them respectively. For Homer’s Jove turns his eyes, no very great distance, from Troy to the parts of Thrace and the wandering tribes around the Danube; but the True One enjoys beautiful and congenial changes of sights<sup>1</sup> in numerous worlds; He does not behold an infinite vacuum, nor contemplates Himself in solitary grandeur (as some do hold) and nothing else besides; but looks down upon the many operations of gods and men, the motions and courses of the stars, as they run in their appointed cycles. For the Godhead is no enemy to changes — on the contrary, He delighteth greatly therein, to judge from the alternations and revolutions of the visible phenomena of the heavens. Now, Infinity is entirely without judgment, and without reasoning; far from admitting the idea of God, it presents in every direction the operations of accident and self-will. But in a definite host and number of worlds, Superintendence and Providence of that which has invested itself with one body, and has been bound close to that one, and which transforms and models the same in infinite ways, strikes *me* at least as presenting no very unseemly or hardly conceivable idea.”

Having spoken thus much I stopped; but Philip, after a short interval, replied: “Whether the truth about these matters be so, or of a different sort, I will not take upon myself to decide. But if we remove the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* beautiful, congenial, ever-changing spectacles.

Deity out of a *single* world,<sup>1</sup> why do we suppose Him the Creator of *five* only; and what is the argument for this restriction in their number — a thing, I ween, I should be better pleased to learn than what was the meaning of the dedication of the golden E in this temple?<sup>2</sup> for it (the number) clearly is neither triangular nor square, nor perfect nor cubical, or presenting any other curiosity of the sort for such as love and admire speculations of that kind; and the getting at it from the number of the Elements, which I myself lately hinted at, is in every way beset with difficulties, and holds out no gleam of any probability to draw us on to assert that it is likely when five bodies with equal angles, equal sides, and containing equal areas, are generated in matter, as a thing of course just so many worlds must result from them.”

“And in fact,” replied I, “Theodorus of Soli, seems to me to have followed out the subject in the right way, when he is explaining the ‘Mathematics’ of Plato: he argues in this way: ‘The pyramid, eight-sided figure, twenty-sided, and twelve-sided, which Plato proposes, are indeed beautiful things for the symmetry of proportions and equality; neither is it left in the power of Nature to produce, compose, or fit together any other figure better than, or equal to them. At any rate, all of them have not got one and the same constitution, neither have they a similar origin, for the most slender and simplest figure of all is the Pyramid; the greatest, and made up of the most parts, is the twelve-sided; of the remaining two, the twenty-sided is twice as great as the eight-sided figure in the number of the triangles it contains. Consequently, it is impossible they derive their origin from one and the same matter; for the small and thin and more simple in construction must necessarily be the first to obey whatever puts in motion and moulds the matter, and be perfected, and get the start of the more solid and more composite bodies, amongst which, displaying also a more laborious construction, is the eight-sided one. It follows from this, that the only first form is the Pyramid, but none of the rest, inasmuch as they are inferior to it in the nature of their generation.’ There is, therefore, a remedy for this

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* no longer confine him to the creation of one world.

<sup>2</sup> The symbol €, dedicated in gold by Livia Augusta, to replace the ancient one in wood presented by Pittacus.

difficulty — that is, the division and separation of matter into Five worlds — one where to place the Pyramid (for *that* Plato assumes for the first), another for the Octohedron, a third for the Eicosihedron. The rest will derive their generation from the preëxistent element in each, according to the correspondence of their particles, there being a transition of all into all, as Plato himself hints, as he is going through nearly all the particulars: but we prefer to prove the thing expeditiously. Since Air, when Fire is extinguished, retires, and when rarefied again gives out Fire from itself, we must look for the cause of these properties and vicissitudes in each element. The element of Fire is the Pyramid,<sup>1</sup> made up out of the four-and-twenty primitive triangles; that of Air is the Octohedron, made up out of eight-and-forty of the same. One element, therefore, of Air results from two of Fire, mixed together and united; that of Air being analyzed is divided into two components of Fire, but being condensed and compressed into itself it goes off into the form of water. So that in all cases, the preëxistent thing readily supplies an origin from chance to the others; and not merely is there one First element, but since a different one possesses in a different system an initiative influence, provocative to generation, the identity of name is maintained by the whole.”

Then Ammonius: “This theory has indeed been worked out by Theodorus with equal courage and perseverance: yet I should not be surprised if he will be discovered to employ assumptions that are subversive of each other. For he assumes that the combination did not take place with all the five at once, but that the most subtle, and what was put together with the least amount of labor, presented itself first for birth. Next, he lays down as a necessary consequence of this, and not as contradicting it, that matter did *not* provide all things with the more subtle and simple principle; but that, in some cases, the weighty and composite elements were the first to come forward in the birth out of matter. Besides this, after five primitive substances have been assumed, and on the strength of this assumption, the worlds being declared

<sup>1</sup> A Brahminical notion: Siva, god of Fire, being expressed by the Pyramid; Vishnu, of Water, by the same inverted.

to be of that same number, he employs the argument of probability with reference to *four* only of them, and withdraws the Cube, as is done in the game of counters, because it is not disposed by its nature to change into them, nor yet to allow them to change into itself — because, truly, all triangles are not of the same nature, for in the former figures the half-triangle in all is supposed empty; whereas in the latter the isosceles triangle, being peculiar to this figure alone, makes no inclination, or unifying conjunction with that empty space. If, therefore, there being five worlds and five bodies (elements), that part has the precedence of birth in which the Cube was first generated, there will be nothing left for the rest; because there is nothing of theirs into which the Cube is naturally disposed to change. And I say nothing about the circumstance that they make the element of the so-called Dodecahedron to be something else, and not the Scalene triangle out of which Plato composes his Pyramid, Octohedron, and Eicosihedron. “For that very reason,” added Ammonius laughing, “you must either solve these questions; or else advance something of your own with respect to the common difficulty.”

Then I: “I have nothing to say that is more plausible, at least at the moment, but still it is better to submit to an examination of one’s own opinion, than that of another’s. I therefore say again, as I said at starting, that if we suppose the existence of two Natures, — the one Sensible in birth and destruction, subject to change and to be moved in different directions; the other Intelligible, ever remaining the same in the same course — it is strange that the Intelligible part should be divided and have variety in itself, and that we should be angry and scold if one does not leave the corporeal and passive part be one, concordant with and converging towards its own self, but divide and disperse the same. For things permanent and divine must surely cling faster to themselves, and shrink as far as possible from all severance and separation of parts, but even with these the power of the one laying hold of something greater than itself, produces in things intelligible, the dissimilarities that exist as to *cause* and *form*, of the divisions in locality; whence Plato, in opposition to such as make out the All to be One, declares *that which is* to be both the Same and Different, and over all,



Motion and Rest. There being then these five figures, it were to be wondered at, if of the five corporeal elements<sup>1</sup> each one had been produced as a copy and image of each quality — not, indeed, pure and unmixed, but participating as far as possible in each power each in its turn. For the Cube is palpably the proper emblem of Rest; on account of the security and firmness of the superficies: and of the Pyramid everybody will recognize the fiery and movable character in the slenderness of its sides, and the acuteness of its angles; the nature of the Dodecahedron, being comprehensive of the other figures, may be supposed an image of 'That which is' with reference to the corporeal part: whilst of the remaining two, the Eicosihedron has got for its share the figure of the 'Different,' and the Octahedron the figure of the 'Same.' On this account, he has represented in one form *Air*, which holds together all existence; and on the other side *Water*, which turns into the most numerous kinds of qualities by reason of its intermixture. If, therefore, Nature demands an equilibrium in all things, is it probable that the worlds are neither more nor less than their patterns, in order that each may have for each a rule of government and of power, just as it has got in the constitutions of bodies?<sup>2</sup>

"Not but that these several divisions are a consolation to him that wonders why we divide the Nature existing in births and changes, into so great a number of species. Examine the case attentively in company with me: and observe how that of the highest Powers (I mean the One, and the undefined Two) that which is the element of all deformity and disorder is denominated 'infinity,' whereas the nature of the One that limits and checks<sup>3</sup> the empty,<sup>4</sup> undefined, irrational nature of infinity, renders it capable of form, and will produce it in some way or

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the five geometrical bodies are respectively images of the five predicates of the Deity, as defined by Plato.

<sup>2</sup> From this Platonic theory the Kabalists got the notion of their Four Worlds, the models, "Ideas," of which were furnished by the Ten Sephiroth, the Attributes of Jehovah.

<sup>3</sup> The checking and limitation of this ἀπειρία plays the chief part in Julian's "Hymn to the Mother of the Gods"; and he makes it to be typified by the mutilation of Atys.

<sup>4</sup> στενήν, certainly an error for κενήν, which the sense absolutely demands.

another obedient to, and susceptible of, the consequent division into categories as regards the objects of intellect, and the Principles themselves make their first appearance with reference to Number: or rather Number is by no manner of means *plurality*, unless considered as a form of Matter, that arises out of the unlimited nature of the Infinite, and is subdivided in one place into more, in another into fewer parts: for then each of the pluralities becomes Number, when it is defined by the One. But if the One be removed: then again the unlimited Two will confuse and make the All inharmonious, unlimited, and immeasurable. For since "Species" is not a doing away with Matter, but only a *form* and *ordering* of the subject-matter, it is a necessary consequence that both the Principles also should exist in Number, out of which Principles spring the greatest difference and inequality. For the undefined Principle is creator of the *even*; the better Principle of the *odd* numbers. The first of the even numbers is the Two, the first of the odd the Three, from the addition of which springs the Five — a number by composition common to both, but by its power, odd. For it was a necessary consequence of the intelligible and the Corporeal being measured out into several parts, by reason of the necessity implanted in their nature for variance, that neither the first should be even nor the first odd, but the third, made up out of them, so that it springs from both Principles — from that which creates the even, and that which creates the odd; since it was not possible for the one to be separated from the other, for either of them has the nature and power of a Principle, and when both are doubled, the Better One prevailed over the indefiniteness that divided the Corporeal part, and stood still, and because Matter was cut asunder between the two, this Principle placed the unit in the middle, and did not allow the Universe to be distributed into two parts, but the result was a plurality of worlds by means of the variance and the difference of the indefinite part. This plurality was rendered an uneven number by the power of the latter and of the Definite part, but such unevenness it was not allowed to overpass because the Better principle possesses a more extensive nature. For if the One were unmixed and pure, Matter would not have admitted of any separation at all; but since it is parted by the loosening prop-

erty of the Two, it has admitted of dissection and division into parts; and stood still at this point, the even number being overpowered by the uneven.

“For this reason it was the custom with the ancients to call reckoning ‘counting by fives’; and I am of opinion that ‘all things’ (πάντα) were so named from ‘five’ (πέντε) by analogy; because, forsooth, the Five was made up out of the first numbers: for the other numbers when multiplied with others produce a number different from themselves; whereas the Five, if it be taken an even number of times, makes the Ten perfect; and if taken an uneven number of times, it reproduces itself. But if, for the reason that the Five was composed out of the two first squares, namely, *Unity* and *Four*, for it is the first that being of equal value with the two preceding it composes the most beautiful of right-angled triangles; and it first produces the sesquilateral proportion. All this, perhaps, has not much to do with the subject before us; but the other is more so, viz., what is by its own nature the division of number; and the fact that Nature does divide most things of the sort in this manner. Also in ourselves are *five* senses, and members of the soul — the physical, the sensitive, the appetitive, the irascible, and the rational; and *five* fingers of each hand; and the most fecundating semen is divided into *five* parts; for no woman is recorded to have brought forth more than five children at the same birth. Also the Egyptians fable that Rhea brought forth *five* gods, thus hinting at the creation of the five worlds out of one matter; and in the universe the earth’s circumference has five zones; and the sky is divided into five cycles — two arctic, two tropic, and the equinoctial in the middle; five also have been made the revolutions of the planets, for the Sun, Mercury, and Jupiter, keep in the same course. Harmonious also is the constitution of the world, in exactly the same manner as all musical composition amongst ourselves is divided into the arrangement of the five tetrachords, — the highest, the middle, the united, the separated, and the bass. Tunes also have five intervals — *diesis*, *semitone*, tone, tone and a half, double tone. Thus doth Nature appear to take more delight in making all things run in *fives*, than she does in making them spherical — as Aristotle used to say.

“Why, then (somebody may ask), did Plato refer

the number of the Five Worlds to the five geometrical figures, by saying 'that the Deity employed the *fifth constitution* upon the Universe, when he mapped out that universe' — and then by suggesting that question about the number of worlds, as to whether it is in reality proper to hold that they be one or five, he evidently thinks that the notion arises from that circumstance. If, then, we must bring forward *probability* as an argument against that notion of his — if you reflect that of the differences of those bodies and figures the necessary consequence is a habit of variation, as he himself teaches when he is proving that whatever is subdivided, or composite, does, along with the alteration of the essence, also change the form. For if Fire be produced from Air, in consequence of the Octahedron being dissolved, and split up into pyramids;<sup>1</sup> or on the contrary, Air out of Fire, when it is driven together and compressed into the Octahedron — it is not possible for it to remain where it was at first, but it flies and is borne along into another place, forcing its way and struggling with all that oppose and check its course. But the case is better illustrated by a comparison: those using the various instruments for the winnowing of wheat observe that the elements shaking the material, and that are shaken by the same, always approach like to like into another position . . . until the whole is put in order.<sup>2</sup> In the same way, Matter being then in that condition in which it is probable the universe would be, where the Deity is absent, the first five Qualities, having tendencies of their own, were carried asunder; not entirely so, however, nor were they clearly separated, for the reason that when all things were mixed up together, those that were overpowered followed the stronger, in spite of their natural tendency. For which reason, in fact, they (these five Qualities) produced portions and intervals in like number for the different species of bodies that moved asunder in different directions — one, not of pure *Fire*, but of fiery nature; another, not of unmixed *Æther*, but æthereal;

<sup>1</sup> The pyramid being equivalent to Fire, when a figure composed of pyramids is taken to pieces Fire must necessarily be produced. Again, if these pyramids be put together into the figure of the Octahedron, which is the equivalent of air, air must be the result.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this paragraph has fallen into inextricable confusion; but the sense is that in the winnowing of corn, the different parts, such as the chaff and the grains, when put into violent motion, have a natural tendency to collect like with like.

another, not of *Earth* pure and simple, but earthy; and above all, *Air* associated with *Water*, because, as already mentioned, it had gone off impregnated with elements of different sorts.<sup>1</sup> For it was not the Deity who parted and distributed the Essence, but after it had separated itself and was moving asunder in such varieties of disorder, He took it in hand, arranged and fitted it together, by the rule of analogy and the golden mean: in the next place, He having set Reason, like a deputy and guard in each province,<sup>2</sup> He created as many worlds as are the kinds of the primal substances. Let thus much be conceded in Plato's favor, for Ammonius's sake; but for my part I will not affirm positively respecting the number of worlds, that they are exactly so many as this; but yet I consider the opinion that has been advanced of there being more than one, not indeed infinite, but limited in number, to be more agreeable to analogy than any of the rest; when I consider the natural tendency to dispersion and subdivision of Matter, whilst it is not suffered by Reason to move in one direction only, nor yet in an infinite number of ways. But here, if anywhere, let us remember the Academy, and divest ourselves of too much confidence, and reserve *certainty*, as in a slippery place, for the argument about their infinity."<sup>3</sup>

On my saying this, Demetrius replied: "Rightly does Lamprias advise, for —

"The gods in *form* are many, not in *thought*,

as Euripides says: but they trip us up in facts, when we are so bold as to give our opinions on such great matters, as though we knew all about them: but we must bring back the discussion, as the same person says, to the original subject. For the assertion that the Oracles are lying idle and dumb, because the dæmons have migrated or deceased, just as workmen leave their tools, starts another yet more important inquiry into the *cause* and *power*, whereby they render prophets and prophetesses possessed with inspiration, and capable of seeing visions. For it is not possible

<sup>1</sup> φάλλον ἀναπεπλησμένον in text must be read ἑλῶν ἀναπεπλησμένον.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the Alexandrian school got the doctrine of the Logos acting as the deputy of the Supreme Deity.

<sup>3</sup> The *infinity* of the number of worlds may be denied with *certainty*; but the actual number must ever be a matter of dispute.

to lay the blame on their desertion as the cause why the Oracles are dumb, without first explaining in what way the dæmons, when they *do* preside at them, and are present, render these same Oracles active and able to speak." Ammonius, taking up the word: "Do you think, then, that the dæmons are anything else but spirits that go up and down, as Hesiod says, 'clothed in mist'? For it seems to me that whatever difference one man exhibits, as compared with another who is acting either tragedy or comedy, just the same difference will a spirit that has taken possession of the body exhibit with respect to ordinary life.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, neither absurd nor strange if spirits encountering spirits do create in them visions of the Future; just as we ourselves signify to each other, not by voice alone, but also by writing; nay, aften also by a touch, or by a look, many things of what has happened, and also tell beforehand many of what are about to happen by the same means. And if you, my Ammonius,<sup>2</sup> say nothing to the contrary, for a rumor lately reached us of your having talked at length on the subject with your hosts at Lebadia, nothing of which did our informant exactly remember." "Do not wonder at it," answered I; "for many doings and occupations intervening, in consequence of there being an oracle and a sacrifice going on, rendered our discourses desultory, and full of interruptions." "But now," replied Ammonius, "you have got hearers quite at liberty, and anxious partly to inquire, partly to learn, all cavilling and contradiction being put out of the way, and full indulgence and freedom, as you see, granted to the discussion."

When all the rest joined in this demand, I, after a short pause, continued: "In truth, Ammonius, by an odd coincidence, 'twas yourself that supplied the starting-point and introduction to those discourses of mine. For whether dæmons be spirits separated from the body, or never united to one, according to you and the divine Hesiod, being

"Pure dwellers upon earth, keepers of mortals,

<sup>1</sup> There is the same difference between a man possessed by a Spirit and ordinary men, as there is between a tragedian or comedian when acting and other people.

<sup>2</sup> A mistake for "Lamprias," who replies in the next sentence.

why shall we deprive souls in the body of that power by which the dæmons are naturally enabled to foreknow and foretell future events? For that any new power or faculty is superadded to souls after they have left the body, which they did not previously possess, is by no means probable: but that they possess, indeed, those powers originally, but have them in inferior degree, whilst united with the body, some being imperceptible and latent, others feeble and obscure, in a similar way to things seen through a mist, or in moving water, inactive, and slow, and standing in need of much curing, and recovery of what is their own,<sup>1</sup> and removal and clearing away of what obscures them — all this is probable enough. For just as the Sun doth not *become* bright, when he bursts through the clouds, but *is* so perpetually, yet he appears to us, when in a mist, dull and obscure, in like manner the soul doth not *acquire* the prophetic power, when it passes out of the body, as out of a cloud, but possesses it even now, though it is dimmed by its mixture and confusion with the body. We ought not to wonder or disbelieve this, when we observe, if nothing else, the faculty of the Soul which is the converse of Foreknowledge, that is what we call the *Memory*: how great an operation doth it perform in preserving and storing up things gone by, or rather, things that are! For of things past, none is or subsists, but all things are born and die together — both actions, and words, and passions — whilst Time, like a mighty river, sweeps them by, one by one; but this faculty of the Soul, laying hold upon them, I know not how, invests things not present with visible form and existence! For, truly, the oracle given to the Thes-salians respecting Anna, promises

“To the deaf hearing, to the blind their sight.

But the Memory is to us the hearing of deaf actions, and the seeing of blind. No wonder, then, as I have said, if that which holds tight the things that be no more, should anticipate many of those that do not yet exist; for *these* belong more peculiarly to it, and for these it has a natural sympathy, inasmuch as it stretches itself out, and pushes forward towards the Future, but disengages itself from

<sup>1</sup> Their proper faculties.

things that be past and come to an end, except so far as the remembering of them goes.

“Souls therefore possessing this faculty inherent in their nature, though obscured, and hardly showing itself, do nevertheless put forth blossom, and recover this power — in dreams often, on the point of death,<sup>1</sup> some few — either that the body becomes purified, or assumes a new temperament on these occasions,<sup>2</sup> or else that the reasoning and thinking parts of the soul are unbound and released from the irrational and visionary condition of the Present, and turn towards the Future. For it is not so, as Euripides says: —

“ He’s the best prophet that can guess the best,

but such a one is a man that has his wits about him, and follows the intelligent part of his soul as it guides him on his way, with a show of probability. For the prophetic part, like a tablet unwritten on,<sup>3</sup> senseless, and indefinite of itself, but capable of receiving visionary impressions and forebodings, grasps the Future without any consideration, at the moment when it is first departing out of the Present. It makes the same escape from the Present by means of the temperament and condition of the body when in a state of change, which we call *inspiration*. Now the body doth frequently of its own accord acquire this predisposition; and the earth sends forth springs of water productive of various effects upon mankind — some being productive of delirium, and disease, and death; and others that are good, benignant, and salubrious, as they prove by experience to such as frequent them. But the prophetic stream or blast is the most godlike and most holy, whether it be taken in with the air or drawn from the liquid fountain; for when it unites itself with the body it engenders in the soul a temperament altogether unusual and strange, the peculiar nature of which it is difficult to explain clearly, although history in many places affords us means for a conjecture. That by means of its heat and diffusion it opens certain passages suited to admit impressions

<sup>1</sup> *τελευτάς* for *τελευτάς*, beyond all doubt.

<sup>2</sup> The soul’s poor cottage, battered and decayed,  
Lies in new light thro’ chinks that Time hath made.

<sup>3</sup> A blank sheet of paper.



of the Future is probable enough, just as when wine gets up into the head it brings about other effects, and unlocks words stored up in memory and forgotten. Also the Bacchic frenzy and madness itself possesses much of the prophetic spirit, when the soul, becoming heated and full of fire, shakes off the caution that human prudence lays upon it, and thereby frequently turns aside and puts out the fire of inspiration.

“At the same time one may, not without reason, suppose that dryness coming on together with heat, subtilizes the spirit, and renders it more ethereal and pure: because the soul itself is *dry*, according to Heraclitus. For moisture not only dulls the sight and hearing, but when it touches mirrors takes away from them reflection (*μίχρος*); and the brightness and the light descend from the air. On the other hand, again, that through a certain sudden cooling and condensation of spirit, as is the case in the tempering of iron, that the prophetic portion of the soul is both augmented and rendered keener, is a thing by no means impossible. And again, just as tin being melted together with it constringes and solidifies copper, naturally soft and porous, and renders it brighter and cleaner, in like manner the prophetic vapor, it is not improbable, having a certain sympathy and affinity to the soul, fills up the soft parts thereof, and cements and keeps them together. For different substances are congenial and have affinity to others, just as bean-flour is supposed to assist the dye of the murex, and natron<sup>1</sup> that of the kermes, when mixed therewith: ‘some of the blue crocus is mingled with flax,’ and as Empedocles hath said. But with respect to the Cydnus, and the consecrated sword of Apollo at Tarsus, we have heard you, Demetrius, telling how that only the Cydnus cleanses that steel, and no other river cleanses that sword. At Olympia also, the ashes for the Altar<sup>2</sup> they knead up, and bring to consistency, by pouring over them water out of the Alpheus, but if they wet these same ashes with any other water they are not able to solidify and cement the ashes.

“It is therefore not to be wondered at if, although

<sup>1</sup> Native carbonate of soda, got from the Natron Lakes, near Cairo: the ancient substitute for soap.

<sup>2</sup> This Altar was an immense heap of the ashes produced by the sacrifices from time immemorial; as Pausanias describes the same.

Earth sends up numerous streams, these [at Delphi] alone should dispose the soul to ecstasy, and to conceive visions of future events. And the voice of Fame likewise indisputably tallies with my argument, for the story goes that the power residing in the place first became manifest after a certain shepherd had accidentally tumbled into the well, and afterwards began to utter words that were inspired, which his neighbors at first laughed at, but when many things the fellow had foretold actually came about, then they were filled with wonder. And the best historians of Delphi keep up the memory of his name, and call him Coretas. But it seems to me that the soul acquires this tendency and inclination to dissolve into the prophetic spirit, for the same reason as the sight does with respect to the light, because the latter has a natural sympathy for it. For though the eye possesses the power of vision, there is no employment of it without the light; similarly the prophetic faculty of the soul, like the eye, stands in need of something of its own nature to assist in grasping objects, and to sharpen its force. For which cause, most of the ancients supposed Apollo to be the same with the Sun, and they that understood and admired the beautiful and ingenious comparison, guessed that what body is to soul, sight to mind, light to truth — the same is the Sun to the nature of Apollo; his offspring, and his child, perpetually born of 'Him that is,' perpetually reflecting<sup>1</sup> the author of its being; for it kindles, promotes, and stimulates the power of vision of the sense, just as he does the prophetic faculty of the soul.

"Those, however, that supposed him one and the same god with the Sun, did with good reason dedicate the Oracle to Apollo and the Earth conjointly: for they believed that the Sun generated in the Earth the disposition and temperament out of which she sends forth the prophetic vapor. Earth herself, 'sure foundation of all things,' as Hesiod with far more sagacity than our philosophers hath called her, we hold to be everlasting and imperishable:<sup>2</sup> but of the powers belonging to her, it is probable that in one place deceases happen, in another

<sup>1</sup> ἀποφαινοντες makes no sense; it must be ἀποφαινοντα, referring to ἥλιον.

<sup>2</sup> Julian, who evidently had studied this tract, uses the very same expression in his above-quoted Hymn.

new births; elsewhere, migrations and influxes from different quarters, and that such revolutions come round no less frequently in the whole course of time, as we may conjecture from natural phenomena. For in the case of lakes, rivers, and yet more, of hot springs, there have occurred in some places failures, and wastings away, and in others, as it were, a flight and self-interment: and on the other hand, their re-appearance in the same places as before, or their welling forth in the same neighborhood. Also of mines, entire failures have happened in recent times, as for instance of the silver mines in Attica, and of the copper ore in Eubœa, out of which the *cold-hammered*<sup>1</sup> sword-blades used to be wrought, as Æschylus says —

“Taking his self-sharpened Eubœan blade:

and in the case of the quarry at Carystus, 'tis no long time since it ceased to produce soft and thread-like veins of stone:<sup>2</sup> for I believe some of you have seen towels and nets, and hair-cauls made thereof, which would not burn, but as many as became dirty from use, they threw into the fire, and got them back again bright and transparent; but now it has disappeared and scarcely fibres or hairs, as it were, of the substance, run about in the mines.

“And of all these effects the followers of Aristotle make out the Exhalation to be the author in the interior of the earth. Simultaneously with which exhalation it is a necessary consequence that effects of the kind must come to an end, change their places, and on the other hand be revived once more. In fact, we must hold the same opinion with respect to oracular inspirations, inasmuch as they have not an everlasting, or undecaying power, but one that is subject to vicissitudes. For it is probable that excessive rains extinguish these exhalations; or that by

<sup>1</sup> Like the spear-heads and chisels of the ancient miners on Lake Superior, hammered out of the pure metal, without the use of fire, and yet of the most extraordinary temper: cutting the ore better than steel tools. Also the “cobre dos labradores” in Nicaragua, fit for use as it comes from the mine (Dan. Wilson: Boyle).

<sup>2</sup> A valuable notice of the origin of the asbestos cloth, specimens of which are still found in Roman tombs. Carystus supplied the Cipolline marble, largely employed at Rome at the time of this Dialogue. The pillars of the portico of the Temple of Faustina, immensely large, are made of it.

the falling of thunder-bolts they are destroyed; or, above all, when the earth is affected by a trembling, and suffers settlements and jumbling together of her parts, in her inmost depths, that the said exhalations shift their place, or are put out entirely, just as in this place they say it [the oracular power] did not continue after the great earthquake, which also overthrew the whole city.<sup>1</sup> And at Orchomenos they relate that a pestilence prevailing, many people perished, and the Oracle of Tiresias came to an end altogether, and remains idle and silent to this day. And if the same fate has befallen those in Cilicia, as we hear is the case, nobody will give us more authentic news of it than yourself, Demetrius."

Then Demetrius: "I know not the present state of things: for, as you are aware, I have now been away from home a very long time. But when I was there the Oracle of Mopsus still flourished, as well as that of Amphiloehus. But I have a very wonderful event to tell, which happened during my visit to the Oracle of Mopsus. The governor of Cilicia, being sceptical in religious matters, disbelieving them, I fancy, out of wantonness,<sup>2</sup> for he was an extremely insolent and wicked man, and had about him a set of Epicureans who after their fine fashion and their 'natural science' principles, made sport of all things of the kind, as they themselves openly profess; he sent his freedman, furnishing him as a spy going into the enemy's camp, with a sealed letter, in which the inquiry was written, nobody knowing the contents. The fellow therefore having passed the night, as is the rule, within the sanctuary, and having slept there, related to us next morning the following dream. He dreamed that a man of handsome appearance stood over him and shouted 'A black one!' and nothing more, but immediately retired. This seemed to us absurd, and occasioned great perplexity; the governor, however, was astounded at it, and making

<sup>1</sup> This curious passage is unluckily so corrupt that the meaning can only be guessed from the context, *παρὰ μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν* must certainly be read *ὡς περ ἐγένετο περὶ τ. μ. σ.* The cessation of the Delphic Oracle, was, however, only for a time.

<sup>2</sup> *δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστίας* must be *δι' ἀσέλγειαν ἀπιστήσας*, or perhaps *ἀσέβειαν*. "Epicureans, Atheists, and Christians," are classed together in the proclamation of the oracle-monger, Alexander of Aboneticus, as persons to be chased from the temple.

a gesture of adoration and opening the letter, showed written therein the question: Whether shall I sacrifice to thee a white or a black bull? so that the Epicureans were put to the rout, and he himself performed the sacrifice, and ever after held Mopsus in respect."<sup>1</sup>

Demetrius having spoken thus much, ceased: but I, wishing to place, as it were, a crowning stone on the discussion, turned my eyes upon Philip and Ammonius, who were sitting together: they seemed to me to be wanting to say something, but they checked themselves again. At last Ammonius: "Philip has got something to say about the story just told, for he believes, as do many others, and I myself, that Apollo is no other god, but the same with the Sun: but my difficulty is a greater one, and concerning greater matters. At first, we went aside, I know not how, in the discussion, and transferred with all due respect the oracular office from the gods to the dæmons; but now we seem to me to be pushing these latter gentlemen themselves from thence, out of the oracle and off the Tripod; when we resolve the final cause of prophecy, or rather its very essence and power, into blasts and vapors and exhalations. For the above-mentioned 'temperatures' and 'heatings' and 'temperings,' the more they draw away our belief from the interposition of the Deity, suggest such an idea of the Final Cause as Euripides makes his Cyclops entertain: —

" For will she, nill she, dame Necessity  
Makes the grass grow, that feeds my sheep so fat.

Except that *he* says he does not sacrifice to the gods but to himself and 'his belly, that greatest of deities,' whereas *we* both offer sacrifice and make prayers at the Oracles, for what purpose, pray, if it is only winds that excite the prophetic power in them; or else some kind of temperature of the air or wind, that sets the same in motion? and what is the meaning of the presentation of the victims, and the fact of them not being acceptable unless the beast become all of a tremble from the top of the brow down-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander the Prophet, by taking a cast in plaster of the seals of such letters of inquiry, was able to open them, learn the contents, frame his responses accordingly, reseal the letters, and return to the bringers with seal unbroken. Mopsus, doubtless, was acquainted with the same device to promote his "clairvoyance."

wards, and stagger, when the libation is poured upon it? For it is not sufficient that it shake its head, as in the case of all other sacrifices, but the motion and quivering must spread over all its limbs, accompanied with a tremulous sound; for whenever this does not take place, they say the Oracle is not at work, and do not bring in the Pythoness. And yet, if they supposed the chief cause to have nothing to do with either god or dæmon, it would be reasonable for them to act and to think in this way: but according to your notions, it is not reasonable; for the exhalation, whether the victim do tremble or not, being there permanently will produce the inspiration, and that not merely in the Pythoness, but in any ordinary person. For which reason it is absurd to employ one woman only for the purpose of the Oracles, and to give her trouble by keeping her all her life through, chaste and pure. For that Coretas, who, the Delphians say, first gave notice of the property residing in the place by tumbling into it, did not, I fancy, differ in any way from the other goat-herds and shepherds — that is, indeed, if this be not an allegory, or an empty fiction, as I myself esteem it. But when I reflect of what great service to the Greeks this Oracle hath been the author, both in wars and in the founding of cities, also on occasions of pestilence and seasons of barrenness, I think it hard to assign both the discovery and the final cause not to God and to Providence, but to accident and natural means. On these points," added he, "my dear Lamprias, I wish to discourse — will you have patience with me?"<sup>1</sup> "Yes, certainly," replied Philip, "and so will all of those present — for the subject interests the whole of us."

Then I in reply to him: "It has not only angered, but filled me with confusion, that I should be thought by you, and so numerous and respectable a company as you are, to have (in spite of my years),<sup>2</sup> made out a fine story by plausible arguments, in order to destroy or upset any of the sound and religious notions entertained with respect to the Deity. I will therefore make my defence against the charge, and bring forward Plato for a witness and advocate in my cause; since that philosopher has censured

<sup>1</sup> περιμένους must be περιμένεις.

<sup>2</sup> One of the few indications of a date to be found in these *Moralia*, as showing they were written in Plutarch's old age.

Anaxagoras of old, seeing that he went too much into natural causes, and was always tracing out and hunting after what was necessarily accomplished by the properties of bodies, so that he neglected the higher causes, final and efficient, of the effect and of the agent. He (Plato) was the first, or did the most, of the philosophers, to investigate both points; assigning to the Deity the origin of the things that are constituted according to reason; without, however, depriving Matter of the efficient causes necessary for that which is done; for he discerned that all the world of sense was regularly arranged, but was not unmixed or pure, but receives its origin from Matter impregnated by Reason. And consider in the case of artificers: for example here at hand, the celebrated base and stand for the vase which Herodotus calls the 'Crater holder,'<sup>1</sup> that has for natural efficient causes fire and iron, and above all the tempering of the metal by means of fire and water, without which there was no means for the work to be done. But the yet more valid cause that set these two in motion, and kept them incessantly at work, did Art and Reason furnish to the undertaking, and again the creator and artist of these pictures and figures around us,<sup>2</sup> has inscribed himself 'Polygnotus of Thasos, son of Aglaophon, has painted the sacking of the citadel of Ilium' — as he is seen to have written.<sup>3</sup> But without the aid of paints ground up together and dissolved into each other, there was no possibility for this work to have got its arrangement and visible form. Does then the person who wishes to trace out the material cause, by inquiring and explaining what effects and changes ochre produces when mixed with Sinope, or Melean white with lampblack<sup>4</sup> — does he thereby detract from the fame of Polygnotus? And he that tells about the hardening and the softening of iron, how that

<sup>1</sup> Dedicated by Alyattes, father of Cræsus, and regarded as a miracle of art, being made of wrought iron, and all the parts *welded* together, not fastened by rivets. At the time of its making, the sixth century before our era (Alyattes B.C. 560), wrought iron was hardly known in Greece. Herodotus says the maker, Glaucus of Chios, first invented the welding of iron. The stand supported a great crater of silver, but *this* would not have escaped the melting-pot of Philomelus, or of Sylla after him.

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated fresco of the "Fall of Troy," painted on the walls of the Lesche.

<sup>3</sup> *Aliter*, as you may see he has written.

<sup>4</sup> The only colors used by the early painters were yellow, red, white, and black.

when deprived of rigidity by means of fire it spreads itself and yields to those who are beating it out, and bringing it into form, and having been thrown into pure water, by reason of the tenderness and liquidity produced on it by the fire, it becomes impregnated with cold, and acquires the elasticity and the density that Homer calls 'the strength of iron' — does he the less on that score wholly reserve to the artificer the cause of the production of the work? I, truly, do not think so. Again, there are some who investigate the properties of remedial agents, and yet do not subvert the science of medicine. In the same way, certainly, when Plato makes out that we see by means of the light resident in the eye being mingled with the light of the Sun, and that we hear by means of the repercussion of the air, does not disprove that we were born capable of seeing and of hearing by design and by providence.

"And universally, as I say, existence having two efficient causes, the very ancient theologians and poets chose to pay attention only to the higher one of the two, applying to all subjects in common that invocation: —

"Jove first, Jove last, all things spring out of Jove,

for they had not yet got as far as 'necessary' and 'physical causes.' But the more modern, and those styling themselves 'natural philosophers,' on the contrary, stray away from the superior cause, and place the whole theory of sensation in elements, conditions of elements, collisions, and interminglings of bodies. For which cause the reasoning on both sides is deficient in an essential part, for the one set ignore or omit the agent and the author; the others, the means and the materials. Now he who was the first to handle both these points in a lucid manner, and who took into the account besides Him that makes according to Reason, and puts into motion, the necessarily subject and passive element, will clear us also of all suspicion and blame. For we do not make prophecy to be without God and without Reason, by assigning to it the human soul for the *material*, but the inspiring breath or exhalation, for the *instrument* as it were, or the thing that makes it give out a sound. For in the first place it is Earth that breeds these exhalations, but He who imparts to Earth the faculty



for tempering and for changing, namely, the Sun, is, according to the belief of our fathers, a god to us. In the next place, as we have dæmons, as it were, for presidents, ministers, and guardians, of this said natural constitution, who occasionally let it down, like a musical instrument, and again tighten it up, by diminishing its over-great ecstatic and maddening property, and tempering the excitement so as to be unproductive of pain or injury to such as experience it — we must not be thought to be doing anything unreasonable or impossible.

“For when we offer the preliminary sacrifice, and put garlands and pour libations upon the victim, we are not doing anything opposed to this view of the matter. For the priests and holy men say that they offer up the victim, pour the libation, and observe its movement and trembling for no other purpose than to discover whether the god is then performing his functions,<sup>1</sup> because it is necessary that the thing to be sacrificed should be perfect both in body and soul, unblemished, and uncorrupted. Indications of this in the case of the *body*, it is not very difficult to discover; but the *soul* they test by putting upon the bulls barley-meal, and upon the he-goats vetches: for the beast that eats not thereof they judge not to be sound. For the she-goat cold water is the test — because the animal is not of a nature insensible to such sprinkling, and not disposed to tremble at it. But whether it be certain that the quivering of the victim be a sign of its being lawful to consult the Oracle, and its not quivering of the reverse, I do not perceive what objection results therefrom against my argument, because every power acts better or worse according to the season ordained for it by Nature; consequently when the season varies, it is but reasonable the Deity should give us warning of the fact.

“As for the Exhalation<sup>2</sup> itself, I do not think it is constantly in the same condition, but that it is liable to

<sup>1</sup> *θεμιστεύειν*, Themis having been first owner of the Oracle.

<sup>2</sup> An instance of a similar *πνεῦμα* issuing from the earth is to be found at Gradovo, capital of Montenegro; where, within the monastery court, there issues from a chasm in the rock a strong and icy wind, coldest in the summer heats. This too produces inspiration, though indirectly, for the monks make use of it to cool their wine and beer. Nevertheless, the fact of its being enclosed within the sacred walls, proves that a character of sanctity was attached to it at the time of the conversion of the mountaineers (“Montenegro,” by R. C. S.).

fallings off, and on the other hand, to augmentations of force: and for the fact which I adduce as proof, I have the testimony of many visitors, and of all the people that minister to the Oracle. For the hall in which they make those who consult the god sit down, is filled, not frequently nor regularly, but at uncertain intervals, with a sweet smell, and a breath, like the most delicious and costly perfumes, in consequence of the sanctuary sending forth vapors as from a fountain:<sup>1</sup> for it is probable that it is excited from time to time, either by heat, or some accidental compression. But if this does not seem to you credible, at least you will allow that the Pythoness herself has the part of her soul which is affected by the exhalation in different states and dispositions at different times, and does not always preserve the same temperament like an unchangeable harmony. For many infirmities and disturbances, to her own knowledge, and many more that be unperceived, seize upon her body, and pervade her soul, filled with which it is better she should not enter there; neither ought they (the priests) in that state to present her to the god when she is not perfectly pure, just as though she were some musical instrument, well finished indeed, and well sounding, but yet liable to be affected, and to get out of tune. For neither does wine always produce intoxication in the same manner, nor the fife, excitement, but at one time the same persons rave and rage more, at another time less, as the temperament in them varies. But especially does the imaginative part of the soul show itself to be mastered by the body, and to sympathize with its changes; as is apparent in the case of dreams. For sometimes we are involved in numerous and infinitely varied visions, whilst at other times, on the contrary, we have complete freedom and peace from anything of the sort, and we know that Cleon here, one of the people from Daulia, declares that in all the many years he has lived, he has never had a single dream. And of those of former times the same thing is told respecting Thrasy-medes the Heræan. The cause is the temperament of the body: for that of the atrabilious is very subject to dreams,

<sup>1</sup> An important fact, as showing that the emission of some intoxicating gas from the depths of the cavern was by no means a fable. The so-called "laughing gas," which produces immediate intoxication, has the smell of bitter almonds.

and to visions, even though dreaming true seems to be their especial privilege: because turning themselves in their fancies to many things at many times, like those shooting often, they *sometimes* hit the mark.

“When, therefore, the prophetic and imaginative faculty is in a state that harmonizes with the assimilation of the vapor, like that of a medicine, inspiration must necessarily follow; just as, that not being the case, it must either not take place at all, or else be delirious, not genuine, and full of confusion — as we know happened in the case of the Pythoness lately deceased. For consultants of the Oracle having arrived from abroad,<sup>1</sup> the victim is said to have withstood the preliminary agitations without feeling, and without motion; and when the priests in their zeal substituted others, and still persevered, with difficulty did it become tremulous<sup>2</sup> and staggering about, to give the necessary sign. What, pray, happened with respect to the Pythoness? She descended into the place of the Oracle against her will, and in a bad humor; and directly upon the very first answers, she manifested by the harsh sound of her voice that she was not repeating<sup>3</sup> the dictation of the god: like to a ship drifting before the gale, she was filled with an incoherent and evil inspiration. At last being completely driven out of her senses, and rushing with a shriek to the entrance, she threw herself on the ground; so that not only the consultants took to flight in terror, but even the interpreter<sup>4</sup> Nicander, and such of the holy men as were present. After a little while, however, they went in again, and picked her up — she was insane, and only survived for a few days.<sup>5</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> From some Roman official, high in power, as may be inferred from the zeal of the priests in not keeping the envoys waiting for a more auspicious day.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπομβρον for ὑπύτρομον.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναφέρειν must apply to what she *ought* to have heard the dweller in the cave respond. Some words that followed are lost.

<sup>4</sup> The προφήτης must be rendered “interpreter,” his business being to put into an intelligible form the incoherent utterances of the intoxicated woman. Such an officer was a necessary appendage to every Oracle, wherever established. At the Temple of Deus Nodens, in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, Victorinus calls himself “Interpres Latine,” not because the god was drunk like the Pythia, but because, as a local deity, he could only speak Welsh. This building was of the time of the Flavian family.

<sup>5</sup> The particulars just given prove the unfortunate Pythia died from a violent fit of delirium tremens, produced by the unusual strength of the

is the reason why they keep the body of the Pythoness pure from all sexual intercourse, and her life clear from all mixture and contact with and conversation of strangers: and also before consultation, observe the above-mentioned signs: for they believe that it is clearly understood by the god whether she has the proper frame of body and disposition, so as to receive the inspiration without injury. For the power of the vapor does not affect all persons indiscriminately, nor yet the same persons always in the same way, but as above said, it supplies an incentive and cause to such as be suitably disposed to feel it, and undergo the change. The power is in reality due to a god, and to a dæmon, yet it is not exempt from cessation, imperishable, undecaying, or capable of lasting to all eternity of time — by which all things between Earth and Moon are worn out, according to our theory. Some there be who hold that even things *above* that sphere do not hold out to all eternity and infinity, but are subject to violent revolutions and renewals.

“These subjects I exhort both you and myself to examine frequently; inasmuch as they present many holds for objections, and grounds for the opposite opinion; which time does not allow us to enumerate at length. So they must lie over, as also the question Philip raised about the Sun and Apollo.”

nitrous gas she had inspired. But this was a rare exception, the gaseous intoxication as a rule being harmless, and not preventing her sisters from attaining to great age.

## THE PYTHIAN RESPONSES.

Why are the Pythian Responses no longer given in verse?

### BASILOCLES-PHILINUS.

*Bas.* "You have made it late in the evening, Philinus, by escorting your guest about amongst the dedicated things: I lost all patience in waiting for you both."

*Phil.* "Yes, Basilocles, for we strolled along slowly — sowing as we went, and forthwith 'reaping words with fighting,' that sprung up and emerged along our path, like the crop of the Dragon's Teeth, spiteful and contentious."

*Bas.* "Will it then be necessary to appeal to one of those who were present at the time; or are you willing yourself to gratify us, and repeat what the talk was, and who were the talkers?"

*Phil.* "The task, as it seems, is mine, for none of the others will you easily find in the town, for I saw the most of them again going up in company with the visitor to the Corycium, and the Lycoreia."

*Bas.* "How fond of sight-seeing, and extravagantly fond of hearing stories, our stranger is!"

*Phil.* "Nay, rather, fond of history, and fond of learning: and not so much to be admired for these two points, as for a gentleness combined with much elegance of manner, and an incredulity and fondness for disputation, the result of intelligence, that has nothing in it ill-tempered or stubborn in receiving one's explanations: so that after being a little while in his company you exclaim, 'The child of a good father!' for you are acquainted with Diogenianus, that best of men?"

*Bas.* "I have not seen him personally; but have met with many of those who greatly approve of the conversation and the character of that man, and say just the same things of him as you do of the youth. But what starting point and pretext had this discussion of yours to begin?"

*Phil.* "The guides went through their appointed duties,<sup>1</sup> paying no heed to our entreaties that they would cut short their long tales, and the reading the greatest part of the inscriptions. The sight and artistic merit of the statues did not so much attract the notice of the visitor, who had in all likelihood seen many fine things of the sort elsewhere; but he admired the color of the bronze, which was not like dirt or verdigris, but shone with a dark blue dye, so as to contribute considerably to the effect of the statues of the admirals (for he had begun his round with them), standing as they did, sea-like as it were in color, and truly men of ocean-deep. Had there been then, he asked, some mode of alloying and preparing the bronze, used by the ancient artificers, like the traditional tempering<sup>2</sup> of swords, which process being lost, then bronze obtained exemption from all warlike employments? For it is known that the Corinthian metal acquired the beauty of its color not through art, but through accident, when a fire consumed a house containing a little gold and silver, but a great quantity of bronze there stored up; all which being mixed and melted together, the preponderating part, by reason of its largeness, originated the name of the bronze." Theon, taking him up, said: "We have heard another story, more clever than yours — that a man at Corinth, a brasier by trade, having found a hoard containing much gold, and being afraid of detection, broke up little by little and quietly mixed the gold with his bronze, which acquired thereby a wonderful quality, and sold his metal at a high price, as it was much sought after on account of its color and beauty. But both the one account and the other is a fable. It was, in all probability, a peculiar alloying and treatment of the metal — just as nowadays by alloying gold with silver they produce a peculiar and extraordinary pale color, that looks to me sickly, and a mere spoiling of its beauty."<sup>3</sup>

"What then," asked Diogenianus, "do you say has been the cause of the peculiar color of the bronze in this

<sup>1</sup> Curious, as showing the establishment of regular *custodi* for the benefit of visitors.

<sup>2</sup> This shows that the good temper of the old bronze weapons was as much a problem to the Romans as it is now to us.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to the electrum, then much in vogue for table plate on account of its superior brilliancy; and which was gold largely alloyed with silver, to one-fifth of its weight.

place?" And Theon replied: "Inasmuch as of the greatest and most natural things that are and shall be — namely, Fire, Water, Earth, Air — there is not one that comes near to, or has to do with the bronze except Air, it is clear that the metal has been thus affected by this element, and has acquired the peculiarity which it possesses by reason of this being always about it, and pressing upon it: you know, surely, that this once took place in the case<sup>1</sup> of Theognis, according to the comic poet? But what property the air has, and what influence it exerts in its contact with the bronze — these are the two things, Diogenianus, that you desire to learn?" and upon Diogenianus assenting: "so do I, my dear boy; therefore, if you please, let us investigate the matter in concert: and as a beginning — for what reason does oil, above all other liquids, coat bronze with verdigris,<sup>2</sup> for it does not generate the verdigris simply by being rubbed over the metal, because it is pure and clear when applied to the surface."<sup>3</sup> "By no means," replied the young man, "does this seem to me to be the reason: but because the oil being thin, pure, and transparent, the verdigris falling upon it, is very perceptible, whereas in other liquids, it becomes invisible." "Well done, my dear boy," said Theon, ". . . but examine, if you please, the reason that is assigned by Aristotle." "I wish to do so," replied he. "Aristotle, therefore, asserts that verdigris, if put upon other liquids, runs through them and is dispersed, because they are porous and fluid; whereas it is arrested by the solidity or density of the oil, and remains collected in a mass. If, therefore, we can ourselves devise some hypothesis of the kind, we shall not be entirely at a loss for some charm or cure against the present difficulty."

"Thus then," said he, "did we pronounce and agree, that the air at Delphi, being dense and compact, and re-

<sup>1</sup> *πρὶν* in text must be *περὶ*. The joke probably was that Theognis got his red face from the contact of the atmosphere — not from the bottle; as some philosopher once attributed the paleness of our Fellows to the great brasier formerly warming the Hall; now, alas! banished, but without any benefit to their complexions.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient receipt for "patinating" statues was by "oleo et sole," to use Pliny's words; not by washing them with acid, as at present.

<sup>3</sup> The text is very corrupt here, merely from the confusion of nominative and dative terminations of the pronouns and articles; but the sense is clear enough, that the oil, a pure liquid, cannot coat a surface with rust, but must produce it by some secret action of its own.

ceiving tension from the repercussion and resistance of the surrounding mountains, is at the same time biting and penetrating, as the facts about the digestion of food clearly evince: this air, then, by reason of its subtile quality enters into and cuts the bronze and so scrapes off verdigris in plenty, and that of an earthy nature, which again it holds suspended and compresses, because its own density does not allow of its unlimited diffusion . . . [but, on the contrary]<sup>1</sup> permits it to settle down by reason of its abundance, and to bloom, as it were, and get brilliancy and polish over the surface." And upon our admitting this, the visitor said that the one supposition (of the density) was sufficient for the explanation. "The subtile quality," said he, "would seem to contradict the asserted density of the air: and it is assumed without any necessity; for the bronze does of itself emit and discharge the verdigris, while the density of the air compresses and thickens it, and makes it visible in consequence of its abundance." Then Theon, interrupting him, said: "What is there to prevent the same thing from being at once both fine and dense, like silken and linen tissues, touching which Homer hath said: —

"From the bright linen dropped the liquid oil:

indicating the accuracy and the fineness of the weaving by the oil's not adhering to it, but slipping off by reason of its closeness, does not penetrate the texture. And again one may bring into play not only for the abrasion of surface in the bronze, the subtilty of the air, but the same cause is likely to render the color also more agreeable and bluer, because it mingles lustre with the azure atmosphere."

After this silence followed, and the guides again set to work with their stories. And upon the recital of a certain oracle in verse (concerning, I believe, the reign of Ægon the Argive) Diogenianus observed that he had often wondered at the badness and vulgarity of the verse in which the responses were uttered: although the god is the "Leader of the Muses," and the glory of the so-called oracle-making no less interests him, than that of tunes, songs, and auspicious words; and yet both Hesiod and Homer far excel him in utterance, — and the most part of

<sup>1</sup> Some words have dropped out here, but their sense is easily supplied,



his oracles we see are both as to the metre and as to the expressions a tissue of blunders and badness. Serapion, therefore, the poet from Athens, who was present, replied: "As we consider these verses to be the gods' own, we 'must sing this over again,' as the saying is; and make no use of the beauties of Hesiod and Homer, but correct our taste by means of bad habit."<sup>1</sup> To this Boethus the mathematician (you know the man who has lately gone over to the Epicureans) answered: "Did you ever hear the story about Pauson the painter?" "Not I ever," replied Serapion. "This Pauson, having been commissioned to paint a horse rolling about, drew it as running. His customer being angry at this, Pauson, with a laugh, turned the picture about, so that it was upside down, when the horse was shown not galloping but rolling on its back. For the same reason some people will say not that the Oracles are well made because they are the god's, but that they are not the god's, because they are badly made; because the first position is a matter of uncertainty, but the other, namely, that the verses containing the Oracles are not well made is, to a critic like you, friend Serapion, a thing as clear as day. For you write poems yourself in a philosophic and serious style, which in force, elegance, and finish as to the diction, are inferior rather to Hesiod and to Homer, than to those uttered by the Pythian Virgin."

"Yes," replied Serapion, "because we are diseased both in ears and eyes, through our luxury and effeminacy, so that we think pleasant things fine things, and declare them so. Perhaps we shall find fault with the Pythia for not declaiming more musically than Glauce, the lyrist, nor using perfumes or clothing herself in purple robes when she goes down into the cave; nor burning on the altar cassia, or ladanum, or frankincense, but only bay-leaves and barley-meal. Do you not see," replied he, "what grace the songs of Sappho possess, that soothe and enchant all hearers? But the Sibyl, according to Heraclitus, 'uttering with raving mouth things without a smile, without embellishment, and without perfume, reaches down to a thousand years by means of the god.' And

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* must accustom ourselves to think this bad poetry beautiful; and not take Homer and Hesiod for the standard of excellence.

Pindar says that Cadmus heard the god giving forth 'a music that was neither correct, nor sweet, nor luxurious, nor yet broken and uneven in the tunes.' For the Passionless and the Pure does not admit Pleasure, but she hath been thrown down here below together with Pain, and the far largest portion of her, as it seems, has flowed in a stream into the ears of men."<sup>1</sup>

And upon Serapion's saying this, Theon observed with a smile: "Serapion has given his customary scope to his feelings, by taking advantage of the conversations having turned upon the subject of pleasure; but we, Boethus, even though these verses may be very much worse than those of Homer, let us not suppose that the god himself made them, but that while he supplied the origin with the *inspiration*, the *verses* are the productions of each of the prophetesses in her turn. For if she were obliged to write down, and not to utter, the responses, we should not, I suppose, believe the handwriting to be the god's, and to find fault with it, because it is inferior in point of calligraphy to the imperial rescripts, for neither the old woman is the god's, nor her voice, nor her diction, nor her metre; but it is the god alone that presents the visions to this woman, and kindles light in her soul as regards the Future: for the inspiration is *this*. And to speak generally, it is impossible to evade you disciples of Epicurus (for *you* manifest yourself carried away by him), for you accuse of badness both the ancient prophetesses because they made inferior verses, and also those of the present day because they speak in prose and in everyday language, in order that they may not be responsible for headless, broken-backed, and deficient lines." Then Diogenianus: "Do not joke, for heaven's sake, but solve the problem for us, as it is a fine one; besides, there is no one but is seeking after the cause and reason why the Oracle has given up employing the metre and expression of poetry." But Theon in reply: "Nay, my dear boy, we already seem to have defrauded the guides of their proper business, by making experiments of our own: suffer them, therefore, to finish what they have to do, and then let us discuss this question at our leisure."

And as we were now going forward and come opposite

<sup>1</sup> Men get more pleasure through their ears than through any other sense.

the statue of Hiero the tyrant: the visitor, although already knowing all about him, nevertheless out of good nature showed himself a patient listener to the guide's tale. But on hearing that a bronze column, the gift of Hiero, standing further up, had fallen down of itself upon the very day on which Hiero's death happened at Syracuse, he expressed his surprise, and at the same time reminded him (the guide) of other occurrences of like nature, for instance of Hiero<sup>1</sup> the Spartan, how the eyes fell out of his statue at the moment of his death in the battle of Leuctra; and how the Twin Stars had vanished at the same time, which Lysander had dedicated after the sea-fight at Aigospotamoi; and the marble statue of Lysander himself shot forth wild brier and grass in such great quantity as to conceal his face; and how, on the other hand, in the Sicilian disasters of the Athenians, the golden dates dropped off the Palm-tree, and the shield of the little image of Pallas, ravens pecked all around. And the Crown of the Cnidians, which Philomelus, tyrant of the Phocians, had given to Pharsalia the ballet-girl, was the cause of her death after she had migrated from Greece into Italy, and was at Metapontum, disporting herself around the temple of Apollo. For the young men rushing to seize her crown, and quarrelling with each other for the gold, tore the poor creature into pieces.<sup>2</sup>

Now Aristotle used to say that Homer alone made "words that *walked*," on account of their vividness; but I say that of the statues standing here, very many *walk* and *aid* in foreshowing the fore-knowledge of the god; and of these no one part is void, or senseless, but all filled with the godhead. Then Beothus: "Nay, truly, is it not enough for us that the god is shut up once a month in a mortal body, but we must knead him up with every stone and piece of metal, just as though we had not a satisfactory explanation of all accidents of the sort you have

<sup>1</sup> Probably a false reading for Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, who fell at Leuctra. The story shows that paste eyes were not a Roman invention for statues. See above. Feuudent has a bronze statue of a youth, half life-size, with carbuncle-garnets for eyes. It was discovered in the sand on the coast of Rhodes. From the posture it seems to have been a Palæmon seated on a dolphin.

<sup>2</sup> This crown, therefore, was of little weight, doubtless from its distension in the shape of a wreath of bay leaves, for the girl to have worn it constantly. Gold at the time was exceedingly scarce in Greece and Italy, as numerous recorded instances attest.

mentioned, in Chance or in Nature?" "Then," replied I, "does each one of such events seem to you to resemble mere accident and self-movement: and is it credible that your 'atoms' should slip off, be separated, and move obliquely, neither before nor after, but exactly at the moment when each one of the dedicators was about to come to a bad or good end? And Epicurus benefits you by what he said or wrote three hundred years ago,<sup>1</sup> but the god, unless he brings and shuts himself up in everything, and is mingled up with all, is not thought by you to supply anything that exists, either with the final cause of motion, or the efficient cause of passion?"

In this way did I reply to Boethus, and much else to the same effect respecting the Sibylline oracles. For when we were arrived, and stopped opposite to the Rock, over against the Council-house, upon which they tell that the first Sibyl used to sit, having travelled thither from Helicon, where she had been brought up by the Muses (some say she came to Maleon, and was child of Lamia, daughter of Neptune), Boethus mentioned the Sibylline verses wherein she says, "That not even after death shall she cease from prophesying, but shall travel around in the Moon, and become what is called the Face in the Moon: her breath mingling with the Air is ever borne alone in rumors and airy tongues; out of her body, metamorphosed in Earth's bosom, shall spring shrubs and grass on which shall browse sacred herds that carry on their entrails all kinds of colors, forms, and qualities, whence omens of the future come to men." But Boethus laughed at these Oracles yet more openly than at the others. On which the visitor observed that even if these tales are much like fables, yet to the reality of these Oracles bear witness the uprootings and removals of many Greek cities, the sudden appearances of barbarian invasions, and the takings off of great personages. Again, these quite recent<sup>2</sup> and new calamities at Cumæ and Dicæarchia, hymned forth long ago and sung in the Sibylline verses, hath not Time made them good as though he were in debt for the same? "Burstings forth of mountain fire, boilings up of

<sup>1</sup> Epicurus died B.C. 270; whence we get an approximate date for this Dialogue.

<sup>2</sup> This allusion shows this piece to have been written under Domitian, soon after the great eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79.

the sea, castings up by wind of rocks and fiery masses, destructions of so many and such great towns, so that with returning day all memory and trace was lost as to whereabouts they had stood, from the country being turned upside down." That such things have happened it is hard even to believe *now* — far more to *foretell*, without divine assistance so many centuries ago.

Then Boethus: "What kind of calamity, my good sir, is not Time in debt to Nature for? What is there amongst things strange and improbable with respect to sea or land, cities or persons, that one can prophesy, and it not come true at last? And yet this is almost the same as not *foretelling* but *telling*, or rather casting out and scattering words that have no final cause into infinite space; which words as they wander about Chance encounters, and coincides with them of her own accord. For there is a great difference, I think, between a thing that *has* been said coming to pass, and a thing that *is* to come to pass being said; because the saying that foretells things that are not, keeps the failure<sup>1</sup> in its own hands unfairly, and waits for its confirmation from accident; and does not adduce a real proof of its foretelling, when it knows the event that has happened after the prediction; because infinity of time offers all sorts of events (to fit the prophecy): 'He that guesses well,' whom the proverb has proclaimed 'the best diviner,' is like unto one that hunts for the footprints, and follows the track of the Future, through probabilities. The Sibyls and the Bacides flung aimlessly into all Time, as it were into an ocean, just as it chanced, the names and epithets of all sorts of calamities and accidents; amongst which number, though some few do come to pass through chance, nevertheless what is told by them to-day is a lie all the same, even though hereafter, by some chance or other, it may come to happen."

When Boethus had finished, Serapion said: "Boethus has well expressed his opinion with respect to predictions, made indefinitely and without foundation, like such as this, 'If victory hath been foretold to a general, he hath conquered; if ruin to a city, it hath fallen;' but in cases where the thing that is to happen is not only told, but

<sup>1</sup> Never confesses to a failure of a prediction, but waits for some lucky accident in the course of time to turn up corresponding to the prediction.

where and when, and after what event, and through whose means, then it becomes not a guess at what may perhaps happen, but a foreshowing of things that certainly shall be. Take for instance this upon the lameness of Agesilaus: —

“Beware, O Sparta! tho' thou be so vain,  
Lest thy sound goings hurt a limping reign,  
Unlooked for troubles are in store for thee,  
When rolls the war upon the murderous sea.

And that again upon the island which the sea threw up off Thera and Therasia, and this upon the war between Philip and the Romans: —

“When Trojan race hath beat Phœnicians bold,  
Then things beyond belief shalt thou behold:  
With fire the sea shall shine, in upper air  
Whirlwinds from lightnings thro' the waves shall tear;  
Mingled with rock: but it shall stand for aye,  
Unnamed by man, an island on that day.  
And weaker men shall on the battle field  
By force of arms, the stronger make to yield.

That is, that in a short time the Romans should overcome the Carthaginians by entirely defeating Hannibal, and that Philip, having engaged in war with the Ætolians and Romans, should be worsted in battle; and, lastly, that an island should rise up out of the deep, along with much fire and boiling waves. No one will say that all these things hit and coincided together by mere chance and spontaneously; but their succession proves manifestly the foreknowledge of the prediction, and the fact that she (the Pythia) foretold to the Romans, about five hundred years beforehand, the time in which all the nations of the world together should war with them (that is they should war with the revolted slaves); in all this there is naught said at random, or blindfold, or where the explanation must be sought after in perplexity, and depend upon accident; but it presents many sureties derived from experience, and points out the path along which destiny walks. For I do not imagine any one will say in this case that events turned out in the way they were predicted, by mere chance; else what hinders us, my dear Boethus, from saying that Epicurus did not *write* his established doctrines, but that

from the letters impinging upon one another by chance and spontaneously the book was brought about?"

Whilst this talk was going on, we continued to advance. And in the Hall of the Corinthians, when gazing at the Palm-tree in bronze, which is still remaining there of the offerings, the snakes and frogs in relief around the root of the tree occasioned surprise to Diogenianus, and certainly to ourselves as well; because the palm is not like other trees, a native of marshes, nor is it a water-loving plant; neither have frogs anything to do with the Corinthians, so as to become a symbol or a badge of the city, in the same way that the people of Selinus are said to have once dedicated a parsley-plant in gold, and those of Tenedos an axe, from the crabs that are only found amongst them around the place called Asterion, because they are the only sort, it seems, that have the figure of an *axe* painted upon their upper shell. And, indeed, one would think ravens, and swans, and wolves, and hawks, and anything else than these reptiles would be agreeable to the god. And upon Serapion's saying that the artist had intimated thus the nutrition of the Sun from moisture, and his origin and exhalation, whether that he had heard Homer's —

Hasten the Sun to quit the beauteous pond,

or whether he had seen the Egyptians representing the beginning of sunrise as a new-born babe seated upon a lotus. Then I, laughingly, "Where, my good friend, are you pushing on the Porch, and still slipping into the story your 'lightings up' and your 'exhalations'; you certainly are not drawing *down* the moon and sun, like the Thessalian witches, because, according to you, they grow up and originate here below, out of earth and the waters. For Plato hath called Man 'a celestial plant,' because he is carried up from the head as from a root; but you laugh Empedocles to scorn for saying 'that the sun when going round the earth breaks off fragments of heavenly light, but again shines against Olympus with undismayed countenance'; whilst you yourselves make him out to be some earth-born animal or plant-lacustrine, and register him in the family of frogs or water serpents. But this sort of thing let us give up to stoical bombast; and the accessories of artists let us examine in a matter-of-fact sort of way; for

in many cases they are ingenious enough, though they have not everywhere avoided the pedantic and over-refined. For example, he that placed the Cock upon the hand of Apollo, intimated thereby the morning tide and the hour of approaching sunrise; in the same way one may say the frogs here were made the symbol of the spring season, when the sun begins to get power over the air, and to loosen the bonds of winter; that is, if we must, like you, consider Apollo and the Sun, not as two different deities, but as one and the same." "What!" asked Serapion, "do not you think it so? and do you hold that the Sun is different from Apollo?" "Yes," replied I, "as much as the Moon differs from the Sun, but she hides the Sun not frequently nor from all men at once; whereas the Sun hath caused all people to forget Apollo, by diverting their attention, by the means of the sense, from the Real to the Apparent."

After this, Serapion asked the guides, "Why do you name this Hall, not from Cypselus who first dedicated it, but from the Corinthians?" From their silence, there seems to me, at least, to be some uncertainty about the cause. "How, pray," said I, laughing, "do you expect them either to know or to remember anything at all, scared out of their wits as they be by your subtle disquisitions? We have already heard them telling how the Corinthians, when the tyranny was put down, were wishing to inscribe both the gods' statue that was at Pisa and the Treasury here with the name of the *City*: the Delphians granted the thing, as being just, and consented to it; but the Eleans refused it out of envy, whereupon the Corinthians passed a law that excluded them from the Isthmian Games; and from thenceforth no man of Elis has ever been a competitor at the Isthmian Games; but the slaughter of the Molionidæ by Hercules, near Cleonæ, is not the cause, as some think, why the Eleans are so excluded; for, on the contrary, it would have been natural to exclude them, had they quarrelled with the Corinthians on account of that slaughter, which they did not." Thus farther spoke I.

And when the guide showed us the Hall of the Acanthians and Brasidas, the place where the iron spits<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> This offering, besides its appropriate symbolism (which alone was remembered in Plutarch's days), had considerable pecuniary value at the time of its dedication, considering the then scarcity of the metal.



Rhodope the courtesan formerly lay, Diogenianus, being indignant, exclaimed, "Twas surely right and proper for the same city to grant Rhodope a place wherein to deposit the tithes of her prostitution, and to put to death Æsop, her fellow in slavery." Then Serapion: "Why are you angry, my fine fellow, at this? look up there above, and behold amongst captains and kings the Mnesarete<sup>1</sup> in gold, which Crates said was dedicated as a trophy over the incontinence of Greece." "But," said the youth, "was not this said of Phryne by Crates?" "Yes, truly," answered Serapion, "her real name was Mnesarete, but she got the nickname of *Phryne*<sup>2</sup> by reason of her paleness; for the nicknames often obliterate the true names: for example, Alexander's mother, Polyxena, they say, was afterwards called Myrtale, then Olympias and Stratonice; and the Corinthian Eumelis most people to the present day call Cleobule by her family name; also Herophile of Erythræ, a woman with the gift of prophesy, they entitle Sibylla; and you will hear the grammarians pretending that Leda was named Mnesinæa, and Orestes Achæus. But how," said he, looking towards Theon, "do you intend to refute this charge with respect to Phryne?"

And he, with a smile: "In such a way that I in my turn accuse you of censuring the very smallest of all Grecian faults. For like as Socrates, in the case of Callias, quarrels only with his perfuming himself, and puts up with the sight of dances of boys, and tumblers, and kisses, and buffoons, in the same way you seem to me to be shutting out of the sacred ground a poor wench for making use of her personal beauty in no very respectable manner; but though you see the god here surrounded on all sides with the first-fruits and tithes of slaughter, wars, and plunderings, and his temple filled with Grecian spoils and trophies, you do not get angry, nor call the Greeks most disgraced on the score of their fine offerings of the sort, when you read such inscriptions as 'Brasidas and the Acanthians, from the Athenians'; and 'The Athenians from the Corinthians'; and 'The Phocians from the Thessalians'; and 'The Orneatæ from the Sicyonians'; and 'The Amphicytons from the Phocians.' But Praxiteles offended Crates

<sup>1</sup> Another celebrity of the same profession.

<sup>2</sup> A toad; paleness being yellowness in the south: "pallidior buxo, semianimisque fui."

only with his mistress, and met with his reward of her in such a place;<sup>1</sup> whereas Crates ought rather to have commended him because he set up amongst these golden kings a courtesan in gold, thereby casting reproach on gold, as possessing naught that is to be admired or venerated; seeing that it is becoming to lay before the god the offerings of virtue, or temperance, and of magnanimity, both for kings and rulers, not those of golden luxurious wealth wherein even the men of most infamous lives have their part."

"You do not mention the fact," said the other of the two guides, "that Cræsus caused to be made and dedicated here the golden statue of the woman, his baker . . . not out of wanton insult to the holy place, but because he had an honorable and just cause for so doing. For the story goes that Algattes, father of Cræsus, had taken a second wife, and had children by the same; this woman plotted against the life of Cræsus, and gave poison to the baker, ordering her to knead it up in a loaf for Cræsus; but the bakeress privately told Cræsus, and set the bread before the children of his stepmother; in return for which Cræsus, when he came to the throne, requited the woman's kindness, taking, as it were, the god for witness of his gratitude, in which, truly, he did well. For which reason," added he, out of many cities, "such an offering as this, one of the Opuntians is deserving to be admired and honored; for after the tyrants of the Phocians had melted down many of the gold and silver offerings and coined money therewith, and distributed it around different States, the Opuntians collected all that silver coin, and sent back a water-vessel<sup>2</sup> to the god, which they dedicated to him. I commend the people of Myrina and of Apollonia for sending hither wheat-sheaves in gold, but yet more those of Eretria and of Magnesia who presented the god with the first-fruits of human beings, as the giver of fruits paternal, presiding over generation, and the friend of

<sup>1</sup> A far-fetched argument — Crates ought to have been more offended by an offering in *gold* being made to the god, than by the character of the person represented. "Golden" merely signifies *gilt*, or rather overlaid with a thick leaf of gold. And this multitude of statues was in existence after Nero had carried off *five hundred* at one swoop!

<sup>2</sup> *ὕδρια*, the largest size of vase, made out of the sacrilegious coin, thus restored to its old destination. The fact shows that the coinage of the Phocian tyrants was known by its type — what has become of it all?

man. But I blame those of Megara, because they, almost alone of those in this place, set up the god with a spear in his hand, in memory of the fight in which, after the Persian War, they drove out the Athenians who had already got possession of their town; afterwards, however, they dedicated to the god a plectrum of gold, taking the hint, probably, from Scythinus<sup>1</sup> saying of the lyre: —

“ Which Apollo takes,  
Jove’s beauteous offspring, he that comprehends  
Of all things the beginning and the end;  
And has the sunlight for his shining *plectrum*.”

And when Serapion was attempting to make some remarks upon the subject, the visitor interrupted him with: “It is indeed pleasant, listening to tales of this kind; but I am under the necessity to demand the fulfilment of your promise about the cause that has made the Pythia desist from delivering oracles in epic verse, or in other metres. Wherefore, if you please, let us suspend the rest of the sight-seeing; let us hear something upon that point, sitting down here, since that subject is the one that most nearly concerns the credit of the Oracle, because one of two things must be the case — either that the Pythia no longer approaches the place where the divine thing resides, or else that the exhalation is extinguished, and its power come to an end.” We therefore went round, and sat down upon the southern steps of the shrine, looking towards the Temple of the Earth and the Water; so that Boethus immediately observed that the place itself assisted the visitor in his inquiry, for there was a temple of the Muses by the pool<sup>2</sup> of the Spring, which too they used for making libation as Stesichorus sings: —

“There, from above is drawn the pure water for the basins of the Muses with their beautiful locks.”

And again, somewhat more elaborately, Simonides addresses Clio as, —

“Chaste guardian of lustral basins, draw the far-famed water from the deep recesses — not cloaked in gold, but perfumed, undying, and much to be desired.”

Eudoxus, therefore, was wrong in believing those who

<sup>1</sup> Error for the name of some famous poet.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναπνοή, i.e. where the stream tumbling from the rock finds a resting-place.

make out that this was called the "Water of Styx." They therefore set up the Muses for companions of Prophecy, and for guardians round about the stream itself, and also built the Temple of the Earth, to whom the Oracle is said to have first belonged. . . .<sup>1</sup> The delivering of oracles in epic verse and poetry. But others assert that the heroic measure was heard here for the first time: —

Collect your feathers, birds; your wax, ye bees —

. . . [On its] becoming necessary to the god . . . to cast away his gravity.

Then Serapion: "This language is more gentle and more civil than what you used before; for we must not quarrel with Theon, and abolish along with the prophetic Power, Providence, and the Divinity as well; but rather seek for explanations of the facts that appear to run counter to these ideas; and not to cast away the pious faith of our fathers." "You say rightly, my excellent Serapion," replied I, "for neither do we despair of Philosophy as entirely destroyed and ruined, because in old times philosophers used to publish their dogmas and their arguments in the shape of poems, as for instance, Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, and Empedocles, and Thales — but afterwards they gave it up, and ceased making use of verses — all but yourself; for by your means Poetry doth once more descend into Philosophy, exhorting youth in martial and noble tone: nor has Astronomy been shorn of her glory by the schools of Aristarchus, Timocharis, Aristyllus, and Hipparchus writing in prose, whereas Eudoxus, Hesiod, and Thales formerly wrote in verse; if, indeed, Thales really did compose the 'Astronomy' attributed to him. And Pindar confesses that he himself is quite at a loss about the neglect of the use of verse, and is astonished . . .<sup>2</sup> It is neither wicked nor absurd for people to inquire into the causes of changes of the sort; but to do away with the sciences

<sup>1</sup> Evidently parts of the same sentence displaced, and wanting some words to complete it, probably [and who invented]. Then Plutarch cites another tradition, ascribing the same thing to the latest owner, Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> The quotation has been omitted by the copyist, who (like other people) did not understand Pindar: or else "*pardonably*" thought he was talking nonsense.

themselves if anything belonging to them be meddled with or changed, is very unfair."

Then Theon taking up the conversation: "These sciences have indeed undergone many changes and innovations: but as for things here, we know that many predictions in those old times were uttered in plain prose, and those too about matters of no ordinary kind. For when the Lacedæmonians consulted the Oracle concerning their war with the Athenians it predicted to them victory and success, and also that it would help them, asked or unasked; and that if they did not restore Pausanias, they would have to plough with a silver ploughshare. To the Athenians also, when consulting the Oracle about their expedition into Sicily, it advised them to bring up from Erythræ the priestess of Minerva. Now the wench was called 'Quiet' by name. And when Dinomenes the Sicilian consulted the Oracle about his sons, it responded that all three should be tyrants. That is, with a mischief to them — 'is it not so, my Lord Apollo?' asked Dinomenes. 'This, too, I make you a present of, and give into the bargain as response,' it was the reply. You all know that Gelon reigned with the dropsy, Hieron with the stone, and Thrasybulus after passing a short time in the midst of war and seditions was driven out of his power. Procus, tyrant of Epidaurus, had destroyed many people cruelly and unjustly, and when Timarchus had come to him from Athens with money in his possession, after receiving him with great show of friendship, he murdered him secretly, put the body into a hamper, and sank it in the sea. This he did by the hand of Cleander of Ægina, unknown to all the rest. But afterwards, when his affairs were growing troubled, he despatched hither his brother Cleotimus, to consult in private the best means for escape and emigration. But the god responded 'that he granted Procus escape and emigration to where he had bidden his Æginetan friend to deposit the hamper; or else where the stag puts down his horn.' The tyrant, therefore, understanding that the god bade him either drown or bury himself (because stags bury and hide in the earth their antlers when shed),<sup>1</sup> waited a little while, and then his affairs being utterly ruined, was driven into exile. But the friends

<sup>1</sup> Which stags do *not* do; the god recommended the tyrant to use a *tree*, against which stags are in the habit of rubbing their antlers.

of Timarchus got hold of him, and having put him to death, flung his dead body into the sea. And, what is the greatest fact of all, the laws by which Lycurgus regulated the Lacedæmonian constitution were given to him word for word at this place.<sup>1</sup> Now, though Alyrius, Herodotus, Philochorus, and Istrus, the persons most zealous in collecting oracles in verse, have also recorded responses not in metre, Theopompus, who has been as careful as any man in the matter of the Oracle, has sharply rebuked such as believed at that time that the Pythia no longer delivered metrical responses; and then, wishing to give proof of his assertion, found he had but a very scanty supply, inasmuch as even then the responses were usually delivered in prose.<sup>2</sup>

“Even at the present day some Oracles run out in metre, of which I cite an example that has made a great noise in the world. There is in Phocis a temple of Hercules the Misogynist, where it is the law that the appointed priest shall not have to do with women during his year of office; for which reason they elect for priests men tolerably advanced in years. Not long ago, a young man, not a bad one, but ambitious, having an amour with a servant-girl, obtained the appointment, and at first was continent, and kept out of the way of the wench; but as he lay asleep after drinking and dancing, she fell upon him and he did her business for her.<sup>3</sup> Being terrified and troubled in mind at what he had done he had recourse to the Oracle and inquired of the god about his sin, if there were any remedy or expiation for it; and he received this response:—

“God pardons everything that can't be helped.<sup>4</sup>

“Not but that even if you grant that no response is delivered without metre in our days, will you be any the more perplexed with respect to the ancient Oracles delivering their answers sometimes in metre, sometimes without it. For neither the one nor the other, my dear boy, is contrary to reason, if only we entertain correct and unprejudiced notions about the deity, and do not suppose it was *himself* that composed the verses in former times; or

<sup>1</sup> The Spartans, as King Areius's letter to Simon Maccabeus shows, believed themselves of the same stock as the Jews: this may have something to do with their assumption of a divine legislator.

<sup>2</sup> The fourth century B.C., he being a scholar of Isocrates.

<sup>3</sup> διεχρήσατο.

<sup>4</sup> ἅπαντα τὰναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεός.

that now prompts the Pythia and speaks through her as though through a mask.

“ But it is worth while to say something more at length, and to inquire about these points, and as we have taken a brief view of the present one, let us bear in mind that the body employs many organs, the soul employs the body and the members of the body, the soul itself is the organ of the god. Now, the goodness of an instrument lies in imitating that which employs its natural power, and in its producing the object of the design involved in its construction; though it is not competent to exhibit what that design was in its Maker, unmixed, impassive, and without error, but produces it mingled with much that is extraneous; for by itself it is senseless to us, but when made to appear another thing, and worked by the agency of another, it is then filled with its proper nature. And I pass over wax, and gold, and silver, and bronze, and whatever other sorts of plastic materials receive one form of resemblance modelled out of them, but yet each adds from itself a different variation to the copy.<sup>1</sup> And the innumerable distortions of the appearances and images from one object in mirrors flat, or convex, or concave: for they are . . . But there is nothing so like in form, or organ created for the use of Nature, that can afford us a more convincing proof, than does the Moon. For, though she receives from the Sun both that which is shining and that which is fiery, she does not send it back to us the same as it was, but when mingled with herself it both changes its color, and acquires a different quality: its heat is entirely gone, and its light is also deficient by reason of its weakness. And I fancy you know the saying in Heraclitus, ‘that the sovereign, whose Oracle is at Delphi, neither hides nor reveals the future, but *hints* at it.’ Make an addition, therefore, to this, so well said, and conceive the god here as employing the Pythia for *hearing* [being heard] in the same way as the Sun employs the Moon for *seeing* [being seen], she shows his thoughts aloud, but she exhibits them mixed with something else, by the agency of a mortal body, and a soul that is not able to keep quiet.<sup>2</sup> Unable to present

<sup>1</sup> The same object modelled in different materials has a different appearance.

<sup>2</sup> μή δυναμένη cannot begin a sentence, and therefore must receive a final “s” and finish the preceding one. The first word of the next is lost,

herself, standing by herself, unmoved to the moving power, but as it were in a state of agitation, feeling about and entangled with the emotions in herself, and the passions that trouble her. For just as the whirlpools do not entirely master the bodies that are carried around with them, but as partly they be carried round in spite of themselves, partly tend to the bottom by their own nature, of both which forces the result is a confused and irregular circumvolution — in like manner the so-called inspiration is probably the mixture of two impulses, the one of the soul moved by external impressions; the other, as it is moved by its own nature. For since it is not easy to use inanimate and motionless objects for a purpose to which they are [not]<sup>1</sup> naturally adapted, by using force to them, as for instance, to treat a cylinder as a sphere or as a cube, or a lyre in the manner of a flute, or a trumpet in the way of a guitar. But if, as is reasonable, the using each object according to the rules of art is no other than the using it for the purpose for which it is made: surely, then, it is impossible to say how any one can handle that which is animated and self-impelled, and endowed with appetite and reason, otherwise than consistently with its constitution; . . .<sup>2</sup> one attempting to move by musical means one ignorant of music, or by grammatical, one who knows no grammar, or by logic, one who has neither the theory nor the practice of logic.

“Homer himself bears me out, by representing nothing at all, so to speak, as coming to pass without the intervention of a god: not, indeed, that he makes the god use all means indiscriminately to all purposes, but each one according to its respective talent or force. Do you not see (said I), my dear Diogenianus, Minerva when she wants to persuade the Greeks to anything, incites Ulysses to speak; when she wishes to break the treaty she looks out for Pandarus; when the Trojans are to be routed she has

being probably of similar sound. It is curious to observe how, throughout all these treatises, the copyist has transcribed anecdotes and interesting matter correctly enough, but when he comes to dry philosophy he scribbles away without caring for or understanding what he is about, omitting words, and inserting them again in wrong places, as things quite immaterial to the reader.

<sup>1</sup>  $\mu\eta$  has certainly dropped out here.

<sup>2</sup> Some words lost here to the effect: To act otherwise would be like .



recourse to Diomedé: because one is robust and valiant; another an archer and thoughtless; another eloquent and wise. For Homer did not hold the same belief with Pindar, if indeed it were Pindar that wrote, 'If God pleases, you may go to sea upon a hurdle.' But he knew that different faculties and natures are made for different ends; each one of which is moved in a different manner, and [by that cause] in which resides that which moves all collectively: as, for instance, that which moves the pedestrian has no power in the way of flying, or that moving the stammerer in the way of distinct utterance, or the man with squeaking voice in that of a fine voice; although Battus, I ween, for this very cause, when he came to his full stature, did his friends send out as colonist to Libya, because he was a stammerer and had a squeaking voice, but possessed the qualities of a king, a statesman, and a philosopher — in the same way he is incompetent to discourse poetically who is unlettered, and has never listened to verses. For just as she who at present is servant to the god at this place was born legitimately and honorably, and has spent her life in a virtuous manner; but having been bred up in the house of poor country folks has acquired nothing from education or from practice or help of other sort, when she goes down into the oracular cave; but just as Xenophon recommends that the bride should come to her husband, having seen as little as possible, having heard as little as possible, so doth she hold converse with the god, without experience, all but without hearing of anything, and truly a virgin in her soul. But we believe that the god, to signify his will, makes use of crying herons, wrens, and ravens; and we do not demand, in case they be the messengers and envoys of the gods, that they shall speak everything plainly and rationally. But the voice and language of the Pythia we demand to be presented to us as though from off the stage, not unadorned and plain, but in verse, bombast, and affectation, with metaphors of names, and declaimed to the accompaniment of the flute.

"What then shall we say about the Oracles of old? Not one thing, I fancy, but many. In the first place, they also generally declared themselves in prose. Secondly, those old times produced temperaments and constitutions of body that had quite a different tendency to

poetry than ours, upon which immediately grew up desires, inclinations, and proclivities of soul, that required but a small hint or impulse from without, and made them very ready to be drawn along to what was congenial to their nature. As Philinus observes, we have known, not merely astrologers and philosophers, but persons under the influence of wine, or some powerful passion, either of overwhelming sorrow, or of sudden joy, sliding involuntarily into poetical language . . . have filled feasts with amatory verses and songs, and books with compositions of the same kind. For Euripides hath said, —

“Love makes a poet of a clown before —

not that Love puts in him the poetical and musical faculty, but only stirs up and excites what before was concealed and dormant. Or must we say, Mr. Stranger, that nobody falls in love nowadays, and that Cupid is gone and vanished, because no one now, as Pindar hath it, ‘In verses or songs swiftly shoots at youths his sweet-voiced strains’? Absurd this — for hosts of Loves drive man about, and consort with souls not indeed disposed by nature, or fitted for poetry — Loves, truly, that be unprovided with flute, unarmed with lyre, yet no less loquacious and fervent than those of old. For it is not allowable so much as to say that the Academy was loveless, nor Socrates and the school of Plato; since you may meet with their amatory treatises, and their amatory poems<sup>1</sup> are not yet obsolete. For what difference is there in saying that Sappho was the only woman that ever was in love, and in asserting that the only prophetess was the Sibyl, or Aristonica, or all such as delivered oracles in verse. For wine, as Chæremon says, mixes itself up with the tempers of such as drink it; whilst the prophetic inspiration, like the amatory, acts upon the subject faculty, and moves each one of those who take it in according to the way in which each is constituted by nature.

“Not but that if we consider the question of the god and his foreknowledge, we shall find the change made for the better. For the use of language is like the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Such as Plato's lines to Agatho:—

*τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγαθῶνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χεῖρεσιν ἔσχον,  
ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς ἀποβησομένη.*

change of coin that acquires a different value at different times [and of it what is familiar and well-known passes current].<sup>1</sup> There was a time when people used for the currency of speech, verses and tunes and songs, converting into music and poetry, all history, all philosophy, every passion, and to speak generally, every circumstance that required more dignified utterance. For things that nowadays few people listen to, everybody then used to hear, and took pleasure in their being sung; 'ploughmen and fowlers too,' as Pindar hath it. Nay, through this aptitude for poetry most persons admonished others by means of the lyre and song: they spoke their minds, they comforted others, they did their business with fables and with songs; furthermore they caused to be made in verse and songs the hymns of the gods, prayers, and thanksgivings; partly from natural aptitude that way, partly from old custom. For which reason, the god did not begrudge decoration and grace to the oracular power either, nor did he drive away from hence the honored Muse from the Tripod; on the contrary, he invited her hither, by stirring up and welcoming poetic temperaments and himself inspiring their imaginations, whilst he helped to promote the high-flown and verbose style in the responses, as appropriate and admired. But when, from the world's suffering change along with its vicissitudes and its tempers, Custom cast off everything superfluous, and removed the golden top-knots [of the god] and divested him of his soft gown, and perhaps cropped his too luxuriant locks, and unstrung his lyre; at which time we accustomed ourselves, not wrongly, to oppose the charms of economy to extravagant expense, and to hold in honor that which is simple and neat rather than what is ostentatious and over-refined. In the same way, from language changing together with the times, and similarly stripping itself bare, History descended out of verse, as it were out of a chariot,<sup>2</sup> and the *true* was distinguished from the *fabulous* chiefly by the use of prose. Philosophy also, having embraced the clear and instructive in preference

<sup>1</sup> και δοκιμον μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ ξύνηθες καὶ γνώριμον, which seems both imperfect and out of its place, there being no δὲ to correspond in the same sentence.

<sup>2</sup> As we should say, "from off the stage," referring to the old expression ἐξ ἀμάξης λέγειν,

to the sensational style, pursued her investigations in ordinary language. The god too made the Pythia cease from calling her fellow-citizens 'firebrands,' the Spartans, 'serpent-eaters,' men 'seers,' and rivers 'mountain-drinkers.' He took away from his responses their heroic verses, glosses, circumlocutions, and obscurity; he presented them, so to speak, to such as consult him in the same form as laws speak to citizens, kings reply to their subjects, and scholars hear their teachers speak, and adapted himself to what is intelligible and persuasive.

"For you ought to know that the god is, according to Sophocles,

"To wise men, an oracular riddle-maker,  
To fools a bad instructor even in trifles.

And together with intelligibility thus introduced, Faith also took a turn, sharing in the change of all the rest; for whereas of old time, whatever was unusual and not public, but obscure and regularly veiled, the vulgar construed into something hallowed, and were astounded thereby and revered the same; but afterwards being content with the learning things plainly and easily, and without bombast or fiction, they found fault with the poetry that enveloped the responses, as being an obstacle to understanding them in their true sense, because it mixed up obscurity and shade with the thing revealed. Nay, already had they viewed with suspicion all circumlocutions, enigmas, and double-senses, as contrived for loopholes and refuges for the blunders of prophecy. And one might hear many asserting that certain men of poetical faculty were ever sitting round about the Oracle, receiving and catching up all sounds, and weaving heroic verses, metres, and rhythms, like so many envelopes wrapped all about the responses, out of their own heads. And persons like Onomacritus and Prodotes and Cinesion — what blame did they not get on the score of their Oracles, for having added tragic phrases and bombast to what was in no need thereof — I omit to mention, or to join in the cry against them.<sup>1</sup> The greatest discredit, however, of all, was brought upon poetry by the set of mountebanks, and market-haunters that roam about, and play off their buffoonery round the temples

<sup>1</sup> *μεταβόλαις* in text must be *διαβόλαις*.

of the Great Mother, and those of Serapis: and who manufacture Oracles, some out of their own head, some according to lot from certain books, for the benefit of servants and poor wenches, who are led away more by the metre than by the poetical merit of the words. For which reason most of all, Poetry being seen to prostitute herself to cheats, jugglers, and false prophets, hath been expelled from the domains of Truth, and the oracular tripod.

“I shall not, therefore, be surprised if some of the ancient responses required a double, involved language, and obscurity. For in those times such and such a one did not go to consult the Oracle about the purchase of a slave, or another about the success of his speculations in trade, but mighty republics, and kings, and tyrants extravagantly proud, conferred with the god about their own affairs, whom to vex, and excite to hostility by their hearing beforehand many things contrary to their wishes, was by no means to the advantage of the keepers of the Oracle. For the god doth not obey Euripides when he, as it were, lays down the law and says:—

“Phœbus alone must prophesy to men;

but inasmuch as he employs *mortal* servants and mouth-pieces, whom he is bound to care for and protect, that they be not annoyed by bad men when ministering to the god — he chooses not to obliterate the truth, but he deflects the manifestation thereof, like a sunbeam, in poetry, where it suffers many refractions, and is dispersed and scattered about in many directions, and thereby got rid of its offensiveness and harshness. The point was that tyrants should not<sup>1</sup> be ignorant of what was coming, and that their enemies should not perceive the same beforehand. Wherefore he [Apollo] wrapped up all this in hints and double meanings, that concealed from the rest of the world what was meant, yet did not escape nor disappoint the persons themselves who requested his counsel and gave their minds to understand it. Hence the man is a great simpleton who now that the state of things is entirely changed, finds fault and cavils because the god thinks proper to help us in a different way from before.

<sup>1</sup> In text  $\mu\eta$  has certainly dropped out — else we get a contradiction to the argument.

“Besides, there is nothing in poetry more useful than in prose, beyond the fact that things told when bound in the fetters of metre and strung together, are better remembered and retained. Men of those times were far from possessing good memory, ‘for of old the descriptions of places, the proper seasons for divers occupations, the festivals of the gods, the secret sepulchres of heroes, so hard to be discovered beyond seas, were all told in verse<sup>1</sup> in the far-distant parts of Greece.’ For you know the Chian, and the Cretan history — about Nesichus and Phalanthus, and all the other founders of colonies, how they by the aid of all necessary indications (from the Oracle) discovered the seat assigned and best suited for each of them. Of whom, some made a mistake, as did Battus; for he thought he had missed the sense of the Oracle, because he had not got possession of the place to which he had been despatched: he, therefore, came a second time to consult; the god replying, said: ‘To Libya, nurse of sheep, udder of earth, thou hast not gone. I greatly admire thy wisdom in coming here,’<sup>2</sup> and so sent him out again, and Lysander being entirely ignorant that a hill was called Archelades, and also Allopæus, and a river Hoplites, and ‘Earth’s crafty son, the dragon, from behind approaching’<sup>3</sup> — being beaten in a fight, he fell in the places so named by the people by whom the district [was so called, and by the hand of],<sup>4</sup> a man of Haliartus, carrying a shield which had for device a serpent. But to enumerate more of these ancient examples, hard of interpretation, hard to recollect as they are, to you who know them already, is superfluous for me.

“The now established state of things as concerns inquiries of the god, I for my part am content with and embrace. Profound peace and tranquillity prevail, war has ceased, so have migrations and factions, no more tyrannies or other distempers and evils of Greece, that

<sup>1</sup> “Verse” is required by the context; the passage is incomplete, but clearly a quotation from an ancient poet.

<sup>2</sup> Battus, sent by Apollo to Libya, at first colonized the island Platea off the coast: the colony not prospering he again consulted the god, whose answer was: “If thou who hast never gone to Libya, knowest Libya better than I who have been there, I greatly admire thy cleverness,” and so sent him off once more.

<sup>3</sup> Or “darting,” according to the breathing of the initial.

<sup>4</sup> This has fallen out of the text, but can be supplied from the *Life of Lysander*. He was slain by a sudden sally of the garrison.

stood in need, as it were, of variously remedial and extraordinary powers. For where there is nothing complicated, nor to be kept secret, nor dangerous, but all inquiries turn upon small and domestic affairs, like themes in a school, such as: Should one marry? should one make a voyage? should one lend money? and the most important matters belonging to States that are referred to the Oracle are the yield of corn, the produce of grapes, or the health of the public — in such cases to put forward verses, to invent metaphors, to stick epithets upon questions that require only a simple and brief answer, is the part of an ostentatious pedant, decorating the response for the sake of show; and the Pythia is by disposition high-minded, and when she descends into the cave, and is in company with the god, more . . . cares not for fame, or whether men praise, or find fault with her words.

“We, perhaps, should behave in the same way. But as it is, as though we were struggling and fearful lest the place should lose its three thousand years’ old reputation, and some should despise and go away from it, like a Sophist’s school, we make excuses and invent causes and reasons for things that we neither know, nor is it fitting for us to know; whereby we encourage the fault-finder, and argue with him, instead of bidding him go his way: —

“For he will be the first to feel the smart,

for entertaining such an opinion of the god as to accept and admire those maxims of the Wise Men, the ‘Know thyself,’ and the ‘Nothing in excess,’ no less on account of their brevity, as containing in itself condensed and close-hammered sense, in small compass — and yet finding fault with Oracles because they tell most things briefly, plainly, and in a straightforward manner; and these maxims of the Wise Men are in the same condition as streams pent up in narrow space, for they have no transparency or lucidity of meaning, yet if you examine what has been written and talked about them by such as wish to discover their full sense you will not easily find other treatises more lengthy than theirs. And the language of the Pythia, just as mathematicians define a straight line as ‘the least one of those having the same extremities,’ so it makes neither

curve, circle, double, or zigzag, but goes straight to the truth, and though liable to be overthrown by facts, and subject to the test of experience, it has never, to the present day, suffered any impeachment of its veracity, but has crowded the Oracle with the offerings and presents of both barbarians and Greeks, and with all the beauties and decorations of buildings erected by the Amphictyons. For you see, I suppose, many additions of buildings not previously existing, and many restorations of such as were dilapidated and tumbled down. For as with thriving trees, others spring up by their side; so doth the Pylæa<sup>1</sup> renew its youth together with Delphi, and fattens in her company by reason of the opulence flowing from this source; and receives a beauty, shape, and decoration of temples, public offices, and fountains, such as it never had for the thousand years preceding. Now they that dwell round about the 'dairy' of Bœotia were made sensible of the manifestation of the god in the flesh, by the abundance and excess of the milk: 'From all the flocks flowed down, as the best water from the rocks, nourishing milk, and they hastened to fill their pitchers; not one wine-skin or pitcher remained idle in the houses, pails and wooden casks were all filled to the brim.' But to us, better, more brilliant, and clearer signs than these, promise to restore to us, as it were after the drought of our former desolation and poverty, both opulence, honor, and splendor,<sup>2</sup> and yet I congratulate myself on having been zealous and useful in these affairs, in concert with Polycrates and Piræus. I likewise congratulate him that was governor of the State<sup>3</sup> at the time, and who planned and provided for most of these works. . . . But it is not possible that such and so great a change should take place in a short time, but for the god being present here, and inspiring the Oracle to that purpose.

"But just as in those old times there were people that found fault with the obliquity and obscurity of the responses, so nowadays some censure their too great plainness — whose conduct is equally unfair and silly. For little children take greater pleasure and delight in looking at rainbows, halos, and comets, than at the sun and moon;

<sup>1</sup> The little town itself, dependent upon Delphi, the sacred ground.

<sup>2</sup> *πεποικιλῶς* here belongs evidently to the next sentence.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman governor of the province.



so do they these cavillers regret the riddles, allegories, and metaphors, that are the *reflections*<sup>1</sup> of the prophetic power upon the mortal and imaginative subject: and if they cannot find out the cause of the change to their own satisfaction, they immediately blame the gods; and not us, or themselves, as being unable to arrive by reasoning at the gods' intention."

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the foregoing simile of rainbows, halos, etc.

## THE WORD EI, ENGRAVEN OVER APOLLO'S TEMPLE AT DELPHI.

“I LATELY, my dear Serapion, met with some little verses, that are not bad; which Dicæarchus supposes Euripides to address to Archelaus:—

“I do not choose to offer thee a gift,  
For I am poor, whilst thou art passing rich;  
Else thou will either take me for a fool,  
Or think that in my *giving* I am *begging*.

For he does no favor who gives a little out of a little to those possessing much, and being suspected of not giving for no return, he incurs to boot the character of servility and meanness. In the same degree, therefore, that substantial presents fall short both in respectability and in beauty of those proceeding from reason and learning, is it a fine thing for the latter to be given, and for the giver to demand a return in kind from the receivers. For I, in sending off to you, and through you to our friends at the same place some of our Pythian conversation, in the way of first fruits, boldly confess that I expect from you in return others both longer and better done; seeing that you have the advantage of a very great city, and plenty of leisure in the midst of books and lectures of every kind.<sup>1</sup> Now, our friend Apollo appears to cure and to settle all difficulties connected with life, by giving responses to such as consult him; but of himself to inspire and suggest doubts concerning what is speculative, by implanting in the knowledge-seeking part of the human soul an appetite that draws towards the truth; as is manifest from many other things, and from the dedication of the word EI. For this is not likely to have been done by chance, nor yet by lot only, in settling the precedence of all the letters of the alphabet before the god, did it obtain the rank of a sacred offering and object of admiration: but either those that first speculated about the god saw in it some peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Serapion lived at Athens, as appears from the last treatise.



**THE DAPHNEPHARIA.**  
Festival held in honour of Apollo Daphne.  
Painting by Sir Frederick Leighton.



and extraordinary virtue of its own, or else they used it as a symbol of some important mystery, and admitted <sup>1</sup> it on those grounds. This question, though often propounded in the school, I had always quietly evaded and put off, until lately I was taught by my sons, uniting in entreaty <sup>2</sup> with some others, visitors whom, as they were about to depart from Delphi, I could not politely divert from the point, nor excuse myself to them, anxious as they were to get some information upon the subject. Having, therefore, made them sit down about the Shrine, I began partly to investigate the matter myself, partly to put questions to them [being reminded],<sup>3</sup> both by the place and by their words of what I had heard long ago (when Nero was visiting the spot), from Ammonius and others, when the same questions had been similarly started.

“That the god is no less a philosopher than a prophet, Ammonius proved to the satisfaction of all by adducing his titles one by one, and showing that he is ‘Pythian’ to such as begin to learn and to inquire; ‘Helius’ and ‘Phanæus,’ when part of the truth is already disclosed, and a glimpse thereof given; ‘Ismenius,’ when people have got the knowledge; and ‘Leschenoieos,’ when they are active and enjoy that knowledge, and begin to converse and philosophize with one another. Now, since to philosophizing belongs to inquire, to wonder, and to doubt, it was natural, said he, that most parts of what related to the god should be hidden in enigmas, because they elicit discussion as to the wherefore, and information about the cause. For instance, in the case of the everlasting fire, that *pine* should be the only wood burned there, and *bay-leaves* used for incense; and the fact that *two* Fates are set up here, whereas everywhere else *three* are the regular number: also the rule that no woman is allowed to approach the Oracle; and the existence of the Tripod — and all such instances, which, when brought before people that be not entirely brutish and soulless, act as baits, and draw them on to inquire, to listen, and to argue (with one another. Look, too, at the maxims written up here, the ‘Know thyself,’ and the ‘Nothing in extremes’ — how many philosophical inquiries have they not excited; and

<sup>1</sup> προσέσθαι must be προσίεσθαι “be pleased with.”

<sup>2</sup> ξυμφιλοτιμούμενος must be . . . ων.

<sup>3</sup> Not in text, but clearly fallen out in the copy.

what a crop of discussions has there not sprung up from them, as though from one sowing seed; and no less prolific do I think is the question now raised."

And when Ammonius had said this, my brother Lamprias replied: "And yet the explanation I have heard is a simple one, and very short; for they say that those Wise Men, by some denominated 'Sophists,' were really but *five* — namely, Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias, Pittacus — for the Cleobulus Tyrant of the Lindians, and Periander the Corinthian, though they had no share either of virtue or wisdom, yet through their power, their friends, and their interest, forcibly took possession of the character, and usurped the name of the Wise Men, and sent forth and spread abroad all over Greece certain maxims and words similar to those uttered by the former, at which these being indignant, did not choose to expose their arrogance, nor to quarrel publicly for fame, and incur the hostility of persons of great power; having, therefore, held a meeting here, and conferred together, they dedicated that letter of the alphabet, which both holds the fifth place there, and also signifies the number Five,<sup>1</sup> testifying to the god that they were but *Five*, and discarding and casting off the seventh and the sixth as not belonging to their number. That all this is not said at random, any one may know, from hearing those belonging to the Temple, calling the *golden* EI that of Livia,<sup>2</sup> wife of Cæsar; the *bronze* one, that of the Athenians; whereas the original and most ancient one, wooden in material, they call the EI of the Wise Men, not of *one*, but the joint offering of them all."

Now Ammonius, quietly smiling, and suspecting that Lamprias was asserting an idea of his own, while he pretended it a legend and a report heard from others, upon a matter admitting of no disapproval [made no reply].<sup>3</sup> But some one else of those present observed: "All this is like

<sup>1</sup> This explanation, as all the rest, is founded on nothing but fancy, as a single consideration proves. The symbol, which is preserved to us by amulets, was indeed similar in shape to the lunar  $\epsilon$ , but then *that* character was unknown before Imperial times. In all probability it was an Indian cast mark; and imported like the Swastika or Fylfot, and many other Indian symbols, in prehistoric times.

<sup>2</sup> In compliment to her husband, who wished to be thought son of the god: —

"Casta fave, Lucina, tuus jam regnat Apollo."

<sup>3</sup> This has dropped out of the text, but is indispensable for the sense.

the nonsense which the Chaldean visitor lately talked: that there are *seven* of the letters that utter a sound of their own; *seven* stars that move in the heavens with an independent and unconnected motion of their own. For at the time spoken of, the EI was from the beginning, the *second* in place of the vowels, and the Sun, after the Moon, of the planets — now, all the Greeks, so to speak, regard Apollo as the same with the Sun. But this sort of stuff is mere idle talk.<sup>1</sup> And indeed Lamprias has unwittingly stirred up the people belonging to the Temple against his argument, for what he has told us nobody at Delphi knows anything about; but all assert the common opinion and that of the guides, pretending that it is not the appearance nor the sound of the letter, but only the *name* of it that has any significance.”

“Furthermore, as the Delphians themselves suppose, and as Nicander the priest said in his address, the letter is the vehicle and the form of the demand made to the god, and it holds the place of honor<sup>2</sup> in the queries of those consulting the Oracle and asking, *If* they shall be victorious? *If* they shall marry? *If* it is advisable to make a voyage? *If* to turn farmer? *If* to go abroad? The god, wise as he is, sends the logicians about their business, who believe that nothing comes out of the particle *If*, and the demand that goes along with it; for the Word both conceives the questions subordinate to this particle as real things, and accepts them as such. And since inquiry is his peculiar right, in his character of prophet, and prayer to him is a joint right in his character of god, they think that this letter represents the precatory<sup>3</sup> no less than the inquiring element. For each one of such as pray begins with ‘Oh, if,’ and Archilochus says,

“If I only were permitted Neobule’s hand to touch!

“And in εἴθε some one says the second syllable is an expletive, as in that verse of Sophron’s, Ἄμα τέκνων θῆν δυσμένεια, and that of Homer, ὡς θῆν καὶ ἔγω σὸν λύσωμένος,

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ πίνακος καὶ πυλάας. Means, I suppose, fortune-tellers’ technical talk.

<sup>2</sup> All inquiries begin with Eί, the sound of the Greek ε.

<sup>3</sup> As we should say the εἴ stands for both notes of interrogation and exclamation.

for that the precatory meaning is more than sufficiently expressed in the εἶ.”

When Nicander had finished this — you know my companion Theon? well, he asked Ammonius if Logic was allowed free speech, after being so insulted? And when Ammonius encouraged him to speak and defend her, he began: “That the god is a very great logician, his own responses show, for it, forsooth, is the business of a logician both to invent and to solve double-senses. For as Plato said when an oracle was given commanding the doubling (squaring) the *cubical* dimensions of the altar, not the *linear*, which latter any mason could have done by simple measurement. An oracle had been given commanding the doubling the size of the altar at Delos, which is a problem requiring the utmost skill in geometry, that it was not this the god required, but that he encouraged the Greeks should study geometry. In the same way, the god by giving forth responses with double meanings promotes and establishes Logic, as being indispensable for all such as intend to understand him rightly. And if truly this bodily constitution of ours has its greatest force through Logic (Reasoning), inasmuch as it gives form to the most rational distinction, then assuredly such a conclusion as this is bound up with it, because even brute animals have a knowledge of the *being* of things, but to man alone hath Nature given the power of seeing and of judging *consequences*. For instance, that it *is* day, and *is* light, wolves, dogs, and birds understand; but that *if* it is day, it is light, no other creature understands save man alone; because he alone has the conception of *prior* and *posterior*, of appearance, and of connection, and of the relations of these things to one another; from which considerations proofs derive their most important principle. If, therefore, philosophy is busied about truth, and the light of truth is proof, and the foundation of proof is connection — with good reason has the faculty that embraces and causes this, been consecrated by wise men to the god that most of all loves truth: and the god himself is a diviner, but divination is an art busied about the Future, derived from things present or past. For of no one thing is the birth without a cause, or the signification without a sense; but all things that be, follow after and are connected with those that have been, and those that will be with those



that are, in a succession bringing them to pass from the beginning to the end; so he, that by a natural gift understands how to connect together, and interweave with each other their causes, the same person knows how to foretell —

“What is, what shall be, and what was before.

“And rightly hath Homer mentioned the Present first, and then the Future and the Past: because the reasoning comes from the things that *are*, according to the force of the connection; as for example, if this thing *is*, that thing precedes it; and conversely, if this thing *is*, that thing shall be, for what belongs to art and reasoning is the knowledge of consequences; but it is perception that gives the pre-conception to reason: whence, though it be indecent to say it, I will not shrink from saying *this* is the tripod of Truth, namely, Reason, which laying down as foundation the sequence of the ending to the preceding event, and then taking into account the existence, crowns all with the conclusion of the proof. And the Pythian god, if he really takes delight in music, and in the voices of swans and the twangings of the lyre — what wonder is it if he embraces and loves, out of fondness for logic, this part of the Reason of which he sees philosophers making chief and most frequent use? And Hercules, though he had not yet set Prometheus free, nor conversed with Sophists like Chiron and Atlas, but being yet a youth, and a thorough Bœotian, though at first he knocked down logic,<sup>1</sup> and laughed the EI to scorn; yet, taken at a later time, he was seen forcibly dragging away the Tripod, and fighting with the god for the possession of the art, since as he advanced in age he too became, it is likely, an excellent diviner, and at the same time, logician.”

And when Theon had done, Eustrophos, the Athenian, I think it was, who said to us: “You see how courageously Theon has defended Logic, all but putting on the lion's-skin for the purpose. In the same way we must count for nothing the whole lot put together, all things whatsoever, the natures and principles of men or

<sup>1</sup> In his fight with the Centaurs, regarded as Sophists. Here is the common play upon the various senses of *λόγος*, impossible to be translated.

gods, and consider this one as the leader and master of all things beautiful and precious — but we must<sup>1</sup> hold our tongues, and sacrifice to this god the first fruits of his darling mathematics, because we believe that the EI excels not the other vowels either in virtue, shape, or expression, but that it has been put in the post of honor as the symbol of a *number* which is great with reference to the whole and a capital one, that is the *Five*, from which the wise used to call reckoning ‘counting by fives.’”<sup>2</sup> This, said Eustrophos, not in joke, but because I, at that very time, was zealously applying myself to mathematics, for as he lived in the Academy, he was perhaps disposed to pay particular respect to the maxim: —

Nothing in extremes.

I therefore replied that Eustrophos solved the difficulty well by means of the Numeral. “For,” I continued, “as all numeration is divided into even and odd, and as unity is common to both, in power: it being added makes the even number odd, and the odd number even: for people hold the two for the beginning of the even, and the three for that of the odd: and the five is produced when these numbers are mixed with each other; so with good cause has it obtained honor, as being the first product of the first; and has been named ‘Marriage,’ from the comparison of the even to the feminine, and again of the odd to the masculine. For in case of divisions into equal parts, the even number being every way parted asunder, leaves behind a receptive principle,<sup>3</sup> as it were, in itself, and a space; but when the odd is treated in the same way, a middle part still survives that is productive of division; in which way it is more generative than the other, and when united thereto it prevails, but it never overcomes; for the even comes from both in no conjunction of the two, whereas the odd does in all.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, when added

<sup>1</sup> The text has *είδως* for *είκδς*.

<sup>2</sup> *πεντάζειν*, literally “to five fold” or “to quintuple.” In early Greek numeration, the numbers up to 5 were denoted by as many vertical strokes; 5 by  $\pi$ ; to which again were subjoined the proper amount of verticals up to 10, expressed by  $\Delta$ .

<sup>3</sup> According to the Platonic plan of treating numbers as solid bodies. Cut a square body in two equal parts; these being separated, leave an empty space in the middle, a receptacle for anything else.

<sup>4</sup> The union of an odd and even number always produces an odd number.

and joined to itself, each of the two exhibits its own distinctive property; for no even number united to an even number produces an odd one, nor goes beyond its proper allotment; because through weakness it is unproductive of offspring different from itself, and imperfect; whereas uneven numbers united with uneven numbers generate many even numbers by reason of their universally prolific nature. The other differences and properties of numbers one cannot go through with on the present occasion. The Five, therefore, the Pythagoreans denominate as 'Marriage,' as being generated through the resemblance of the odd number to the male and the even to the female, and somewhere or other, it has been called 'Nature,' because by multiplication into itself, it finally ends in itself again; like as Nature having received what is the seed, and buried the same, produces in the meanwhile divers forms and figures, through which she moves her work on towards her end, and at last she exhibits the wheat again, and restores the beginning at the end of all; in like manner the other numbers, when they are multiplied<sup>1</sup> result in different numbers through the augmentation, whereas the numbers five and six alone, taken as many times, reproduce and resuscitate themselves: for six times six becomes thirty-six, and five times five becomes five-and-twenty: and again, this is the case with the six but once, and singly; that is, when squared into itself; but the same thing happens to the number five [frequently]<sup>2</sup> in the multiplication, and also, in a way peculiar to itself, in addition: for it makes either itself or the number ten, when alternately added to itself, and this is the case throughout, for the number copies the Final Cause. For as *that* Principle watches over and produces the world out of itself, and in return produces itself out of the world, as Heraclitus says: —

"Exchanging all for fire, and fire for all,  
Like goods for gold, or gold in place of goods;

similarly the conjunction of the five with itself by its own nature generates nothing incomplete nor different in kind, but undergoes strictly defined changes; for it produces

<sup>1</sup> Into themselves, that is.      <sup>2</sup> Not in text, but required by context.

either itself or the number ten — that is, either its own property, or that which is perfect.”

“If, then, any one should ask, What has this to do with Apollo? We reply: It has to do not only with him, but with Bacchus, who has no less property in Delphi than Apollo himself. We therefore hear theologians, partly in verse, partly in prose, setting forth and chanting how that the god, though by nature incorruptible and eternal, yet, as they tell, through some decree of fate, submitted to changes of condition, at one time set all Nature on fire, making all things like to all; at another time he was metamorphosed and turned into various shapes, states, and powers, in the same way as the universe now exists — but is called by the best known of all his names.<sup>1</sup> The wiser sort, cloaking their meaning from the vulgar, call the change into Fire ‘Apollo,’ on account of the reduction to one state,<sup>2</sup> and also ‘Phœbus’ on account of its freedom from defilement and purity: but the condition and change of his turning and subdivision into airs and water and earth, and the production of animals and plants, they enigmatically term ‘Exile’ and ‘Dismemberment.’ They name him ‘Dionysos’ and ‘Zagreus’ and ‘Nycteleos’ and ‘Isodi’; they also tell of certain destructions and disappearances and diseases and new births, which are riddles and fables pertaining to the aforesaid transformations: and they sing the dithyrambic song, filled with sufferings, and allusions to some change of state that brought with it wandering about and dispersion. For Æschylus says: ‘It is fitting the dithyrambus, with its confused roar, should accompany Dionysos: but Apollo, the orderly and sober pæan.’ The latter god they represent in pictures and images as exempt from age and youthful; but the other, under many guises and forms; and, generally, to the one they assign invariableness, order, and unmixed seriousness; whilst ascribing to the other a mingled playfulness and mischief, gravity and madness, they proclaim him ‘Evius inciter of women, flourishing with frenzied honors, Dionysos!’ — not wrongly taking what is the characteristic of either change. For, since the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* retains his usual name under all his changes.

<sup>2</sup> As if derived from *ἀ* privative, and *πολλοί*, and signifying “Destroyer of plurality” — the most preposterous of all the absurd derivations recorded by our Author.

duration of the periods of such changes is not equal, but that of the one which they call 'Satiety' is the longer of the two, and that of the oracle giving the shorter, they observe the due proportion here, and during the rest of the year they employ the pæan at the sacrifices; at the beginning of winter they revive the dithyramb and put a stop to the pæan and invoke the god with the former instead of the latter chant for the space of three months: which makes three to one the space of time they believe that the creation<sup>1</sup> lasted compared to that of the conflagration."

"But this discussion has been prolonged beyond the fitting limits — it is, however, clear that they appropriate the number five to him<sup>2</sup> (Apollo), sometimes taking it by itself as *Five*, sometimes as generating the number Ten out of itself, as [he does] the *World*. But with the art most acceptable to the god, namely Music, we do not think this number has anything to do: seeing that the chief business of harmony is, as one may say, connected with the notes. That these are five and no more, reason disproves if any one unreasonably attempts to hunt out such a number upon the harp-strings, and in the holes of the flute. For all notes receive their birth in the proportions of arithmetic: and the proportion of the diatessaron is one and a third, that of the diapente one and a half, that of the diapasón double; that of the diapente and diapasón triple; and that of the diapasón quadruple.<sup>3</sup> But as to the note which the harmonists add to these, calling it the diatessaron and diapasón, that goes out of the measure, it is not right for us to accept it, and comply with the irrational sense of hearing in a matter of reason, as in<sup>4</sup> the case of a law. That, therefore, I may dismiss the five 'threes' of tetrachords, and the first five whether they are to be called 'tones,' 'tropes,' or 'harmonies,' according as, through tension or slackening of the strings,

<sup>1</sup> The work of creation took thrice as long a time as did its destruction by fire.

<sup>2</sup> *αὐτὸν ὄν* in text *αὐτῶν*.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist has made inextricable confusion of the passage, from want of knowing the "difference between tweedledum and tweedledee"; and being myself in the same condition, I am totally unable to correct him.

<sup>4</sup> Any more than it would be obeyed in the case of a law, *i.e.* these matters are to be judged by calculation, not by the sense of hearing.

they are screwed up more or less, bass or sharp notes are produced — whilst the intervals are not *many*, but rather *infinite* in number — are not the melodies produced only *five*? namely, dieses, semi-tone, tone, tone and a half, double tone, and no other place in the voice, either less or greater, as defined by flatness or sharpness, can be possibly sounded."

"Passing over many other instances of the same kind" (I continued), "I will adduce Plato, who says the world is one, but that if there be other worlds around this, and this be not the only one, they are five in number, and no more. Not but that, even if the world be one and only-created (as Aristotle supposes) it may in a certain sense be considered as composed and compacted out of five other worlds; for example, the one is of earth, the other of water, the third of fire, the fourth of air; the fifth element some call *heaven*, some *light*, others *æther*, others call this same thing the 'Quintessence,'<sup>1</sup> to which alone of all bodies belongs by nature the revolving in a circle: and that not out of compulsion, or extraneous cause. For which reason truly having observed the five most beautiful and most perfect figures of things in nature, namely, the pyramid, the cube, the octahedron, the dodecahedron, the eikosihedron, and the duodecahedron, I have appropriately assigned each of them to a different element."<sup>2</sup>

"There are some philosophers who identify with those primitive elements the powers of the senses which are the same in number:<sup>3</sup> they see the touch repulsive and earth-like; the taste, by means of moisture, appreciating the properties of the things tasted; whilst air being struck becomes in the hearing, voice and sound; and of the two remaining, smell, which the olfactory sense has obtained for its share, being an exhalation and generated by heat, is a fiery substance. And of sight, that is transparent with æther and light by reason of its affinity thereto, the constitution and the action are of like conditions with those elements. Other sense has neither living thing, nor

<sup>1</sup> πεμπτή οὐσία, which, from the property here mentioned, Julian calls τὸ εἰλικτὸν σῶμα; and says is symbolized by Atys.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese have a similar theory, making the Cube represent Earth.

<sup>3</sup> From these theorists Simon Magus stole the idea of appropriating the Rivers of Paradise to the Senses.

other nature does the world possess, that is simple and un-mixed; but there has been made, to all appearance, a certain wonderful distribution and acceptance of the one five between<sup>1</sup> the other five."

At the same moment, as it were checking myself, and leaving off, I exclaimed: "What have we been thinking of, Eustrophos, to have all but passed over Homer, as though not the first to divide the world into five portions? The three intermediate he has assigned to the three gods, the two extremes, Olympus and Earth, whereof the one is the boundary of things below, the other of things above, he has left common to all and unallotted to any. But 'the argument must be carried back,' as Euripides saith, for they that venerate<sup>2</sup> the number Four do not ill to teach that by reason of this number every body has its origin. For since everything that is solid consists in length and breadth admitting of depth; and before length exists a point set down in the way of unity; and as length is called a line without breadth, and *is* length: and the motion of a line in the direction of width gives origin to surface in the number three; and when depth is added to all these in four ways, the aggregate advances into a solid body — it is clear to every one that the number four, after having carried Nature forward up to completing a body and producing [double]<sup>3</sup> bulk and resistance, has yet left it deficient in the most important article. For the thing inanimate, to speak generally, is helpless, imperfect, and serviceable for nothing at all, without a soul to direct it; but the motion or disposition, being a change produced in five different ways, generates therein a soul, imparts perfection to its nature, and possesses a value superior to the number four, in the same degree that the living thing surpasses the thing without life. Furthermore, the proportion and force of the number five, being the more powerful, hath not suffered animate nature to run off into infinite varieties, but hath produced five species only of things animate: for there are gods (I suppose), and dæmons, and heroes, and the fourth kind of men; and then the irrational and brute creation. Again, if you divide

<sup>1</sup> Of the five senses to the five elements.

<sup>2</sup> The Pythagoreans.

<sup>3</sup> This word makes nonsense; and has slipped into the text from elsewhere.

the soul itself according to its constitution, the first and darkest part of it is the nutritive, the second the sensitive, the third the appetitive, the next to this the irascible, and having arrived at the faculty of reason, and completed its nature, it takes its rest in the fifth principle as upon the highest point."

"And whilst the number possesses so many and such great virtues, its origin is likewise beautiful; not being that which we have lately discussed, springing out of the two; but what the beginning of the odd, coupling itself with the square, produces. For the beginning of all numbers is unity; and the first square is the four; and out of these as from a pattern or material having a limit, comes the five. But if, indeed, some are right in supposing the unit the first square number, being a power in itself and producing the same out of itself—in that case also the five, as generated out of the first two squares, has not lost its highest place of nobility."

"But the main point," I continued, "I fear if enounced will press hard upon our friend Plato, in the same way as he himself used to say that Anaxagoras was pressed hard by the name of the Moon, when he appropriated some very ancient notion amongst those current respecting her illuminations (phases); has he not said this in the *Cratylus*?" "Yes, certainly," replied Eustrophos, "but what similarity there is in the present case I do not perceive." "And yet," said I, "you surely know that in the 'Sophist' he makes out the most important principles to be five in number, namely, Being, Sameness, Diversity, and fourthly and fifthly, after these, Motion and Rest. But in the 'Philebus' he uses a different mode of division, and says that *One* is infinite and *Other* definite, and that all generation is composed from these two mixed together: and the Cause by which they are so mixed together he supposes the fourth kind;<sup>1</sup> whilst the fifth he leaves us to conceive as that through which the two mixed principles again obtain separation and division. But I conjecture that these things are predicated as being *images* of those ideas just mentioned, that which is born being the image of that which *is*, the infinite that of *Motion*, the finite that of *Rest*; *Sameness* being the mixing principle,

<sup>1</sup> That is, Motion.



*Diversity* that which separates. And if these are otherwise, even on that supposition, they will similarly be classed in five kinds and differences. Some one, forsooth, previous to Plato had put the question [to the Oracle] and had learned this fact, and therefore dedicated two EΙ's to the god, as an indication and symbol of the number of the all. But again, the same person may have done so because he had discovered that the Good is imagined [as being manifested] five kinds — whereof the first is what is moderate, the second what is consistent, the third Mind, the fourth the sciences, arts, and true conceptions dwelling in the soul; the fifth kind, whatever pleasure is pure and unalloyed with pain." Here he ceased, quoting the line of Orpheus: —

In the sixth period still the rage of song.

After the discourse aforesaid, he continued to us, "One thing more, briefly, I will sing to the intelligent, like Nicander<sup>1</sup> and his friends. On the sixth day of the new moon, when you conduct the Pythia to the Townhall, the first casting of the three lots takes place . . . you throw neither three nor two<sup>2</sup> — is it not so?" "It is so," replied Nicander; "but the reason must not be divulged to others." "Consequently," I said, smiling, "so far as the god allows us that be [not] sanctified to know the truth, this rule also has something to do with what has been said on the subject of the number five. So the list of the arithmetical and mathematical praises of the word EΙ, as far as I recollect then, is now concluded."

Ammonius, inasmuch as he was one who held that by no means the least important part of philosophy lay in mathematics, was delighted with what had been said, and remarked, "To argue very critically against all this is not fitting for us beginners: yet each one of the numbers taken by itself will furnish much scope for such as wish to praise it. And what need is there to talk about the others, when the Seven, sacred to Apollo, will alone exhaust the whole day, should one attempt to enumerate all

<sup>1</sup> Already mentioned as the High Priest of Delphi, and therefore appealed to in a mystic matter.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is hopelessly corrupt. Perhaps the meaning is that the dice so used wanted the *deuce* and *tierce* pips.

its properties? In the next place, we shall prove that the Wise Men quarrelled with common custom as well as with long tradition, when they pushed down the Seven from its place of honor and dedicated the Five unto the god as the more properly pertaining to him. Neither number, therefore, nor rank, nor conjunction, nor any other of the remaining parts of speech, I think, does the word signify, but that it is an *address* to the god, or an *invocation*, complete in itself, that together with the utterance thereof puts the speaker in mind of the power of the deity. For the god addresses each one of us here, when approaching him, as if with a salutation, in the words, 'Know thyself,' which is neither more nor less than 'Hail,' whilst we, in requital to the god, say, 'Thou art,'<sup>1</sup> as though paying to him the true, undying, and sole property of himself, the predicate of *existence*."

"For we ourselves have in reality no part in existence; for all mortal nature being in a state between birth and dissolution, presents no more than an illusion, and a semblance, shapeless and unstable of itself, and if you will closely apply your thought, out of the wish to seize hold of the idea, just as the too strong grasping at water when it is pressed together and condensed, loses it, for it slips through your fingers, in the same way Reason, in pursuing after the *appearances*, so extremely clear as they look, of each one of the conditions of life as they pass along, misses its aim; impinging on the one side against its coming into existence, on the other, against its going out; without ever laying hold upon it as a permanent thing, or as being in reality a power. It is not possible, according to Heraclitus, to step into the *same* river twice; neither is it to lay hold of mortal life twice, in the same condition; but by reason of the suddenness and speed of its mutation, it disperses and again brings together, or rather, neither *again* nor *afterwards*, but at one and the same time it subsists and it comes to an end; it approaches and it departs, wherefore it never ripens that of it which is born into actual being, by reason that Birth doth never cease nor stand still, but *transforms*; and out of the seed makes the embryo, then the child, then the youth, young

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent in sense to the Hebrew "Jehovah," and the ὁ ζῶν θεός of the Athenians,

man, full-grown man, elderly man, old man — obliterating the former growths and ages by those growing up over them. But we ridiculously fear *one* death, although we have already died, and are still dying, so many; for not only, as Heraclitus says, 'When fire dies is the birth of air, and when air dies is the birth of water,' but still more plainly may you see it from ourselves: the full-grown man perishes when the old man is produced, the youth had before perished into the full-grown man, and the child into the youth, and the infant into the child; and the 'yesterday' has died into the 'to-day,' and the 'to-day' is dying into the 'to-morrow,' and no one remains, nor is *one*, but we grow up many around one appearance and common model, whilst matter revolves around and slips away. Else how is it, if we remain the same, that we take pleasure in some things *now*, in different things *before*; we love contrary objects, we admire and find fault with them, we use other words, feel other passions; not having either appearance, figure, nor disposition the same as before? To be in different states, without a change, is not a possible thing, and he that is *changed* is not the *same* person; but if he is not the same, he does not exist . . . this very thing (the change) he changes<sup>1</sup> — growing one different person out of another; but Sense, through ignorance of reality, falsely pronounces that what appears *exists*."

"What then is really existing? The answer is, the eternal, unborn, undecaying, to which no length of time brings about a change: for Time is a thing movable and making move, making its appearance conjointly with matter; leaking and not holding water, as it were, a vessel full of decay and growth; for is not the predicate 'After' and 'Before,' 'Future' and 'Past,' of itself an acknowledgment of non-existence? For to say that what has not yet been, or what has ceased from being, *is* in being, how silly and absurd! For in this way especially do we apply the notion of Time, and predicate the terms 'Instant' and 'Present' and 'Now' . . .<sup>2</sup> this, in turn, Reason distributes too much, dissolves and destroys. For it (Time) is

<sup>1</sup> Some words lost here: but probably to the effect that man's condition is not to be termed *Existence*, but *Change*.

<sup>2</sup> All confusion here in text, but it clearly alludes to the foregoing comparison of water slipping through the fingers when clutched at.

diverted, like a ray of light, into the Future and the Past, necessarily separated, when we attempt to see it. And if the Nature that is measured is in the same condition as that which measures it, nothing is either stable or existing, but all things are either being born or perishing, according to their distribution with respect to time. Consequently it is not allowable so much as to say of Being<sup>1</sup> that 'it was' or that 'it will be'; for all these modes are tenses, transitions, and interchanges of the thing formed by nature, never to stand still in existence.

"But the god *is*, we must declare; and *is* with reference to no time, but with reference to the eternal, the immovable, timeless, and indeclinable; that which there is nothing before nor after, nor more nor past, nor older nor younger, but He being *One* with the one 'Now,' hath filled up the 'Ever';<sup>2</sup> and that which really *is*, alone *is* with reference to Him; neither born, nor about to *be*, nor growing, nor to have an end. In this way, therefore, ought we, when worshipping, to salute Him, and to address Him, or even, truly, as some of the ancients did, 'Thou art One!' For the Deity is not *several*, as each one of us is, made up out of an infinite number of different things in conditions of existence — a motley assemblage of articles of all sorts and gleanings. But that which *is* must necessarily be *One*, just as *One* must be that which is; for<sup>3</sup> difference of that which is, springs out of that which is not, in form of births, consequently the first of the names (by which he is called) well suits the god, as also the second and the third. For 'Apollo,' inasmuch as it means 'denying many,' signifies also 'rejecting plurality.'<sup>4</sup> He is also *Ἰητος*, because *one* and alone. 'Phœbus' the ancients called everything clean and chaste, and even now the Thessalians say that their priests, when living by themselves outside the city on the fast-days, 'are living Phœbus.' But the One is single and pure, for the mixing of one thing with another constitutes pollution; as Homer somewhere calls ivory turned purple by a dye 'polluted,' and dyers call the running

<sup>1</sup> That is, of true existence, not measured by Time.

<sup>2</sup> A beautiful and most expressive metaphor!

<sup>3</sup> *ερερότης* might be well rendered by "otherness," did such a word exist. But as it is, write "Variety, which is," etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἀπόλλων* being derived from *ἀ* and *πολλοί*. *Ἰητος*, really "Archer," is here derived from the archaic *ἴος = εἶς*,

together of colors 'being spoilt,' and such mixture they term 'corruption.' Hence, to be one and always unmixed belongs to the Immortal and the Pure.

"But those who hold Apollo and the Sun for one and the same, we ought to welcome and love for the omen's sake, because they embody the idea of the god in the thing which they most honor of all the objects that they know and long for. As though, therefore, they were dreaming about the god in the most beautiful of dreams, let us wake them up, and exhort them to carry their thoughts yet higher, and contemplate what is above them, and the essence; to honor indeed the *Type*, and venerate the creative force residing therein, as that which converts the Intelligible into the Sensible, and the Permanent into the Transitory — the type that shows forth in some way or other glimpses and images of the benevolence and felicity that dwell around that god. But as for his migrations and changes which bind him together when he emits fire, as they tell, and again quenches it, and directs it upon earth, sea, the winds, animals; and the dreadful sufferings of plants and living things, all such it is impiety even to hear mentioned. Otherwise the Deity would be worse than the child in the poem, as to the game it plays with a heap of sand, first built up and then thrown over: He would be playing the same game with the universe and the world; first making things that are not, then destroying what is made. For, on the contrary, whatever has been generated, in whatever way, in the world, *this* binds all existence together, and checks the infirmity inherent in the medley<sup>1</sup> that tends to destruction. And to me what seems most opposed to, and testifying against the aforesaid legend is this very word, the addressing 'Thou art' to the god, as though neither change of place nor transformation were possible with respect to *him*, but are applied to some other god (or better say dæmon) appointed to preside over Nature as working in production and dissolution, to whom<sup>2</sup> it pertained to do and suffer such things, as is evident at first sight from our god's titles, so contrary and contra-

<sup>1</sup> The origin of the Gnostic *μίγμα*, out of which it is Christ's business to extract the seeds of Light.

<sup>2</sup> The office of Siva, whose Puranic attributes are exactly described in what follows. As the god of Change he is regarded as the god of Death and Destruction, which is in reality but a separation of collected particles for the purpose of reconstruction.

dictory to such a conception of his character. For the one is called Apollo, the other Pluto; the one is styled Delius (*apparent*), the other Aidoneus (*invisible*); the one Phœleus (*bright*), the other Scotios (*full of darkness*); and by the side of the one stand the Muses and Memory, beside the other Oblivion and Silence; the one is entitled from completion and giving light, the other is the 'lord of unseeing Night and unworking Sleep'; the one is 'of all the gods most hateful to mankind,' touching whom Pindar hath said, not unpleasantly, 'He hath been condemned to be the most undelightful unto mortals.' With good cause, then, Euripides says,

" Drink offerings to the dead and gone,  
Chants that the god with golden hair,  
Phœbus, receiveth not;

and, before him, Sophocles, 'Above all things, sports and songs doth Apollo love; but mourning and groans Pluto hath gotten for his share.' Sophocles also has distinctly assigned to each of them his proper instruments in these words,

" Neither the mournful flute, nor merry lyre.

For it was late and only yesterday that the flute gave forth its sound at scenes of merriment; in old times it drawled out in lamentations at funerals, and held this office (not a very respectable or cheerful one) at scenes of the kind. Afterwards, however, it was admitted to everything. But, to say the truth, those who have mixed up things relating to gods with those relating to dæmons, have brought themselves chiefly into trouble. But indeed the maxim, 'Know thyself,' appears to run counter to the 'Thou art,' and again, in one way, to harmonize with it; for the one is addressed through awe and veneration to the god, the other is a reminder to mortality of the nature and frailty that envelops it."

## THE APPARENT FACE IN THE ORB OF THE MOON

THEN said Sylla, "These things belong to my story, and form part of it: but if you come at all into collision with these popular notions, that are in everybody's mouth, about the Face in the Moon, I think I should be glad to learn it." "Why should we not," I replied, "driven back as we are by the difficulty in the first case, to the latter subject — just as people in lingering diseases, when they have lost all hope in the common remedies, and usual courses of diet, fly for refuge to purifications, spells, and dreams: in the same way it is a matter of compulsion in obscure and insoluble problems, when common, accredited, and customary arguments fail to convince, to make trial of others more out of the way, and not despise them; but to chant, as it were, over ourselves some old-fashioned charm, and hunt out the truth in all quarters.

"For you see at once how absurd is the explanation that the apparent figure in the moon is merely an affection of the sight, which is dazzled by the brightness, by reason of its own weakness; a thing we call . . . it<sup>1</sup> takes no notice that this effect should rather take place in regard to the sun, which strikes upon the eye both sharp and forcibly; whence Empedocles hath described the difference between the two, not inelegantly,

"The shrill-voiced sun, the softly whispering moon,

designating in this way the attractive, cheerful, and in-offensive character of the latter luminary. Afterwards, giving the reason why dim and weak eyes discern no difference of form *in* the moon, but her orb strikes upon them as smooth and completely filled up, whilst those that have sharp and strong sight make out better, and distinguish the lineaments of the Face, and seize upon the difference more clearly. For the contrary ought to be the case, if

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of optical illusion.

that appearance were produced from the eye's being overcome; because where the sense affected was weaker, the stronger<sup>1</sup> would be the impression produced. But the inequality [of the surface] refutes this explanation, for the sight does not rest upon a continuous and confused shadow. And Hegesianax in describing it hath not ill said,

“ With fire she shines all round, but in the midst  
More blue than black appears a maiden's face  
And moisten'd<sup>2</sup> cheeks, that blush to meet the gaze.”

For in reality the shaded parts, as they go round, creep under the bright ones, and are in turn cut away and compressed,<sup>3</sup> and in a word, are interwoven one with the other. So that the figure resembles a sketch in outline,<sup>4</sup> according to Clearchus; which seems plausibly said to *your* Aristotle — for *Aristotle* is a man of your own, being, as he was, fond of antiquity, although he did introduce into it a good deal of the Peripatetic philosophy.

And upon Apollonius taking up the conversation, and asking what was the opinion of Clearchus: “It better suits,” replied I, “any other person than yourself to be ignorant of the story, inasmuch as it proceeds from the very focus of geometry: for the fellow says that the so-called face is only reflected images and appearances of the great sea (the ocean) that are shown upon the moon; for that her external circumference when concave<sup>5</sup> is naturally adapted to catch the reflections rising up from various quarters, whilst the full moon is of all mirrors, in point of polish and of brilliancy the most beautiful and the most clear. For just as you suppose that the rainbow, when the light is reflected against the sun, is impressed upon the clouds that have received gradually a watery smoothness and surface, in the same way, that writer says, the external sea (our ocean) is reflected on the moon, not indeed from the place it occupies, but from where the reflection of the air has made the image of it, that is to say,

<sup>1</sup> This word has dropped out of the text, but is indispensable.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps plump and polished, as the Italian “*bagnato*.”

<sup>3</sup> *πιέζει* in text, for *πιέζεται*.

<sup>4</sup> *γραφικῆ*, drawing in outline, the first thing taught in Greek schools, as Pliny notes under “Pamphilus.” This whole paragraph is in inextricable confusion.

<sup>5</sup> When the moon takes the form of a crescent.



its surface and reflection. And Agesianax in another place, has said:—

“ Or some great wave of ocean, rising steep,  
Shows like an image on the blazing mirror.”

Apollonius then was amused, and exclaimed: “How original and entirely new is the construction of this theory — it bespeaks a man possessed of audacity as well as wit! But in what way is it open to objection?” “In the first place,” I replied, “because the nature of the outer sea is one and the same, a uniform and unbroken expanse of water; whereas the appearance of the dark parts in the moon is not one and the same, but shows as it were projecting tongues of land, because the bright part diversifies and defines the dark; so that from each of these being separated, and having a boundary of its own, the projections of the bright parts upon the darkened, assuming the form of elevations and depressions, arrange in a most natural manner the features that appear around the eyes and lips; so that we must either suppose there are several outer seas intersected by tongues of land and continents, which supposition is both absurd and false, or else there being but one it is not reasonable that the image of it should be reflected diversified in this way. It is, however, safer to ask the question than to demonstrate, when *you* are present, whether the habitable world, being equal in length and width, it is possible for all the view at once from the moon to be reflected and reach the sea . . . nay, more, to such as are sailing on the great ocean, and live in the middle of it, like the Britons — and this too, whilst the earth, as you have told us, does not occupy the place of a centre with regard to the sphere of the moon.”<sup>1</sup> “It is *your* business,” I replied, “to investigate this problem; the reflection of the prospect, however, against the moon, is neither your business to investigate, nor that of Hipparchus, although it is an interesting question. But many amongst natural philosophers are not satisfied to hold this doctrine of similar effects with respect to the sight; but it is more probable that the thing is a *collision*, or as it were impact and rebound of particles, in the same

<sup>1</sup> All this is in confusion, and some part quite lost, for the end of the sentence must be part of Apollonius's reply.

way as the *atoms* invented by Epicurus. Your Clearchus will not, I fancy, suppose the moon a ponderous and solid body, but a star composed of æther, and luminous, to use your language, . . . it is natural she should reflect the view or the impact to the same extent that the reflection has gone away from her. And if he requires anything more, we will ask how it comes that the face in the moon alone is the reflection of the ocean, and not in any other of the stars, numerous as they be: and yet probability demands that the sight should be thus affected with respect to all alike, or no one at all. Look at Lucius, and remind him of what was said at first starting."

Then Lucius: "But for fear we should seem to be insulting Pharnaces, by passing over the Stoical doctrine on the subject, without a word said for it, pray make some reply, by all means, to the man that supposes the moon a mixture of air and liquid fire, and asserts that as when a ripple runs over the sea in a calm, so when this air blackens, an appearance like definite shapes is produced . . . [on the moon's face]." "You act kindly," replied I, "my dear Lucius, in thus cloaking their absurdity under decent names; but not so did our friend, who used to say, 'they gave the moon a black eye,' by thus covering her face with spots and dark patches, at one and the same time proclaiming her *Artemis* and *Athene*, and then making her out a composition and mass of dusky air and coaly fire, not possessing any kindling spark or light of her own, but to be a body hard of separation, and scorched by fire: just like those pieces of earthenware styled by the poets<sup>1</sup> 'lustreless and ashy.' Because, however, a charcoal fire, such as they make out the moon's to be, has neither permanence nor consistence, unless it gets hold of a material that retains and at the same time feeds it, I fancy those philosophers have seen farthest into the matter who say in joke, that Vulcan is said to be *lame*, because fire cannot go on without *wood* any more than a lame man without a *stick*. If, then, the moon is *fire*, from whence is so large a quantity of air generated in her? for the region that revolves above and around her is not of air, but of a superior

<sup>1</sup> A curious reference to the old times of Greece, when the painted vase manufacture was of the same importance as the porcelain of our times. With the Romans earthenware served only for the commonest household usage.

element, that has the natural property of sublimating and setting on fire everything in its reach. And if this air has been generated, how comes it that it continues so long a time, and does not fly off and change its form, being set at liberty by the fire, but maintains itself and coexists such a length of time together with the fire, like a nail fixed in the same place and riveted close? For it behooves it, as being subtile and diffused, not to remain stationary, but to fly abroad; for that it should be condensed is not possible, inasmuch as it is mixed up with fire, and has no particle of moisture nor of earth, by which things alone are as naturally disposed to be solidified. And velocity of flight inflames the air contained in stones and in that cold substance, lead,<sup>1</sup> much more, then, that contained in fire, whirling along too with such immense swiftmess. For they (the Stoics) quarrel with Empedocles for making the moon 'a congelation of air, of the nature of hail, embraced by a sphere of fire'; whilst they themselves pretend that the moon, a ball of fire, contains air dispersed in different directions, and this, too, though she has neither fissures in her surface, nor deep places, nor cavities (things which those that make her out an earthly substance concede to her), but this same air is lying, forsooth, superficially upon her convexity. This arrangement is preposterous with respect to permanence,<sup>2</sup> and impossible with respect to sight in the times of full moon; for, in that case, it ought not to define anything black and shaded, but either be hidden and darkened [completely], or else to be lighted up at the same time when the moon is taken possession of by the sun. For amongst ourselves, the air in the deep places and hollows of the earth, whither the light doth not enter, continues obscure and unilluminated; whilst that from without diffused around the earth acquires brightness and a lustrous color, for it readily mixes itself with every kind of property, or force, by reason of its liquid nature, and especially if it but 'lay hold of the light,' as you call it, and touch the same, then is it entirely converted and lighted up. This selfsame fact, therefore, though it may

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the heating of sling-bullets — produced in reality by impact, but supposed by the ancients to be generated during their flight —

"Volat atque incandescit eundo."

<sup>2</sup> Because it would necessarily slip off a convex surface

seem to do good service to such as are for thrusting the air in the moon into her deep places and ravines, yet refutes those of you who *knead up* and compose her sphere, I know not how, out of air and fire; for it is not possible for shade to be left upon her surface, when the sun illuminates with his light the whole extent of the moon that we take in with the sight."

Then Pharnaces, whilst I was still speaking, broke in with: "Just what I expected comes against us, borrowed from the Academy, when we are engaged in arguing with other people: never to furnish proof of what they assert themselves, but they needs must treat as defendants such as do not attack them, whatever the case may be. But *me*, at any rate, you will not draw into making a defence of the theory you impute to the Stoics, before I get satisfaction out of you for turning the affairs of the universe upside down." "Only," replied Lucius laughing, "do not bring an action for impiety against us, just as Cleanthes thought it right that the Greeks collectively should impeach Aristagoras<sup>1</sup> the Stoic, of impiety, for overthrowing the altar of earth, because the fellow attempted to account for visible phenomena by supposing that the sky remains fixed, and that the earth rolls round down an oblique circle,<sup>2</sup> turning at the same time upon its own axis. We, however, say nothing out of our own heads; whilst they who suppose the moon an earth, how do they turn things upside down, any more than you do who place the earth here in the air, although it be, by far, bigger than the moon, as mathematicians calculate her magnitude during her eclipses, and by the length of time<sup>3</sup> consumed in her passage through the shadow? For the shadow of the earth is projected of lesser size by the illuminating body being the larger; and that the upper part of the shadow itself is fine and narrow, was not unknown, as he says, to Homer also, for he entitles night 'swift,'<sup>4</sup> by reason of the *pointed* form of the shadow.

<sup>1</sup> *Aliter*, Aristarchus.

<sup>2</sup> The Zodiac. Modern *savants* pass this theory slightly by, as "a guess amongst many"; but the rule in such cases assures every one who can use his common sense that Aristarchus had his own arguments, derived from observation of the phenomena, that satisfied himself and his disciples of the soundness of his hypothesis. How unfortunate that Plutarch did not take the trouble to give some brief notice of *them*, as he has done here of so many others of less value.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἐποχῆς should be in the dative, else I cannot see how the passage can be construed.

<sup>4</sup> Or "acute."

But by this philosopher the moon is convicted on the strength of her eclipses, and gets off with hardly three of her own (apparent) magnitudes, for consider to how many moons the earth is equal, if it projects a shadow, which, at the shortest, is thrice the diameter of the moon. But yet you are afraid for the moon, lest she should tumble down; but as for the earth, Æschylus perhaps has reassured you, like Atlas,

“ He stands, the pillar of the sky and earth,  
Propping a load not easy for the arms;

that is, if there flows under the moon only thin air, not competent to support a solid body; whilst the earth, according to Pindar, ‘adamantine-shod columns keep in on every side.’ And for this reason Pharnaces himself is under no apprehension of the earth’s falling, whereas he compassionates such as lie under the roadway of the moon, namely, the Ethiopians and people of Taprobane, lest so vast a weight should drop upon them; and yet, a safeguard to the moon against falling down is her motion, and the rapidity<sup>1</sup> of her gyration, just as objects placed in slings have a hindrance from falling out in the circular whirling. For the natural tendency acts upon each object, unless it be diverted by some extraneous force. Consequently, her own weight does not act upon the moon, because by means of her rapid rotation its downward tendency is neutralized; there were rather cause to wonder at her not remaining stationary, like the earth, and not rolling out of her place. As it is, the moon has the greatest reason for not being carried in our direction; but the earth as being destitute of other motion, it was natural should remain fixed through the force of gravity alone, because it is heavier than the moon, not by the same proportion as it is the larger of the two, but in still greater degree inasmuch as the latter is all the lighter through heat and burning up of her substance. And, in fine, the moon, from what you say, if she be *fire*, naturally stands in need of earth and matter, in which she walks, and clings to, and keeps together, and fans the flame of her force. Now fire cannot be imagined as being maintained without fuel, but earth, you assert, remains fixed without either foundation or root.” “Certainly so,” replied Pharnaces, “because it

<sup>1</sup> *βελῶδες* must be *βοιζῶδες*, of similar sound.

occupies its proper and natural place, as being itself the centre, for this is the place around which all weights gravitate and rest, and are carried and tend together from all parts; whereas the whole upper region, even though it should receive some earthy substance forcibly thrown up, immediately excludes it — better say, discharges it, to be carried downwards in the way its own natural tendency directs.”

In return for this, I wishing to obtain a little respite for Lucius whilst refreshing his memory, called to Theon: “Who was it, Theon,” said I, “of the tragic writers that remarks of physicians that,

“With bitter drugs they purge the bitter bile?”

and on his answering, “Sophocles,” “This privilege must be granted to them,” said I, “whether we will or no; but we must not listen to philosophers when they choose to defend absurdities by other absurdities, and in fighting for the monstrosities of their doctrines invent others yet more strange and wonderful, just as these men bring in the ‘gravitation to the centre’ — a notion, what amount of extravagance does it not involve? Do not they make out earth to be a sphere, though it contains such depths and heights and inequalities of surface? Do not they make the Antipodes live like caterpillars or lizards, turned upside down, clinging to the earth? And they represent ourselves as not walking erect to stand firm upon it, but wavering away all on one side, like so many drunken men! Don’t they pretend that masses of a thousand talents weight falling through the depths of earth, when they arrive at the centre are arrested, though there be nothing to encounter or support them? and that if, carried along by their velocity, they shoot past the centre, they are turned back again and retrace their course spontaneously? Do not they teach that sections of beams, sawed off on each side of *earth*,<sup>1</sup> do not tend downwards continually, but when they fall upon the ground<sup>2</sup> are repelled from without, and are come together again at the centre,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> This must be an error for “centre.”

<sup>2</sup> Meaning the outer circumference of the globe.

<sup>3</sup> A curious illustration, much bungled by the scribe. “Saw a beam in two at the centre, the globe being supposed hollow, each piece falls in

that an impetuous stream of water flowing downwards, should it come to the central point (which they pretend is incorporeal) stands fast suspended in a circle around the pole, incessantly lifting up, and being lifted up incessantly? Some of these notions, indeed, they do not assert without foundation, if one should strain himself to the utmost to present them to his conception. This is indeed turning things upside down and making them run backwards, to make as far as the centre 'downwards,' and under the centre 'upwards.' So that if a person out of sympathy for the earth, should occupy the centre thereof, and should stand upon his head, holding at the same time his head upwards and his feet also,<sup>1</sup> and dig through all the space opposite him, he would emerge turned upside down and be dragged along on coming to the surface; and if, forsooth, another man be imagined as walking opposite to him the feet of both would be, and also be called, turned 'upwards.'

"Of such and such great absurdities not a walletful, but rather a whole juggler's stock and shopful, have these men strapped upon their backs and drag after them, and yet they say others are idle chatterers for placing the moon, being an earth, up aloft, not where the centre is. And yet truly, if every ponderous thing does tend towards the same point, and presses with all its particles upon its own centre — earth will claim for herself all ponderous things, not so much because earth is the centre of the universe, as because they are particles of herself; and the fact of things gravitating downwards will be a proof, not of the centripetal force towards earth, but of *affinity* and sympathy, as it were, with earth, in particles once separated from her, and now flying back to her again. For in the same way that the sun attracts to himself the particles out of which he is composed, so doth earth receive the falling stone, and carries it to the place where in course of time each one of such bodies is made one with and assimilated to herself. But if it happens to be some other body, not assigned to earth from the beginning, nor a fragment separated from herself, but having a composi-

an opposite direction until it strikes against earth's crust, when it is repelled, and the two pieces meet again at the centre."

<sup>1</sup> His head would be *upwards* with respect to the other surface of the globe; his feet with respect to ours.

tion and nature of its own (as those men will say of the moon) — what prevents it from existing by itself, separately, following its own tendency, and fettered by its own particles? By no means is earth proved to be the centre of the universe, and the connection and relation of the latter here with earth, guide us to the manner in which it is probable the phenomena relating to the moon take their course. I do not see why the philosopher who forces all earthy and ponderous particles into one and the same place, and makes them out portions of one and the same body, does not concede the same natural tendency to such as are without weight, but allows so many composite bodies of fire to exist separately, and does not imperatively collect into one lump all the stars that be, and demand that there should be one common body of all upward tending and fiery particles.”

“But,” said I, “you assert that the sun, my dear Apollonides, is distant infinite myriads of miles from the superior circumference, while the Morning Star, and Mercury, and the other planets, all placed below him, keeping far aloof from the fixed stars, and at great distances from each other, pursue their course;<sup>1</sup> whereas for the ponderous and earthy particles you suppose the universe offers no free space, nor interval between each other in its whole extent. You see it is ridiculous if we shall assert that the moon is not an earth *because* she is posted remote from the lower space, but should call her a *star*, seeing her thrust away so many myriads of miles from the superior circumference, and crept as it were into some hole and corner of creation: at least she is so much below the other stars that one cannot express the measure of the distance, but arithmetic fails you mathematicians in calculating the same; whereas, in a manner, she touches Earth, and revolving near,

“As of a chariot, follows in the rut,

says Empedocles. ‘She<sup>a</sup> around the point . . .?’

“For neither does she often overpass the shadow [of Earth], and elevate herself a little, by reason that the illuminating body is exceeding great, but she appears to

<sup>1</sup> If all the heavenly bodies can move about at great intervals from each other, why must all earthly bodies gravitate into one mass?



revolve so close to, and as it were in the embrace of Earth, as to be screened against the sun by it, without ever soaring above this shady terrestrial and darksome region which is the allotment of Earth. Wherefore I think we must confidently declare the moon to be within the limits of Earth, and to be overcast by the point of Earth's shadow.<sup>1</sup>

“And consider, leaving out of the case the other fixed stars and planets, what Aristarchus points out in his treatise ‘Upon Magnitudes and Distances,’ that the distance of the sun is more than eighteen times, but less than twenty times the distance of the moon, by which she is separated from us: and yet the computation that gives the greatest elevation to the moon says she is distant from us fifty-six times the space from the centre of the earth [to the circumference]:<sup>2</sup> this length is of forty thousand<sup>3</sup> stadia, according to those who make a moderate calculation of it. And, calculated from this basis, the sun's distance from the moon amounts to over four thousand and thirty myriads of stadia. So far, then, is she separated from the sun by reason of her weight, and approximated to earth, that if one must define substances by localities, the constitution and beauty of Earth attracts the moon, and she is of influence in matters and over persons upon Earth, by reason of her relationship and proximity. And we do not go wrong, I think, when we assign to those bodies above denominated such immense depth and distance, and leave to that which is below a certain circular course and broad way as much as lies between Earth and the moon: for neither the man who pretends the summit of heaven to be the sole ‘above,’ and denominates all the rest as ‘below,’ is reasonable in his definition; nor yet is he who circumscribes ‘below’ by the limits of Earth, or rather by the Centre, to be listened to: but even movable . . . inasmuch as the universe allows of the interval

<sup>1</sup> *αὐρήs* in text for *σκίαs*?

<sup>2</sup> A radius of 4,000 miles, making the moon's distance from earth 224,000. The text, therefore, should read *myriad* for thousand in the sum, as also appears from what follows.

$$\begin{array}{r} {}^3 4,000 \times 10,000 = 40,000,000 \\ 30 \times 10,000 = \quad 300,000 \\ \hline 40,300,000 \end{array}$$

About 40,300,000 miles.

required by reason of its own extensiveness. But in reply to such a demand that all which is separate from Earth shall be consequently 'above' and 'on high,' another directly responds with the contrary axiom, that all which is reckoned from the fixed circumference is to be considered as 'below.'

"And, finally, in what sense, and in reference to what thing is Earth said to be 'intermediate'? For the universe is infinite; now that which is infinite hath neither beginning nor limit, so it does not belong to it to possess a *middle*: for infinity is the deprivation of limits. But he who makes out Earth to be the middle not of the *universe*, but of the *world*, is ridiculous for his simplicity if he does not reflect that the 'world' itself is liable to the very same objections: for the universe hath not left a middle place for it also, but it is borne along without house or home in the boundless vacuum, towards nothing cognate to itself; perhaps it has found out for itself some other cause for remaining fixed, and so has stood still, but certainly not owing to the nature of its position. And it is allowable for one to conjecture alike with respect to Earth and with respect to the moon, that by some contrary soul and nature they are<sup>1</sup> . . . differences, the former remaining stationary here, the latter moving along. But apart from these considerations, see whether a certain important fact has not escaped their notice. For if whatsoever space, and whatever thing exists away from the centre of Earth, is the 'above,' then no part of Earth is 'below,' but Earth herself and the things upon Earth; and, in a word, everybody standing around or investing the centre, become the 'above'; whilst 'below' is one sole thing, that incorporeal point, which has the duty of counterbalancing the whole constitution of the world; if, indeed, the 'below' is by its nature opposed to the 'above.' And this is not the only absurdity in the argument, but it also does away with the cause through which all ponderous bodies gravitate in this direction, and tend downwards: for there is no mark below towards which they move: for the incorporeal point is not likely (nor do they pretend it is) to exert so much force as to draw down all objects to itself, and keep them together around itself.

<sup>1</sup> [Actuated, the consequence of the diversity being.]

But yet, it is proved unreasonable, and repugnant to facts, to suppose the 'above' of the world to be a whole, but the 'below' an incorporeal and indefinite limit: whereas that course is consistent with reason, to say, as we do, that the space is large and possessed of width, and is defined by the 'above' and the 'below' of locality.

"Not but that we may, if you please, suppose that motions in the heavens are contrary to the nature of those of terrestrial bodies; and let us examine the matter quietly, not in the tragic style, but in a good-humored way, how such an assumption as this does not make out the moon not to be an earth, but only an earth in a position for which it is not naturally adapted. For the phenomena at Etna underground are against the order of Nature; but 'fire is there, and the blast imprisoned in the bellows is the upward force';<sup>1</sup> whereas that which by nature is imponderous, comes, in spite of itself, into places for which it was not made. And the Soul itself," I continued, "is it not locked up by God in the body against its own nature: the one swift, the other slow; the one fiery, the other frigid (as you assert); the one invisible, the other an object of sense? For this reason, therefore, let us not say that the soul is nothing to the body; but that it is a thing divine, which by reason of its gravity and density, travels round all heaven, earth, and sea, at one and the same moment, and being parcelled out pervades the flesh, the sinews, the marrow of our bodies, the cause of feelings in infinite variety, when coupled with moisture. But this Jupiter of ours doth not follow his own nature, nor is one great continuous fire; but occasionally he withdraws himself, bends downwards, and changes his form, having turned and still turning himself into every object in the course of his changes. But take heed, my good sir, and consider, lest by transposing and drawing away each thing in turn from the place where it is naturally meant to be, you philosophically bring about the dissolution of the world, and introduce the 'Discord' of Empedocles into its affairs; or, rather, lest you stir up to war upon Nature, the Titans and Giants of old, and should desire to see again the fabled terrific disorder and lawlessness of their

<sup>1</sup> A quotation from some poet.

times; apart everything ponderous, and apart everything light:—

“ Where no one views with awe Sol's glorious face,  
Nor Earth's own shaggy breed, nor Ocean's kind,

as Empedocles says; nor did Earth participate in heat nor Water in air, neither was there anything of the ponderous up above, or of the imponderous down below, but unmixed, unsocial, solitary were the principles of the universe — not admitting the union of one with another, nor communication, but fleeing and shrinking away from each other, carried along by individual and independent impulses, they were so circumstanced as is everything from which God is absent, according to Plato (that is, just as our bodies are circumstanced, when mind and soul have left them); until what time *Desire* came upon Nature by the sending of Providence, when Amity was engendered and Venus and Love, as Empedocles declares, as also say Parmenides and Hesiod, in order that they, by exchanging places and borrowing forces from one another, and the one set being bound by the necessity of motion, the other by that of rest, compelled to emerge and change place from the position where Nature placed them, towards a better one, they might bring about the union and fellowship of the Whole.

“ For if no other part of the divisions of the world were placed contrary to its nature, but each lay where it was naturally fit, standing in need of no change of place nor re-arrangement, and without having needed anything of the sort at the beginning, I am puzzled to see what is the business of a Providence, or of what Jupiter has been creator and father, ‘that most skilful artificer.’ For there is no use of marshalls in a camp, if each one of the officers knows out of his own head the rank, station, and moment, that he is bound to occupy and to observe; nor of gardeners or builders, if the water of itself is disposed to move upon the things that require it, and to flow over and irrigate the same; and in the other case, the bricks, timbers, and stones following their natural tendencies and inclinations, should of themselves take up the requisite arrangement and position. And if this argument does not downright subvert the doctrine of a Providence, but leaves to God the government and distribution of things

that be — why should we be surprised that Nature has been so ordered and divided, that here is fixed Fire, there Stars; and again, the Earth here, and overhead the Moon; all of them bound by a stronger chain than the natural one, that is, by the one in accordance with *Reason*?<sup>1</sup> Wherefore, if all things must needs follow their natural tendencies, and move on in the manner for which they were created, then let not the Sun revolve in a circle, nor yet Venus, nor any other of the planets, do the same — for it is *upward*, and not in a *circle*, that imponderous and fiery bodies were created to move. But if Nature possesses such a power of exchange, in spite of the locality,<sup>2</sup> that *here* Fire as it moves, moves upwards, but after it has arrived at heaven, it is carried around in company with the celestial revolution. What is there to be surprised at if it comes to pass with ponderous and earthy bodies, when transferred into another form of motion, that they be overpowered by the influence of the element that encompasses them? For in fact, it is not consistent with Nature that the upward tendency of imponderous bodies should be neutralized by the motion of the heavens; but rather that it should not be able to master such as be ponderous and gravitate downwards; nay rather, on occasion, when it has transposed the latter also by its own power, it should employ their nature to a better end than for what it was created.

“Not but that if one must dismiss the notion of habits violently overcome, and speak one’s opinion without disguise, it is probable no part of the universe possesses either place, order, or motion, of its own, which we can universally style its *natural* one; but that when each thing shows itself usefully and properly moving to that end on account of which, and for which, it was born or has been manufactured, and submitting to, or doing that which is conducive to its own preservation, perfection, or efficiency, it then appears to possess its natural place, motion, and disposition. Man himself, at any rate, who as much as anything that exists is naturally made, holds *upward* the ponderous and earthy portions of himself, especially about the head, and in his *centre* the hot and

<sup>1</sup> The Platonic term for the Divine Will, or the “Logos.”

<sup>2</sup> Natural position of each element.

fiery particles. And of the teeth, part are planted above, part below, and yet neither set are placed contrary to nature; nor of Fire, is the part that shines in the eyes placed *according* to nature, and that detached in the belly and the heart placed *contrary* to nature; but each respectively is stationed properly and serviceably: —

“ Truly the snail and thick-skinned tortoise,

and the nature of every shell-fish, as Empedocles says from his own observation: —

“ Where earth thou shalt behold above their flesh,

and the stony substance does not oppress their constitution, nor crush it by its incumbent weight; neither, on the other hand, doth the heat, by reason of its lightness, fly off and escape upwards; but they are mingled with each other and ranged together, in accordance with the nature of each.

“ In the same way, therefore, is it probable the world is constituted, that is, if it be a *living thing*, containing earth in many places, in many others water and fire, and air, not forcibly compressed, but arranged in order by Reason.<sup>1</sup> For neither is the eye *squeezed out* of the mass into the place it now fills in the body, in consequence of its levity, nor did the heart slip down and fall into the breast by reason of its weight, but because it was better each of the two should be so placed. Therefore, let us not think, of the parts of the world, either that earth is lying here because she hath tumbled down through her own weight, or the sun (as Metrodorus the Chian supposed) was shot up into the upper region, through his levity, after the manner of a bubble, or that the other stars got into the places where they now are, because they gravitated thither as though according to the discrimination of a pair of scales.<sup>2</sup> But, inasmuch as He that rules by *reason* is the master, they, like light-giving eyes, are fixed in the brow of the universe, and stray about: whilst the sun fills the place of a heart, and, like blood and breath, distributes

<sup>1</sup> Better rendered by Wisdom, for it is the Achamoth of the Alexandrine Jews, and the Second Person, “the Spirit of God,” in their Divinity.

<sup>2</sup> In proportion to the weight of each.

and disperses from out of himself both heat and light. Earth and sea the world uses according to Nature for whatever purposes an animal uses its belly and bladder: whilst the moon placed between Heaven and Earth, like the liver between the belly and the heart, or some other soft intestine, diffuses here the warmth from above, and the exhalations rising hence she subtilizes by a certain process of digestion and purification, around herself, and emits them again. But whether her earthy and solid part contains any region adapted for the reception of other things, is a matter we cannot ascertain. And in every case, the better part masters the subordinate part. And what can we gain, so consistent with probability as this, out of what those philosophers assert? They assert that the luminous and subtile part of the æther was converted into sky by reason of its liquidity; and the condensed and conglomerated part into air, and that the moon is the most sluggish part of these two, and also the most turbid. But in spite of this, it is in anybody's power to see that the moon is not cut off from the æther, but rather floats on much of it in the space around herself, and having under her the wind in abundance . . . revolve the comets. Thus, each one is put 'in its fold,' not in accordance with their tendencies depending on the gravity or levity of substance, but as having been arranged by another cause, namely *Reason*."

After these things had been said, and I handed over the subject to Lucius, as I was advancing to the proofs of the theory, Aristotle said with a smile: "I testify that you have been directing your whole argument against such as suppose the moon to be half made of fire, and who pretend that universally some bodies tend upwards, others downwards, of their own accord. For if there is any one that says the stars revolve in a circle by their own nature, and are made of an element entirely different from the four we know — something has just occurred to my recollection very opportunely to get them out of the difficulty." "But," said Lucius, "if we make all the other stars, and the whole of heaven, into one pure and unmixed nature, freed also from all necessity of change consequent upon passiveness, and if we trace out an orbit along which they all [shall move] with never-ceasing revolution — no one, perhaps, will quarrel with us on the present occasion; although a thousand difficulties are left still unsolved. And

when the argument shall comprehend and touch upon the moon, she no longer keeps her impassiveness, and that vaunted beauty of her substance. But to pass over the other inequalities and differences [she exhibits], this very Face that appears in her, is produced either by some affection of her own substance, or by the admixture of some different one. Now that which is mixed with another suffers something, for it loses its own purity, being infected by the quality of the inferior element. But her own spurious nature, the weakness of her pace, her heat so inefficient and dull, whereby, according to Ion, 'no grape is ripened black' — to what shall we attribute all this except to her feeble nature and passiveness; that is, if passiveness belongs to an eternal and celestial body? and, to sum up, my dear Aristotle, considered as an Earth the moon shows herself to be a perfectly beautiful, awful, and well-ordered thing; but viewed as a star or a luminary, or some divine and celestial body, I fear she will prove shapeless and uncomely, and bring shame upon that glorious appellation, if of all the so numerous bodies existing in the heavens, she alone goes about begging light from another, according to Parmenides,

“With eyes aye fixed upon the solar beams.”

Now my opponent in the dispute, quoting the saying of Anaxagoras, “The sun grafts brightness in the moon,” was applauded by the company; but I will not repeat what I learnt either from you, or conjointly with you; but will gladly go on to what is left.<sup>1</sup> “That the moon, then, is illuminated, not like glass or crystal, by the direct or transmitted light of the sun, is a probable supposition; nor again, by reason of collected illumination or collected reflection, in the same way as torches do,<sup>2</sup> when the light is augmented; for in that case it will be full moon to us none the less at the times of new moon, or first and third quarters, if she neither covers nor blocks out the sun; but the light rather passes through her by reason of her fluidity, or else it shines into her by way of intermixture, and lights

<sup>1</sup> This Treatise being in the form of a reported conversation.

<sup>2</sup> The moon does not collect a stock of light within her body — otherwise her light would not be intermitten. “When the light of torches is augmented” by the kindling of additional torches.



up all around her. For it is not possible to lay the blame in the case of her dark quarters upon her deviations, or retreatings, as in the cases when she shows half her orb, or the same gibbous or crescent-shaped; but, according to Democritus, she stands in a vertical line to the illuminating body, and receives and takes in the sun: so that it were probable that she at the same time is illuminated and illuminates that body. But she is very far from doing this; for at that moment she is invisible, and she frequently hides, and causes him to disappear, 'she strips him of his beams,' as Empedocles says,

"Till up aloft, she veils so much his face  
As the width measures of the *blue-eyed*<sup>1</sup> moon:

as though the [sun's] light fell upon night and darkness, and not upon another star. And as to what Posidonius says, that 'the light of the sun does not pass through her, on account of the depth of the moon,' is plainly confuted by the fact; for the air, though unlimited and having a depth many times greater than the moon's, is entirely illuminated and shone upon by his rays. There is left, therefore, the doctrine of Empedocles, that it is by means of a certain reflection of the sun upon the moon that the illumination which proceeds from her here below is brought about. Consequently it [her light] comes to us neither warm, nor brilliant, naturally enough, as there has been a kindling and a mingling of different lights in that case; but just as voices in the case of reflections send back the echo of the sound more dull, and the blows of shots that rebound from an object fall with greatly diminished force,

"So the ray striking on the moon's broad disk,

makes a feeble and dull rebound upon us, being deprived of its strength by reflection."

Then Sylla taking up the conversation said: "Certainly, this notion possesses some degree of probability, but the thing that is the strongest of those that make against it, pray, does it admit of any softening down, or has it escaped my companion's observation?" "What

<sup>1</sup> Or "owl-faced," a far-fetched sense of *γλαυκῶπις* quite in Empedocles's style.

is this?" replied Lucius, "do you mean the question about the half-moon?" "Yes, certainly," answered Sylla; "for the assertion has some reason on its side, that, since all reflection takes place at equal angles, when the moon, showing but half her disk, rides in mid-heaven, the light from her does not travel towards us, but glides off to the part opposite to earth; for the sun, being upon the horizon, touches the moon with his rays; consequently, being refracted at an equal angle, it [the light from the sun] will rebound to the other extremity, and not throw the light so far as us; or else there will be a great distortion and parallax of the angle, which thing is not possible." "Nay, but indeed," replied Lucius, "this thing has been asserted"; and looking, as he was talking, towards Menelaus the mathematician, "I am ashamed, my dear Menelaus, to take up a mathematical question in your presence, which serves as the very foundation for the whole science of Opticks, but there is no help for it," he continued, "for the fact that all reflection extends itself at equal angles, is neither self-evident nor universally admitted, but is contradicted in the case of convex mirrors, when they make images larger than the objects themselves to one point of vision. It is also contradicted in the case of double mirrors, which being inclined to each other, and an angle formed between them, each of the surfaces presents the appearance of a double one, and gives four images from one face, two of them looking towards the left parts from outside, and two others, indistinct, looking to the right, in the depth of the mirror. Of the production of which images, Plato explains the cause; for he has said that in consequence of the mirror's having got height,<sup>1</sup> on this side and on that, the eyes transfer the reflection as they change their place from one side to the other. If, therefore, of the images some run back directly to us, whilst some slipping to the other side of the mirror are thrown back again from thence to us, it is not possible that all reflections take place in equal angles, as many as . . . joining battle, they demand to do away with the equality of angles by means of the *emanations* flowing from the moon upon the earth, because they suppose this theory more plausible than the former. Not but that if we

<sup>1</sup> There is sufficient head room in the mirror-face for the images to be repeated as the eyes involuntarily change their position.

must needs gratify your great darling, Geometry, and concede the point, — in the first place it is likely enough that such happens<sup>1</sup> in the case of reflectors made very exact as to their polished surfaces; whereas the moon offers many inequalities and asperities of surface, so that rays from a great body [like the sun] going astray at considerable elevations, that allow of their reflecting and exchanging with one another, are reflected in all sorts of ways, and entangled with each other, and kindle up the lustre in itself,<sup>2</sup> because it is thrown upon us from several reflectors at once. In the next place, even though we allow the reflections upon the moon herself to be at equal angles, it is not impossible that the rays, travelling through so vast a distance, may get reflections and circular slips of their own, so that the light is brought into one, and made to shine. Some, too, write to show that she casts many of her beams upon earth in the line . . . under the inclined, subtended. To construct a diagram in illustration of this theory, and that, too, for many spectators, would be quite impracticable.

“To sum up, I wonder how they manage about the half-moon’s reaching us, together with the full round, and the crescent. For if the mass of the moon, illuminated by the sun, were made of æther, or of fire, he would not have left her hemisphere shaded, and without lustre to the sense [perceptible], but had he touched her in ever so small a degree, in going round her, it would have been a natural consequence that the sun should fill her substance, and penetrate through the whole of it with his all-pervading light, from the want of any resistance.<sup>3</sup> For where wine touches water at the edge, or a drop of blood falls into any liquid, the whole quantity turns red, and changes to the color of blood; in like manner, they pretend that the air itself is illuminated, not by emanations of any sort, or rays mingling themselves in it, but by a conversion and transformation due to impact and contagion: how do they imagine that star touches star, and light light, without mixing together or making any confusion or change at

<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of the equality of the angles of incidence and reflection may hold good for truly polished surfaces, but not for irregular surfaces.

<sup>2</sup> Independently of the moon, but somewhere in the heavens on the way towards her.

<sup>3</sup> Supposing the moon made of æther, the sun on the least contact would illuminate the whole orb, so there could be no half-moons or crescents.

all, but to illumine those objects only which they touch upon their surface? For the circle which the sun, as he goes round, traces and turns about with reference to the moon, at one time falls upon the line which divides the visible from the invisible portion of her body, at another time rises up vertically so as to cut them, and to be cut by the moon, producing various inclinations and relations of the lighted to the darkened part, the complete circle and the crescent forms in her appearance, all which proves more than anything else that her illumination is not the result of *mixture* but of *contact*, not *ignition* but *irradiation*. And since not only she is lighted up, but transmits hither the image of her light, she supplies yet further reason for our insisting upon our own explanation of her nature; for reflections are produced by no object that is porous or of loose texture. There is no such thing as light rebounding back out of light, or fire out of fire, easily conceivable; but the object that will produce opposition and fracture must necessarily be something ponderous and solid in order that there may be impact *against* it, and resilience *from* it. At any rate the sun<sup>1</sup> himself penetrates the air because it neither furnishes obstacles, nor offers resistance; whereas from sticks and stones and clothes exposed to the light the same sun gives back many reflections and irradiations. Thus, in fact, we see the entire earth illuminated by her, for she does not admit the light to a depth like water, nor through the whole substance like air, but whatever kind of orbit of the sun moves round the moon, and for as large a portion of her as is cut off thereby, just such another circle goes round the earth, and just so large a portion is there illuminating, and leaving the other not lighted up; for the hemisphere that is illuminated seems to be little larger in either case. Allow me to speak geometrically according to analogy, that if, there being three things which the light from the sun touches, namely, the earth, the moon, and the air, we see the moon illuminated, not in the same way as the air, but rather in the same way as the earth; it necessarily follows the two have the same nature, being made to be affected in the same way by the same agent."

And when all had applauded Lucius, "Well done," I

<sup>1</sup> "Sun" and "Air" have got interchanged in the text; but the true sense is obvious.

exclaimed, "you have added a good defence to a good subject; for I must not defraud you of your due." And he replied with a smile, "In the second place then, we must further make use of analogy in order that we may demonstrate the moon's affinity to Earth, not only from both being similarly acted upon by the same thing, but by their both producing the same effects. For that there is no one thing so similar to another amongst the phenomena connected with the sun, as the sun's being eclipsed is to his actual setting,<sup>1</sup> you must allow to me if you call to mind the eclipse which took place the year<sup>2</sup> before this meeting, when many stars became visible in different parts of the sky directly at the beginning of midday, and a mixture [of light and darkness] resembling daybreak pervaded the atmosphere, otherwise this Theon here will bring down upon us Mimnermus, and Cydias, and Archilochus, and Stesichorus, and Pindar to boot, all lamenting for 'the brightest one stolen away, and night coming on at midday, and the sun's ray [travelling] the path of darkness' . . . as they say. And above all, Homer, telling how 'men's countenances were covered over with night and darkness, and the sun was lost out of heaven and vanished around the moon,' . . . this happens when one lunar month is ending and the next commencing. The rest, with the accurate calculations of mathematicians, has been worked out and brought to a certainty; namely, that night is the shadow of the earth, and the eclipse of the sun is the shadow of the moon, when the light comes to be in it. For<sup>3</sup> the sun when setting, is blocked up by the earth against the sight; but when eclipsed he is blocked up by the moon, and both phenomena are occultations, but that of setting is due to the earth, that of eclipse to the moon, because she intercepts the view of him with her shadow. What takes place is easily understood from the following considerations. If the effect is the same, the agents are the same; for it is a matter of necessity that the same things should happen in the same case from the same

<sup>1</sup> The phenomena attending an eclipse of the sun closely resemble those attending a regular sunset.

<sup>2</sup> April 30, A.D. 59: a notice fixing the date of this Treatise.

<sup>3</sup> When the sun is *setting*, the view of his orb is obstructed by the elevation of the horizon between him and the spectators; but when he is *eclipsed*, our sight of him is intercepted by the moon coming between us and him.

causes. But that the darkness attending eclipses is not complete darkness, and does not condense the atmosphere in the same degree that night does, is a circumstance we ought not to be surprised at; for the *substance* is the same of the object that causes night and that causes the eclipse, but the *magnitude* of each is not equal: for the Egyptians, I think, say the moon is the seventy-second part of earth in size; Anaxagoras, that she is as big as the Peloponnesus. But Aristarchus proves that the moon's diameter bears a proportion [to that of earth] which is less than sixty to nineteen, but somewhat greater than one hundred and eight to forty. Consequently earth entirely takes away the sun from sight, by reason of her magnitude; for the obstruction she presents is extensive, and endures the space of a night, whereas the moon, even though she may occasionally hide the sun, the occultation has no time to last, and no extensiveness, but some light shows itself round his circumference that does not allow the darkness to become deep and unmixed. Aristotle (the ancient one, I mean <sup>1</sup>) gives as one cause, besides some others, of the moon's being seen eclipsed more frequently than the sun, 'that the sun is eclipsed by the obstruction of the moon, whereas the moon is . . .' But Posidonius thus describes the phenomenon: 'The eclipse is the conjunction of the sun and the shadow of the moon, of which the eclipse . . . for to those people alone is the eclipse visible from whom the moon's shadow shall occupy and block out the sight of the sun.' And when he agrees that the shadow of the moon is projected as far as us; I do not know what more he has left himself to say, for of a *star* there can be no shadow, because that thing which is unillumined is designated *shadow* — now light does naturally not produce shadow, but destroy it."

"But after this," said he,<sup>2</sup> "what further evidence was adduced?" "The moon," I replied, "received the same explanation as to her eclipse." "You have done well to remind me," said he, "but beforehand, on the supposition that you are all convinced and hold that the moon is eclipsed because she is overtaken by the shadow, I now direct myself to the reason — or would you prefer that I should make a lecture and a display of eloquence

<sup>1</sup> Not the gentleman present.

<sup>2</sup> The person to whom Plutarch is relating the discussion.

beforehand, by enumerating the various attempts at the explanation, one after the other?" "Yes, truly, Theon," I replied, "lecture on these points; for I too require some persuasion, having only heard the question stated in this way — that the three bodies being come upon one straight line, namely, the earth, the sun, and the moon, the eclipses then happen, because the earth, takes away the sun from the moon; on the contrary, the moon takes away the sun from the earth, for the sun is eclipsed when the moon, and the moon when the earth, stands in the middle of the three; of which cases the one happens in the conjunction,<sup>1</sup> the other in the time of full-moon."<sup>2</sup> Then Lucius remarked: "These are about the most important of the theories current; but first of all, take in hand, if you please, the explanation derived from the *figure* of the shadow; for it is a cone, as though a great fire or light projected a mass, less indeed than a sphere, but still spherical in form, for which reason in eclipses of the moon the outlines of the darkened parts against the bright ones have their edges circular; for whatever sections a round thing coming in contact with another round thing, may either receive or produce, as they go off in all directions, they are made circular by reason of their resemblance [to what produced them]. In the second place, I fancy you know that the moon is first eclipsed on the parts towards the east; whereas the sun is on those towards the west, because the earth's shadow moves towards the west from the east. The sun and the moon, on the contrary, move towards the east. All this, visible facts enable us to discover, and may be understood without very lengthy explanations, and from them the shadow as the cause of the eclipse is established. For when the sun is eclipsed by being *overtaken* by, and the moon by *meeting* that which causes the eclipse, probably, or rather, necessarily, the sun<sup>3</sup> is first overtaken from behind, the moon from the front, for the occultation begins from that side where the object in front first casts the shadow, and the moon first casts it upon the sun from the west, as she is racing against him, but

<sup>1</sup> σύνδοσις for moon's conjunction with sun = dark quarter.

<sup>2</sup> διχόμηρος when the moon is in *opposition* to the sun = full-moon.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ μὲν in text for ὁ μὲν, which is necessitated by the ἡ δὲ following.

upon *her* he casts it from the east, because she is moving below in a contrary direction, from the east. Thirdly, then, consider the question of the *duration*, and of the *extent* of her eclipses. When she is eclipsed high in heaven and at her apogee she is obscured for only a short time, but being in her perigee and low when thus affected, she is greatly oppressed, and emerges with difficulty from the shadow. And yet, when she is low, she is making the greatest movements, but when high the smallest of all. But the cause of the difference lies in the shadow, for it is broadest at the base, as all cones are, and contracting gradually, at the top it ends in a sharp and fine point. Consequently, the moon entering into this shadow when she is low down, is caught by it in its largest circumference and passes through its deepest and darkest part, but when up high, just grazing the shadow, as though in shallow water, she quickly makes her escape. I shall pass over all that has been said with special reference to *bases*<sup>1</sup> and *transits*; because they admit the cause so far as possibility goes. But I return to the argument before me that has ocular demonstration for its starting point. For we see that fire out of a shady place shows itself and shines abroad all the more; whether through the density of the obscured air not allowing of divergences and dispersions, but keeping together and compressing the element in one place; or else this is an affection of the sense [vision], just as hot things compared with cold seem hotter, and pleasures compared with pains seem more intense, even so bright things contrasted with dark become conspicuous, because they exaggerate their appearance through the opposite affections of the sense: the former supposition of the two is likely to be the more probable, for in the sunshine every sort of fire doth not only lose its brightness, but through yielding thereto becomes inoperative and duller; because the heat disperses and diffuses its proper force. If then the moon possesses an infantine and ineffective fire, being 'a feminine star,' as these philosophers pretend, it befits her to be affected in none of the ways in which she is affected at present, but altogether the contrary of them all; she ought to appear where now she is hidden, and be hidden exactly

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless "phases" —  $\beta$  being written for  $\phi$  in the text, in consequence of the similarity of sound, as the scribes pronounce it.



where she now appears: that is to say, be hidden for the rest of the time as being obscured by the circumambient æther, but emerge and become visible every six months, and again every five, when she enters into the shadow of the earth. For the 365 revolutions of the ecliptic full moons contain 404 periods of six months, and the rest of five months each. It would therefore be necessary that the moon should be visible at intervals of so many months, because she became conspicuous in the shadow;<sup>1</sup> but she . . . becomes eclipsed and loses her light, but recovers it again, when she emerges from the shadow, and often shows herself by day, as being anything rather than a fiery or star-like substance."

Lucius having said this, Pharnaces and Apollonides in a way came into collision with each other [in their eagerness to answer him], but when Apollonides gave up the turn, Pharnaces continued, "This fact *does* most of all prove the moon to be a fire or a star, for she is not *entirely* invisible during eclipses, but displays the hot-coal<sup>2</sup> and grim color which is her own proper hue." But Apollonides stood firm with respect to the shadow, "for [he said] the mathematicians always so denominated the unilluminated place, and that the heavens did not admit of 'shadow.'" "This [said I] is rather the disputing captiously with a *name* than dealing philosophically and mathematically with the *fact*, for the place obstructed by the earth, if one chooses not to call it 'shadow,' but 'unilluminated region,' it is all the same unavoidable that the moon, on coming into it . . . and altogether," added I, "it is silly to say the shadow of the earth does not reach so far . . . the shadow of the moon impinging upon the sight, and . . . towards the earth, causes an eclipse of the sun. I will now turn to you, Pharnaces, for that coal-like and glowing<sup>3</sup> color, which you pretend is the natural complexion of the moon, is really that of a body that possesses density and depth; for in things unsubstantial no remnant or vestige of flame is accus-

<sup>1</sup> If the moon were of the nature of a star, self-lighted, she would be conspicuous when passing through earth's shadow; whereas she now becomes invisible in her passage through it.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρακώδης, "smouldering," like that of a hot piece of charcoal, ἀνθραξ being always taken in an active sense.

<sup>3</sup> διακαής, not smouldering, but, like charcoal, fully alight.

tomed to remain; nor is there any food for fire except in a solid body that will receive and nourish the spark kindling it; as Homer also hath sung,

“When the fire-flower was spent and quenched the blaze,  
Spreading the ashes wide.

For the ‘charcoal’ is probably not *fire*, but an ignited substance, and affected by fire dwelling upon, and wearing itself out upon a mass which is both solid and possessed of durability; whereas the flames are but the lighting up and jets of an unsubstantial nutriment and material, speedily consumed by reason of its weakness. Consequently, nothing could have been so convincing a proof that the moon is an earthy and dense substance, than if ‘smouldering coal’ were proper to her as her color. But is it not the case, my dear Pharnaces, that moons in eclipse assume various colors; and mathematicians (astrologers) define these colors, and distinguish them according to the time and the season? For instance, if the moon be eclipsed in the evening, she appears dreadfully black up to the third<sup>1</sup> and one-half hour, but if at midnight she emits this [just mentioned] purplish light, and fire, and flame-color, whilst from the hour of morning<sup>2</sup> and half an hour later, the blush rises on her face; and finally at daybreak she puts on a dark blue and cheerful complexion, from which in reality the poets and Empedocles style her the ‘Blue-eyed.’<sup>3</sup> When, therefore, we see the moon putting on so many different colors when in the shadow, they do not deal fairly in dwelling upon a single one of them, namely, the smouldering coal, which we really may say is the most uncongenial to her of them all; and is rather a mixture and remnant of the fire shining through the shadow round about her; but her natural color [we define] to be dark-blue and earthy. For whereas here below shady places in the vicinity of lakes and rivers that catch the sun are similarly dyed and made brilliant in robes of purple, yea, even of *scarlet*,<sup>4</sup> and give forth many various

<sup>1</sup> Counting from sunset, as the Romans still do.

<sup>2</sup> At what time “morning,” as distinct from “daybreak,” commenced, I cannot discover.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch’s explanation cannot stand; a general epithet cannot be derived from a so transient state, and of rare occurrence.

<sup>4</sup> Our “Sultan red,” the brightest dye the ancients could produce

images of color, through the reflections of the light, what wonder is it if the vast flood of shadow, falling as it were into a celestial ocean of light, not steady nor at rest, but agitated by stars infinite in number, and receiving mixtures and changes of all kinds, should extract different colors at different times, and give them out from the moon? A star, or a fire, would not in the shadow show itself black, or glaucous, or dark blue; but over mountains, or plains, or sea, many variations of color from the sun go and come; and he casts the lustre of the dye,<sup>1</sup> tempered with shadows and with mists, as with the hues of the painter's palette; whereof that of the sea, widely diffused, Homer hath given a name to, calling it 'violet-colored,'<sup>2</sup> and 'wine-faced ocean,' and elsewhere the 'purple wave'; and, again, 'blue-green sea,' and the 'white calm'; whereas the variations about earth of colors showing themselves differently at different times he has passed over in silence as being endless in quantity. The moon is not likely to possess only a *single* visible appearance like the sea; but much more so to resemble the earth in her nature, concerning which Socrates of old told a fable, whether that he was hinting at this, or describing, it may be, some other creation.<sup>3</sup> For it is neither incredible nor astonishing if she, having nothing in herself that is corrupting or turbid, but extracting the pure light out of heaven, and being full of heat, not of a consuming and fierce fire, but one that is liquid and harmless, and consistent with her nature, should possess wondrous beauties of scenery, flame-colored hills, zones of purple, gold and silver, not dug out from her bowels, but cropping up in abundance to the surface, or overlaid upon polished eminences.<sup>4</sup> And if the sight (vision) of these things penetrates through the shadow differently at different times, as far as us, by reason of some difference and varia-

with their *coccus*, kermes. Their "purple" was a very dark red, bluish viewed in one light.

<sup>1</sup> βαφὰς must be βαφῆς.

<sup>2</sup> What flower the *ἴον* was is now impossible to define. The epithet "flame-colored," given to it by Dioscorides, inclines me to think it the reddish-purple cyclamen, so common in South Europe: but W. G. Clark was in favor of the heartsease which he observed growing abundantly in Greece — clearly it was not our violet.

<sup>3</sup> The "True World," described in such Apocalyptical terms in the "Phædo."

<sup>4</sup> Quoting Socrates's description of the True World.

tion of the surrounding medium (atmosphere), the moon doth not thereby lose the preciousness nor the holiness of her glory, which . . . being held sacred by mankind, she is something more than 'a turbid and dreggy fire,' as the Stoics pretend. Fire, however, with the Medes and Assyrians enjoys honors well suited to barbarians, who worship things hurtful before things worthy of reverence, by way of deprecating their anger; but the name of Earth is, I ween, dear to all, and to the Greek even venerable, and with us<sup>1</sup> it is the hereditary rule to worship her in the same way as any other deity. We men are far from thinking the moon, which is a celestial earth, to be a body without life, and without mind, and destitute of those things which the gods have a right to enjoy, when we, by law, pay the requital for her blessings, and naturally respect that which is superior in virtue and in power, and therefore to be respected. Wherefore let us believe that we do not offend in supposing her an earth; and as for this her *face* visible to us, just as our own earth contains deep recesses [let us believe that] in the same way she too is opened out into vast gulfs, containing either water or darkened air, into which the sun's light doth not descend, or even touch, but falls short of them entirely, and produces a reflection that is dispersed and lost in those places."

Then Apollonides, scornfully interrupting, exclaimed: "What, then, in the Moon's own name, does it seem to you possible that this appearance is nothing but shadows of streams or of deep ravines, and comes all the way from the moon to us here to our sight? Perhaps you do not consider the consequences, must I tell them? Listen, then, even though you be not ignorant of them already. The diameter of the moon measures twelve fingers' breadth,<sup>2</sup> as it appears to the eye, at her mean distances; whilst of the black and shaded parts each one appears larger than a half digit, so as to be larger than the twenty-fourth part of the diameter; and, again, if we should estimate the circumference of the moon at thirty thousand stadia<sup>3</sup> only, and the diameter at ten thousand, according to the rule, then each one of the shaded parts in her, will not be less than five hundred stadia.<sup>4</sup> Consider, pray,

<sup>1</sup> Citizens of Delphi; where the Oracle at first belonged to "Mother Earth," before she ceded it to Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> Nine inches English.    <sup>3</sup> 3750 miles English.    <sup>4</sup> Fifty-two miles.

in the first place, whether it be possible that such cavities and such great inequalities of surface should exist in the moon as to produce an obscuration of this extent. In the next place, being so large, why are they not perceptible<sup>1</sup> to us?" And I, smiling at him, replied, "Well done, Apollonides, to have invented such a demonstration, on the strength of which you will make out both yourself and me to be bigger than those Aloads<sup>2</sup> of old; not, however, at all times of day, but chiefly at sunrise and sunset; you think that because the sun makes our shadows enormous, the fact furnishes this fine argument to the sense, that if the shadow cast be big the thing casting the shadow must be exceeding great. In Lemnos neither of us, I well know, has ever been; both of us, however, have often heard that popular iambic line —

"Athos has hid the flank of Lemnian Cow.

For the shadow of the mountain, as it seems, strikes upon a little cow of bronze, extending a length of no less than seven hundred<sup>3</sup> stadia across the sea . . .<sup>4</sup> to be the height that casts the shadow; for the reason that the divergences of the light make the shadows many times greater than the bodies themselves. Come, pray, and consider that the sun is at his greatest distance from the moon at what time she is full, and produces the most distinct figure of the face by reason of the deepness of the shading; for it is the receding of the illumining light that makes the shade deep, not the greatness of the inequalities on the surface of the moon. And, again, neither do the rays of the sun allow the projecting parts of mountains to be discerned by day, whereas their deep places, valleys, and shaded parts are visible from a great distance; it therefore is nothing strange if it is not possible to discern distinctly the reception (of solar light) and the illumination of the moon, whilst the strong contrasts of the shaded against the bright parts do not escape our sight and observation.

"But the fact," continued I, "which seems still more to upset the alleged reflection of light from the moon, is that

<sup>1</sup> Perceptible as actual cavities in the moon's surface, not as mere patches of color.

<sup>2</sup> The biggest giants of the Titans.

<sup>3</sup> Eighty-five miles across the sea.

<sup>4</sup> [You do not imagine this is the actual height of the mountain.]

when people are standing in reflected lights, it comes to pass they see not only the thing illuminated, but the thing that illuminates. For when a bright light cast from water is dancing up and down against a wall, the sight of it takes place in the point that is illuminated in consequence of the reflection; it (the sight) distinguishes three different things, namely, the reflected light, the water producing the reflection, and the Sun himself from whom the ray, falling upon the water, has been reflected. These points being confessed and evident, (the Stoics) recommend such as assert the earth to be illuminated by the moon,<sup>1</sup> to demonstrate that the Sun shows himself (is reflected) in the moon in the same manner<sup>2</sup> by night, when the reflection from him is produced. But as he does not appear then, they believe that the illumination takes place in some other way than by *reflection*: but if this be not so, then neither is the moon an earth." "What answer, then, must be made to them?" replied Apollonides, "for the phenomena of reflection are in all probability universal, and like our own." "Certainly," said I, "in one way they *are* universal, but in another way they are not universal. In the first place, observe how these people take the phenomena of the spectrum, upside down and inside out: for upon earth and below it is the *water*, but above earth, and on high, it is the *moon*.<sup>3</sup> Consequently the reflected rays make the form of the angle corresponding — the one having its apex<sup>4</sup> above upon the moon, the other having it below upon the earth. Let them, therefore, not demand that it shall produce every image proper to mirrors, or an equal reflection from every distance — for in so doing they are fighting against demonstration. But those who make out the moon to be a body, neither polished nor fluid like water, but ponderous and earthy, I understand how they borrow from the sun what the appearance is in her that meets the sight: for neither does milk produce the same kind of mirrors,<sup>5</sup> nor render back reflections (as the water), owing to the inequality and density of its particles: by what means, therefore, is it possible that the moon should send out from herself an image in the same way as the more brilliant surfaces of

<sup>1</sup> With her reflected light.

<sup>2</sup> As in the experiment just cited

<sup>3</sup> That throws back the solar ray.

<sup>4</sup> κορυφή.

<sup>5</sup> "Reflecting medium," as water does: referring to what was said before of the spectrum cast from dancing waves upon a wall.

mirrors? And yet, even in these, if a cobweb, or rust,<sup>1</sup> or roughness should cover the focus from which the image is generated it is [not]<sup>2</sup> reflected and imaged; and the mirrors themselves are seen, but give back no reflection. And whoso pretends that either our sight should reflect upon the sun, or else that the moon should not reflect the sun from herself upon us, is ridiculous<sup>3</sup> by his requiring the eye to be a sun, the sight the solar beam, and the moon the heavens. For that the Sun's reflection, impinging with a blow upon the moon by reason of its intensity and brightness, should be carried as far as us, is reasonable enough; whereas the sight being feeble, unsubstantial, and ever so small a fraction [of the solar light], what wonder is it if it neither produces an impressive stroke, nor in rebounding preserves its continuity, but is broken up and comes to an end; not possessing a large stock of light, so as not to be dissipated around the inequalities and roughnesses of the (moon's) surface? From mirrors, indeed, and other reflecting surfaces, it is not impossible for the proceeding reflection to strike upon the eye, as it is near to its origin; but from the moon, even though there should be some slippery glances of herself, they will be feeble and indistinct, and come prematurely to an end by reason of the length of the distance they have to travel. And, besides, concave mirrors make the reflected light more intense than that surrounding them, so as frequently to emit a flame; whilst the convex and spherical kinds, by reason of the light striking on them from all sides, produce a feeble and indistinct. . . . For you observe,<sup>4</sup> indeed, when two rainbows appear, from a cloud enveloping another cloud, that the one enclosing the other shows its hues weak and confused: because the exterior cloud, lying further off from the sight, produces a reflection neither intense nor powerful. And what need is there to say more, when the sun's light reflected from the moon doth lose all its heat, and of its brightness there comes to us merely an unsubstantial and ineffectual remnant? Surely, when the sight travels along the same course, is it conceivable that a single

<sup>1</sup> Mirrors in Plutarch's time were all made of speculum metal, and liable to be spoilt by rust.

<sup>2</sup> The negative here is certainly demanded by the sense of the whole argument.

<sup>3</sup> Rather, "makes himself ridiculous."

<sup>4</sup> ὁπᾶται must be ὁπᾶτε.

particle of a remnant shall reach the sun from the moon? I do not think it. Consider, too," added I, "that if the sight is similarly affected in the case of water and of the moon, the full moon would be obliged to render back the images of earth, plants, men, and stars, in the same way as the other reflecting surfaces return them. But if reflections (repercussion) of the view do not take place against the latter object, through its own weakness, or through the unevenness of the moon's surface, we must not demand that they shall be produced upon the sun."

"We therefore," I continued, "have now related to you all the different theories that have not slipped our memory. But it is now high time to call upon Sylla, nay, rather to *exact* from him his story, as having been our hearer upon certain conditions. Wherefore, if you please, let us end our walk, and, sitting down upon the steps,<sup>1</sup> furnish him with a stationary audience." This was agreed to; and when we had sat down: "I," said Theon, "desire as much as any one of you to hear what is about to be said, Lamprias;<sup>2</sup> but previously I would be glad to hear about those said to live in the moon — not *who* they are that dwell there, but whether it is *possible* to inhabit there: for if that is not possible, it is absurd to say the moon is an earth, for she will appear to have been made for no purpose, but all in vain, if she neither bears crops, nor furnishes men of some sort with habitation, birth, and living: for the which ends we say *this* earth was made, according to Plato, 'for our nurse, and unwearied keeper both by day and night, and our artificer.' For you see that many tales are told, both in jest and earnest, about these matters. For to those dwelling *under* the moon, as they say, she is suspended overhead, as though they were so many Tantalii; those, again, living upon her surface, fast bound like so many Ixions, with such incredible velocity of revolution . . . and yet she does not move with a single motion; but, as is said somewhere, she is a 'traveller on three roads,' at one and the same time carried onwards lengthways towards the Zodiac, and broadways,<sup>3</sup> and deepways. Of which motions, the first the mathematicians call the 'circuit,'

<sup>1</sup> The grand flight of steps leading up to the Temple of Apollo, in front of which the conversation was held.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch's brother, who relates this conversation.

<sup>3</sup> Sideways and downwards.



the second the 'spiral,' and the third, I know not why, the 'inequality': although they have observed nothing *equal* or regular in her recessions. Consequently, if a *lion*<sup>1</sup> once fell down into the Peloponnesus from her rapid gyration, it is [not] surprising — it is, on the contrary, a wonder we do not continually see showers of men, and heaps of cattle,<sup>2</sup> diving down from thence, and turning round and round in the air. For it is ridiculous to argue about a residence there, if she is not capable of containing generation or stability. For whilst the Egyptians and Troglodytes, over whose heads the sun stands vertically for a single day at the solstice, and then departing, hardly escape being burnt up through the dryness of the atmosphere, pray is it likely people in the moon can stand twelve summer days in each year, when month by month the sun stands plumb-line over them, and remains stationary, when it is full-moon? At any rate, winds and clouds and showers, without which there is no growth of plants, or nourishment for things produced, cannot possibly be thought of under such circumstances, as being brought together, in consequence of the heat and rarefaction of the atmosphere; for neither do the mountains there, however lofty, harbor the furious and ascending winters; but . . . now, the air kept in perpetual agitation through its lightness, escapes this settlement and condensation — unless, forsooth, we shall say, that like as Minerva dropped down nectar and ambrosia over Achilles, when he refused all food, so the moon that is both named and *is* Minerva, feeds her inhabitants, by issuing out unto them daily ambrosia, in the same way as Pherecydes of old supposes the gods are fed. As for the Indian root, which Megasthenes says they neither eat nor drink, but, as they are *without mouths*, they burn and use like incense, and are nourished by the fume<sup>3</sup> — how is it to be found growing there if the moon is never rained on?"

When Theon had spoken this, . . . "Well done," I replied; "by the sportiveness of your discourse [you have relieved] the seriousness of the subject: which inspires us

<sup>1</sup> λέων for λίθος, of which Anaxagoras predicted the fall; or was there some story of a *bonâ fide* lion tumbling out of the moon?

<sup>2</sup> βλων must be βοῶν.

<sup>3</sup> This looks like some tradition of the use of tobacco, brought by some prehistoric Columbus.

with courage to pursue the dispute, inasmuch as we do not look for a very spiteful or grave examination from our audience. For truly they differ greatly from the people that believe these tales [but they equally differ from those] who are disgusted with and utterly disbelieve them, and are not willing to consider dispassionately what is possible and probable. In the first place, then, it does not necessarily follow that because the moon is not inhabited by men, she was made for no purpose, and in vain. For neither do we see this earth of ours universally utilized and inhabited, but only a small portion thereof, like so many capes or peninsulas jutting out into the vasty deep, is capable of breeding animals and plants, whilst the rest lies partly desert and barren by reason of winters or of drought, whilst the greater portion of her surface is submerged under the spreading ocean. But you who love and admire Aristarchus do not attend to Crates when he acknowledges,

“Ocean, to all, the origin ordained  
Both men and gods, spreads over most of earth.

But these things are far from being created to no purpose, for the sea sends up mild exhalations, and the most refreshing airs in the height of summer; whilst from the uninhabited and frozen quarter, the snows quietly melting away, relax and disperse. . . . For the sake of day and night, an unwearied guardian in the midst, ‘according to Plato,’ and creator. There is no objection then to the moon’s being really devoid of all living things, but affording reflection to the light diffused around her, and a rallying-point for the rays of the stars, and meeting-place within herself, in which she digests the exhalations rising up from earth, and in concert with the sun extracts the over-fiery and harsh part of the same, and discharges it. And if we concede so much to ancient tradition, that she is named ‘Artemis,’<sup>1</sup> we shall say, as before, that she is *unfruitful* (like that virgin goddess), yet in other respects full of help and beneficial. For her revolution being accomplished with great evenness and tranquillity, smooths

<sup>1</sup> ὠφελεῖν must be ὦ φιλε, which makes the passage intelligible: “Nothing,” my dear Theon, “of what has been said proves that her being inhabited is impossible.”

down and distends the atmosphere that moves against (encounters) her, so that there is no danger of those dwelling upon her falling off, or slipping down. For this [revolution] and the varied and erratic nature of her motion is not a sign of irregularity and confusion, but, as astronomers make out, of a wonderful order in these phenomena, and of a course in cycles revolving around other cycles, in which they confine her; some of them making her immovable, other travelling forwards with the same velocity [as the cycles] in the opposite direction. For these progressions of the cycles, their revolutions and their relations towards each other and to us, bring about in the most regular manner all the phenomena of the lunar motion, such as her elevations and depressions, her deviations in the direction of her breadth, and revolutions in that of her length. As for the intense heat and perpetual roasting [of her inhabitants] by the sun, you need not be too much afraid of all that, if you oppose to the eleven summer conjunctions all the full moons; and secondly, the continuity of the change, as a set off against the excessive heats, that indeed do not last for a long time, which circumstance produces a peculiar temperature, and softens down either extreme, and the mean between them, in all likelihood, produces a temperature resembling that of spring. In the next place, the [sun] sends down on us his heat through turbid air,<sup>1</sup> and with much effort, which heat is nourished by the exhalations [of earth]; but there above, the air is rarefied and transparent, and disperses and diffuses the sun's rays, that have no excessive heat or substance. Wood and corn the rains themselves nourish, but in a different way: as up the country about Thebes, with you and at Syene, it is not the rain water [that nourishes], but the earth herself that drinks the earth-born water and employs the wind and dews, yet will not, I fancy, submit to a comparison,<sup>2</sup> in point of fertility, with the best rain-watered soil, by reason of its goodness and natural constitution. Plants the same in kind amongst us, even though they be greatly pinched by the frosts, bring forth abundant and fine fruit; whereas in Libya and amongst you in Egypt they are difficult of

<sup>1</sup> The sun's heat strikes on us so forcibly because it has to pass through thick atmosphere and exhalations rising out of earth.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* suffer by comparison.

cultivation, and very susceptible of the frosts.<sup>1</sup> Whilst Gedrosea and the Troglodyte country, which reaches down to the ocean, is barren through want of rain, and entirely destitute of water, yet in the seas lying adjacent, and spreading round it, grow wonderful monsters of plants, and spring up from the bottom; some of which they call olive trees, some laurels, others Isis-hair. The plants called 'anacampsaroles,'<sup>2</sup> not only live, when taken out of the ground, if hung up as long as you please, but even flower . . . Some [crops] are sown towards winter, others again, for instance, sesame at midsummer, and millet, also thyme or centaury, if planted in good and rich soil, and watered and irrigated, degenerates from its natural character and loses its virtue, but loves dryness and reverts thereby to its own nature. And if it be true, as people say, that they<sup>3</sup> do not even bear the dews, like most of the Arabian plants, which fade away when moistened and are destroyed — what wonder is it if there should grow in the moon roots, seeds, and woods that require neither rain nor winter, but are naturally adapted for a summer-like and rarefied atmosphere? Why is it improbable that the moon herself emits genial airs, and that currents (of air) are produced by the very rapidity of her gyration, that quietly supply dews and a slight moisture, which being diffused and dispersed assist the vegetation, and that her actual temperature is neither fiery nor droughty but soft and humid? For no feeling of dryness comes down to us from her, but on the contrary many proofs of moisture and a feminine nature; the growth of plants, the putrefaction of meat, the conversion [fermentation] and settling of wine, the softening of timber, the easy delivery of women.<sup>4</sup> I am afraid of again pro-

<sup>1</sup> An evident slip of the pen for *heats*: the argument being that fruit trees that thrive in the North, in spite of the frost, will not answer in a hot climate.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the kind of Sedum, now called the Air plant, which grows when hung from a ceiling.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the plant is lost here; but, from the connection with Arabia, must be the frankincense tree (our olibanum), her special product:—

“Molles sua thura sabæi.”

<sup>4</sup> This curious effect of moonlight, whether actually observed, or only fancied by the ancients, sufficiently explains the apparent anomaly of making the virgin Artemis to preside over parturition:—

“Quæ laborantes utero puellas  
Ter vocata audis adimisque letho.”

voking and stirring up Pharnaces, now that he is quiet, by talking of the tides of the ocean (as his own sect pretend), and the flooding of straits that are overspread and swollen by the action of the moon, through the renewal of their fluidity.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, I will rather turn myself to you, my dear Theon; for you say, quoting to us those lines of Alcman's:—

“Daughter of Jove, nourishing Dew! and  
Nurse of the sacred moon.

Because here he calls the air Jupiter, and says that he, being *moistened* by the moon, *dissolves*<sup>2</sup> into the dew. She appears, my friend, to possess a nature the opposite to the sun's, that is, if not only whatever he is naturally disposed to condense and to dry up, she by her nature softens and dissolves, but also she moistens and cools down the heat proceeding from him, when it impinges upon and is mingled with herself.<sup>3</sup> Those who think the moon to be a fiery and burning substance, are in the wrong; and they who demand that living creatures up there shall possess all the things that those here below require for their birth, nutriment, and existence, seem to pay no consideration to the disparities in nature of the two worlds, in which it is perhaps possible<sup>4</sup> to find greater and more numerous differences and disparities of the living things between one another than are found between things that do not live at all [here on earth]. Granting that there be no such things in reality as men without mouths, and nourished by the smell, unless . . . not seem, the virtue of which Ammonius told us about, and Hesiod has hinted at, when he says:—

“Or how much enjoyment lies in the mallow and asphodel.

<sup>1</sup> The flow of the tides not produced by a mere return of water from the open sea, but by the actual increase of the quantity of water, due to lunar influence in the diminished bed of the strait.

<sup>2</sup> In the same manner as the female nature dissolves the male in the act of copulation.

<sup>3</sup> Because she converts the heat she receives from the sun into chilly and humid moonbeams.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly, the differences between living beings in the Moon and on Earth, are even greater than the differences between the various kinds of inanimate things here below.

But Euripides really hath made it plain, by teaching that Nature with quite a small spark warms up and keeps together the living being, 'if it shall have received the bigness of an olive,<sup>1</sup> standing in need of no assistance more.' And that those living upon the moon must be slender in person, and are content to be fed upon what comes to hand, is probable enough; for that the moon herself is, like the sun (which is a fiery living thing and many times bigger than the earth), said to be nourished by the moist vapors rising from the earth, as are also the other stars innumerable as they are: in the same way they suppose the necessary animals that the upper region produces are light and attenuated. But these facts we do not perceive,<sup>2</sup> nor that there is place, nature, or other constitution of things adapted for them. As if, therefore, we were unable to approach or touch the sea, but only to stand afar off and contemplate it, and learning by inquiry that the water is bitter, undrinkable, and briny, some one should tell us that living creatures, numberless, huge, and varied in shape, are nourished in its depths, and that it swarms with wild creatures that use the water just as we do the air, you would think he was imposing upon you with fiction and prodigies. We appear to be similarly situated and to experience the same thing with respect to the moon in disbelieving that men of some sort inhabit her. *They* on their part will, I fancy, much more wonder as they look down upon our earth, lying like the sediment and dregs of the universe amongst damps, mists, and clouds; showing through them a lightless, low, immovable spot, *they* must wonder whether it breeds and maintains living creatures endowed with motion, breath, and warmth. And if perchance they may have heard Homer's lines, —

“Horrible dark, which dread the very gods:  
Sunk below hell as far as heaven from earth,

they will declare that all this is said with reference to *this* place, and that hell and Tartarus lie here; and that the one and only earth is the moon, which is equally distant from those upper and lower regions.”

<sup>1</sup> We have lost here some Egyptian story about nutriment compressed in marvellously small compass.

<sup>2</sup> Learn by the evidence of our senses.

Almost whilst I was still speaking, Sylla took up the discourse with "Stop, Lamprias, and shut to the wicket of your speech lest you unwittingly run the fable aground, and throw this play of mine into confusion, for it has a different scene and plot. Now, I am the player, but first I will tell you the author of the piece, if there is no objection, who begins after Homer's fashion with, —

"An isle Ogygian lies far out at sea,

distant five days' sail from Britain,<sup>1</sup> going westwards, and three others equally distant from it, and from each other, are more opposite to the summer visits of the sun; in one of which the barbarians fable that Saturn is imprisoned by<sup>2</sup> Jupiter, whilst his son lies by his side, as though keeping guard over those islands and the sea, which they call 'the Sea of Saturn.'<sup>3</sup> The great continent by which the great sea is surrounded on all sides, they say, lies less distant from the others, but about five thousand stadia from Ogygia,<sup>4</sup> for one sailing in a rowing-galley; for the sea is difficult of passage and muddy through the great number of currents, and these currents issue out of the great land, and shoals are formed by them, and the sea becomes clogged and full of earth, by which it has the appearance of being solid.<sup>5</sup> That sea-coast of the mainland Greeks are settled on, around a bay not smaller than the Mæotis, the entrance of which lies almost in a straight line opposite the entrance to the Caspian Sea.<sup>6</sup> Those Greeks call and consider themselves *continental*

<sup>1</sup> Ireland, probably, which lies at this distance from Rutupia, the only British port known to Plutarch. The Romans had marched across the island as far as Anglesea in Nero's reign.

<sup>2</sup> Previously quoting the same legend, he says, by Briareus. "Visits" I can only understand by "risings," which makes these three isles lie N.N.E. of the large one.

<sup>3</sup> All in confusion here, but by reading *φρουρὰν* for *φρουρὸν*, and putting *ὧς* before *ἐχούσα*, there is some remedy.

<sup>4</sup> This looks like a vague tradition of the existence of America; by reading "myriads" for "thousands" of stadia, we should get the proper distance. This exchange we have had convincing reason for making in a former passage.

<sup>5</sup> Probably a vague tradition of icebergs and pack-ice seen by some very adventurous explorer, like Pytheas of Massilia.

<sup>6</sup> The Caspian Sea was believed by the Greeks to communicate with the ocean. This may really have been the case in historical times, for its waters are even now rapidly shrinking up, and may have extended indefinitely a few thousand years ago.

people, but *islanders* all such as inhabit this land of ours, inasmuch as it is surrounded on all sides by the sea; and they believe that with the peoples of Saturn were united, later, those who wandered about with Hercules, and being left behind there, they rekindled into strength and numbers the Greek element, then on the point of extinction, and sinking into the barbarian language, manners, and laws; whence Hercules has the first honors there, and Saturn the second. But when the star of Saturn, which we call the 'Informer,' but they 'Nocturnal,' comes into the sign of the Bull every thirty years, they having got ready a long while beforehand all things required for the sacrifice and the games . . . they send out people appointed by lot in the same number <sup>1</sup> of ships, furnished with provisions and stores necessary for persons intending to cross so vast a sea by dint of rowing, as well as to live a long time in a foreign land. When they have put to sea, they meet, naturally, with different fates, but those who escape from the sea, first of all, touch at the foremost isles, which are inhabited by Greeks also, and see the sun setting for less than one hour for thirty days in succession; and this interval is night, attended with slight darkness, and a twilight glimmering out of the west.<sup>2</sup> Having spent ninety days there, treated with honor and hospitality, being both considered and entitled 'holy,' thenceforward they voyage with the help of the winds. No other people inhabit the islands save themselves and those that had been sent out before; it is, indeed, allowed to such as have served thirteen <sup>3</sup> years in waiting upon the god, to return home, but the greatest part prefer to remain there, partly out of habit, partly because they have all things in abundance without toil and trouble, as they pass their time in sacrifices and hymn singing, or in studying legends and philosophy of some sort.<sup>4</sup> For wonderful

<sup>1</sup> As the period of years between each expedition, *i.e.* thirty.

<sup>2</sup> This looks like a vague tradition of an actual visit to the Shetlands: this particular could never have been *invented* by a Greek. The Romans knew the North Sea as "Mare Cronium."

<sup>3</sup> This seems a false reading for "thirty," when the arrival of the next expedition would relieve them of their duties.

<sup>4</sup> Some wandering Greeks having got amongst the Druids of Ireland, are probably the authors of the story. If admitted to all the privileges of the sacerdotal order, they certainly could not better their condition by returning home. The Druidical students, according to Cæsar, spent



are both the island and the mildness of the climate; whilst the deity himself has been an obstacle to some when contemplating departure, by manifesting himself to them as to familiars and friends, not by way of dreams or by tokens, but conversing with them in a visible form with many apparitions and speeches of genii. For Saturn himself is imprisoned in a vast cavern, sleeping upon a rock overlaid with gold; for his sleep has been contrived by Jupiter for his chaining — whilst birds fly down from the rock, which are ordained to carry ambrosia to him, whilst the island is overspread with fragrance, diffused from the rock as from a fountain. Those genii wait upon and nurse Saturn, who had been his companions at the time when truly he used to reign over both gods and men; and they, being endowed with prophecy, foretell, on their own account, many things, but important matters, and such as concern the highest things, they go down into the cavern and report as the dreams of Saturn; for whatsoever things Jupiter is devising for the future, Saturn dreams<sup>1</sup> what they are about, and that which is kingly and divine.<sup>2</sup> The stranger having been carried there, as he told us, and waiting upon the god at his leisure, he gained acquaintance with astrology<sup>3</sup> and geometry as far as it is possible to advance, whilst he took up 'natural science' for his department of philosophy.<sup>4</sup> But, seized at last with a desire and longing to become acquainted with the 'great island,' for so, as was natural, they denominate the territories inhabited by ourselves; when the thirty years had expired,<sup>5</sup> and the successors were come from home, he took leave of his friends and sailed away, having provided himself carefully with all other stores, and carrying his travelling expenses in [the shape of]

all their time in learning by heart interminable religious stories in verse, together with a "course of Natural Science."

<sup>1</sup> *είναι δὲ ἀνάστασις* in text, must be *είναι, ἀνάστασις δὲ*, because sleep stirs up with him prophetic passions and emotions of the soul.

<sup>2</sup> The text in utter confusion here, but probably intended in this sense.

<sup>3</sup> *γένηται* makes no sense, but reading *γίγνεται*, gives "is, of its own self, pure and unmixed."

<sup>4</sup> Pliny remarks that "Britain cultivates *Magia* [astrology] with such zeal that any one would suppose it was she who had communicated it to Persia." Now Britain was regarded in Gaul as the fountain-head of religion.

<sup>5</sup> From this we can correct the reading "thirteen" at p. 270.

cups of gold.<sup>1</sup> All that he endured, and how many nations he passed through, consulting their sacred books, and receiving initiation into all their mysteries, would take a whole day to enumerate in the way that he related it to us, describing the circumstances very well and particularly; but as much of them as is connected with the present inquiry you must now hear, for he spent a very long time at Carthage, inasmuch as he received great honors amongst us for having discovered, deposited in the earth, some sacred parchments, which had been secretly carried off at the time when the former city was destroyed, and which had been concealed a very long time. Of the visible powers, he said we ought (and exhorted me also) especially to worship the moon, as being in reality, and also reputed, the sovereign of life."

When I was astonished at this, and begged for some clearer information, "Many things, Sylla," said he, "are told amongst the Greeks, but not all rightly, concerning the gods. For instance, at starting, you are right in calling the same person 'Demeter,' and the 'Maid,' but not right in supposing the place of each as one and the same, and that both were occupied by the same things, for the one is on the earth, and mistress of things upon earth, the other in the moon; and of the things pertaining to the moon. She is named the 'Maid,' and 'Persephone,'<sup>2</sup> the latter as being the *bringer of light*, but 'maid' because we call *maid* (pupil) that part of the eye in which the image of the spectator is reflected, just as the image of the sun is reflected in the moon. In the legends told about their wandering and going in search, there is a [certain amount of] truth; for they long for each other when they are apart, and often embrace under the obscuration. Now the being at one time in heaven and in the light, at another in the darkness and the night, is not false as regards the Maid; but the time has occasioned error in the counting, since it is not *during* six months, but at *intervals* of six months that we see her enveloped in shadow by the earth as if by a mother, but rarely experiencing

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ring-money, with the large cup-shaped extremities, is here meant. The whole story is evidently based upon the report of a visit to some Druidical sanctuary — perhaps Mona, or even Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Of Demeter's long searchings after Persephone; and the abduction of the latter by the Lord of the Shades.

this at intervals of five months; for it is impossible for her to leave the shades, and from them pass, as Homer disguising the thing hath not ill said,

“Into Elysian plains and Earth’s recess.

For where the earth’s shadow ceases to reach, this point we supposed the limit and end of earth.<sup>1</sup> To this place no bad or unpurified person ascends; but the good, after decease, being carried hither, continue here enjoying a very tranquil life, not, however, a blissful one, nor that of gods, until the Second Death.”

“What, pray, is this, Sylla?” said I. “Do not ask questions about it,” replied he, “for I am going to relate it all. Man most people rightly think a *composite* being, but wrongly think a composite of *two* parts only, for they reckon the *mind* as only a part of the *soul*, being no less in error than they who think the soul to be only part of the *body*; for the mind is as much better and more divine than the soul, as the soul is superior to the body. For the conjunction of body and soul produces<sup>2</sup> . . . *Reason*, whereof the one is the origin of pleasure and pain, the other, of vice and virtue. Of these three combined things, the earth furnished for the birth the *body*, the moon the *soul*, the sun the *mind*, just as he supplies light to the moon. The death which we die makes the man *two* instead of *three*, the second (death) makes him *one* out of *two*. The first takes place in the region of Demeter [because the earth] and also the dead are subject to her, whence the Athenians of old used to call the [dead] ‘Demetrians.’ The second [death] takes place in the moon, the dominion of Persephone; and of the former the consort is the Earthly Hermes, of the latter, the Heavenly. The former separates the soul from the body, hastily and with violence; but Persephone gently and slowly loosens the mind from the soul, and for this reason she has been named the ‘Only-begotten,’<sup>3</sup> because the best part of the man becomes *single* when separated from the rest by

<sup>1</sup> A very far-fetched interpretation of Homer’s word “Recess,” by which he meant the abode of departed spirits in the vast *hollow* of the globe.

<sup>2</sup> “Sensation” must be the word lost here; as plainly appears from what comes next.

<sup>3</sup> Perverted into an active sense, as “begotten of one.”

her means. Each of these changes happens, according to nature, as follows: every soul, whether without mind, or joined to mind, on departing from the body, is ordained to wander in the region lying<sup>1</sup> between the moon and earth for a term, not equal in all cases; but the wicked and incontinent pay a penalty for their sins; whereas the virtuous, in order, as it were, to purify themselves and to recover breath, after the body, as being the source of sinful pollution, must pass a certain fixed time in the mildest region of air, which they call the 'Meadow of Hades.' Then, as though returning to their native land after enforced banishment, they taste of joy, such as the initiated into mysteries feel, mingled with trouble and apprehension, joined with a peculiar hope, for<sup>2</sup> it drives off and tosses away many of them when already making for the moon; and they [the virtuous] also see the ghosts of people there turned upside down, and, as it were, descending into the abyss.<sup>3</sup> Such as are arrived above, and have got firm footing there [on the moon], like victors in the games, crowned with wreaths, encircle their heads with crowns called crowns of 'Constancy,'<sup>4</sup> made of feathers,<sup>5</sup> because the irrational and passionate part of the soul they have in life presented to Reason, manageable and kept in restraint.<sup>6</sup> In the next place, their sight resembles a sunbeam, and the soul, wafted on high by the air surrounding the moon, gains tone and vigor from the same, just as here below steeled tools gain it by the tempering; for that which was unsubstantial and diffuse becomes solid and transparent, so as to be nourished by the exhalation

<sup>1</sup> "The Middle Space," which figures so largely in the theology of the *Pistis Sophia*.

<sup>2</sup> The word is lost here, but probably was "the incredible velocity of new gyration," or something to that effect.

<sup>3</sup> The spirits of the good rest above in a fearful hope, for from their place of rest they can see the ghosts of the wicked repelled by the circumference of the moon, tossed about, and falling headlong, as they fancy, into the abyss below.

<sup>4</sup> *εὐσταθείας*, "steadiness."

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps suggested by the plumed cap, the badge of the Egyptian priesthood.

<sup>6</sup> Conversely, Dante sees the souls that had in life subjected their reason to their appetite, tossed about by whirlwinds in mid air:—

"Intesi ch' a così fatto tormento  
Eran dannati i peccator carnali,  
Che la ragion sommettono al talento."

tion it meets with there; and Heraclitus hath well said that 'Souls in Hades have the sense of smell.'"

"They contemplate, in the first place, the magnitude and beauty of the moon; also her nature, which is not simple and unmixed, but as it were a combination of star and earth; for just as earth mixed with air and moisture becomes soft, and the blood mingling itself with the flesh produces sensibility, in like manner they say the moon being mixed up<sup>1</sup> from her inmost depth, becomes both animated and generative, and at the same time has the symmetrical arrangement of its levity around the centre of the mass for a counteracting force to its own gravity. For it is in this way that our world, being composed out of elements that by their own nature tend some upwards, some downwards, is free from all motion in its place. These facts Xenocrates appears to have discovered through a certain admirable process of reasoning, having taken his starting-point out of Plato. For it is Plato who proved that also each one of the stars is composed of earth and fire, by means of the ascertained analogy of the intervening substances; because nothing comes within the reach of sense that has not some portion of earth and of fire mingled with it. Now Xenocrates says the sun is composed of fire and the First Solid; but the moon of the Second Solid and her own air; and the earth out of water, fire, and the Third of the Solids; and, generally, that neither the solid, taken by itself, nor the fluid, is capable of a soul. Thus much, then, for the physical constitution<sup>2</sup> of the moon. The breadth, and the magnitude of her is not what the geometricians assert, but much larger; for she measures the shadow of the earth only a few times<sup>3</sup> with her own magnitude, not in consequence of her smallness, but because she puts out all her speed, that she may pass through the darkened spot, and carry out with her the souls of the good, that are eager for it and cry aloud to her; because they hear no longer, whilst they are in the shadow, the harmony of the heavens, and at the same time, the souls of those

<sup>1</sup> Being a mixture of starry and earthy natures.

<sup>2</sup> The Druidical story is here taken up again.

<sup>3</sup> The breadth of earth's shadow appears to be many times greater than the moon's diameter; not from the smallness of the latter, but from the rapidity of her transit.

suffering punishment rush up towards her from below through the shadow, wailing and shouting (for which reason, during eclipses, most people clatter their brass pots and clap their hands, and make a noise to scare away the ghosts), for the so-called Face frightens them when they come nigh, looking grim and horrible. Such it is not really, but like<sup>1</sup> as our earth has deep and great gulfs — one of them flowing inwards towards us through the Pillars of Hercules; others flowing outwards as the Caspian, and those in the Red Sea — in like manner there are deep places and gulf-like in the moon, whereof the largest is called 'Hecate's dungeon,' in which the souls either suffer or inflict punishment, for the things which they have either done or endured, when they have already been made genii: as for the two smaller depths, because the souls pass through them on the way towards heaven and towards earth back again, the one is denominated the 'Elysian Plain,' the other the 'Passage of Persephone the Terrestrial!'"

"The genii do not always pass their time upon her (the moon), but they come down hither and take charge of Oracles; they are present at and assist in the most advanced of the initiatory rites [in the several Mysteries], as punishers and keepers of wrong-doers they act, and shine as saviours in battle and at sea;<sup>2</sup> and whatsoever thing in these capacities they do amiss, either out of spite, unfair partiality, or envy, they are punished for it, for they are driven down again to earth and coupled with human bodies. Of the best of these genii they told him were those who<sup>3</sup> wait upon Saturn now, and the same in old times were the Idæi Dactyli in Crete, the Curetes in Phrygia, the Trophonii in Bœotia Lebadea, and others without number in various parts of the world, of whom the holy places, honors, and titles still remain; though of some the powers have ceased since they have experienced a removal of their virtue to another locality. This change they suffer, some sooner, some later, when the *mind* has been separated from the *soul*. The mind separates itself out of a desire of reaching the Image in

<sup>1</sup> There is no actual Face, but the depressions of surface represent its features when viewed from afar.

<sup>2</sup> Appearing as the twin star, St. Elmo's Fire, upon the ship's mast.

<sup>3</sup> οἱ τε for τοὺς τε.

the sun,<sup>1</sup> through which shines forth the Desirable, and Beautiful, and Divine, and Blissful, to which every un-mixed nature aspires in different ways. For the moon herself, out of desire for the sun, revolves round and comes in contact with him, because she longs to derive from him the generative principle. The nature of the soul is left behind in the moon, retaining vestiges as it were and dreams of life; and on this account you must suppose it rightly said:—

“Like to a dream, the soul took wing and fled.

For the soul does not suffer this all at once; nor as soon as separated from the body, but afterwards when she has become desolate and solitary, when the mind is departed.<sup>2</sup> And Homer (said he) appears to have spoken especially through divine inspiration about the whole question:—

“There midst the rest strong Hercules I marked,  
His spectre — for himself dwells with the gods.

For each individual of us is not anger, nor fear, nor desire, just as he is neither pieces of flesh nor humors; but that wherewith we think and understand is the soul, impressed by the mind, and in its turn impressing the body, and impinging upon it from all parts it models the form;<sup>3</sup> so that, though it may continue a long time separated from both (the mind and the body), yet as it retains the likeness and imprint, it is properly denominated the ‘Image’ (or *Spectre*).<sup>4</sup> Of these images the moon is the element: for they are resolved into her substance, like as bodies into earth, of the dead. Quickly resolved are the temperate, such as have led a tranquil, philosophic, and leisurely life on earth; for being let go from the mind, and no longer subject to the passions, they wither away. Of those ambitious, busy, amorous, and irascible when in the body, the souls are visited, like dreams, with recollections of their past life, and are troubled with them; like that of Endymion of old. For their restless and pas-

<sup>1</sup> The sun being the visible type of the supreme godhead, to union (absorption) with whom every pure nature aspires: the grand Buddhist doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαλλαγτομένη for . . . σου.

<sup>3</sup> Moulds the soul into a shape of its own.

<sup>4</sup> εἶδωλον; the portrait of the intelligence which has flown away from it, after moulding it to her own likeness.

sionate character stirs them up, and draws them away from the moon towards a second birth; she suffers them not, however [to escape], but recalls them to herself, and soothes them to remain. For it is far from quiet or orderly work, when souls, separated from mind, get possession of a body subject to passions.<sup>1</sup> Of such souls came perchance the Tityi and the Typhons, and that Typhon<sup>2</sup> who used to hinder and trouble the oracular power at Delphi: for they are destitute of reason, and actuated by the passionate part, puffed up with pride and self-conceit. But, in time, even these the moon absorbs into herself, and reduces to order. In the next place, the sun having *impregnated*<sup>3</sup> the mind with vital force, produces new souls. And, thirdly, earth furnishes a body: for earth takes back after death that which she gave at birth; whereas the sun *takes* nothing, only *takes back* the mind, which he gave: but the moon both takes and gives, and puts together, and separates; in virtue of two different powers, of which the combining power is named 'Elithyia,' the separative one 'Artemis.' And of the Three Fates, Atropos, seated in the sun, supplies the origin of birth; Clotho, moving about the moon, unites together and mingles the various parts; lastly, Lachesis, on earth, who has most to do with Fortune, puts her hand to the work. For the inanimate part is powerless, and liable to be acted upon by others; but the mind is impassive and independent; and the soul is of mixed nature, and intermediate between the two: just as the moon hath been made by the Deity a mixture of things above and of things below, 'a great, full horn,' bearing the same relation to the sun that the earth bears to the moon.

"All this," said Sylla, "I heard the stranger recounting; and the chamberlains and ministers of Saturn<sup>4</sup> had related it, as he said, to him. You, Lamprias, are at liberty to make what use you please of the story."

<sup>1</sup> Read τοῦ παθητικοῦ, governed by ἐπιλάβωνται.

<sup>2</sup> Error for "Python," whom Apollo destroyed, in order to recover his Oracle.

<sup>3</sup> This doctrine explains a curious gem (Matter, "Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme," Pl. I. F., No. 1), exhibiting the Mithraic Lion copulating with a woman, *quadrupedum ritu*, in a cartouche placed over an outstretched corpse.

<sup>4</sup> A proof that the whole theory came from the Druids, who, according to Cæsar, devoted themselves to speculations of this sort.



## SUPERSTITION.

THE want of learning and the want of knowledge concerning the gods, splitting into two separate streams immediately at the source — the one, as if flowing in hard ground, has in unyielding dispositions generated *Atheism*; the other, as if in moist soil, produces in tender minds its opposite, *Superstition*. Now all false belief, especially if it be so on this subject, is a distressing thing; but that which is accompanied with passion is most troublesome of all: for every passion is like a stroke productive of inflammation; and just as dislocations of the joints attended with laceration, so perversions of the soul attended with passion,<sup>1</sup> are the more difficult to cure. One man believes *Atoms* and the *Vacuum* to be the final causes of the universe — a false supposition this — but one that does not produce a wound, nor a bruise, nor distracting pain. Another man thinks *Wealth* to be the highest good — *this* is a fallacy that contains a corrosive poison: it eats into the soul, it excites, it suffers him not to sleep, it brings a swarm of gad flies about him, it drives him down precipices, it chokes him, it takes away all cheerfulness. On the other hand, one man fancies that *Virtue* and *Vice* are a *body* [element]: a disgraceful blunder, perhaps, but not worth crying for or lamenting over: but whatever are such maxims and opinions as this,

Poor *Virtue*! Thou wert then a *name*, but I  
Pursued thee as a truth,

and cast aside injustice, the cause of wealth, and intemperance, the real source of all happiness;<sup>2</sup> — *these* sentiments, indeed, we ought both to pity and be angry with!

Consequently, as regards the subjects of our inquiry, *Atheism* being an ungrounded opinion that there is

<sup>1</sup> "Excited feelings" in modern phrase.

<sup>2</sup> These words are clearly the continuation of the same quotation, but abbreviated into prose. Brutus quoted them when reduced to despair.

nothing essentially happy and incorruptible, appears to bring round the soul into a state of insensibility through a disbelief of the Deity; and its object in not believing in gods is the not being afraid of them: whereas for Superstition (*Godfearing*), its very name shows it to be an opinion involving passion (feeling), and a conception that engenders fear which humiliates and crushes a man, inasmuch as he believes there are gods, but that they are spiteful and mischievous gods. For the Atheist appears to be one that is insensible to what is Divine; the Superstitious man to be sensible in the wrong way, and thereby perverted. For want of knowledge has produced in the one a disbelief in the *Benefactor*; whilst in the other case it has superadded the fear that the same Power is a malignant one. Consequently, Atheism is *Reason deceived*, Superstition a passion arising out of *false reasoning*.

Ugly indeed are all passions and maladies of the soul, yet there is in some of them, a showiness, a loftiness, and a singularity by reason of their airiness, and they are not by any means, so to speak, destitute of practical energy. For it is the general fault of all the passions, that being impelled by practical tendencies they hang on to, and stimulate the reason: but *Fear*, being as deficient in courage as it is in reason, has its stupidity accompanied with indolence, perplexity, and helplessness: on which account its faculty of *fettering* at once and *disturbing* the soul has been called "terror" and "awe."<sup>1</sup> Now, of all fears the most incapacitating from action, and the most helpless, is that springing from Superstition. He that goes not on voyages, fears not the sea; nor he that goes not for soldier, war; nor highwaymen, he that stays at home; nor the informer, he who has no money; nor envy, the man in private life; nor earthquakes, he who lives in Gaul; nor lightning, the dweller in Æthiopia. But he who is afraid of the gods, is in fear of everything — the sea, the air, the sky, darkness, light, a call,<sup>2</sup> silence, a dream. Slaves forget their tyrants when they are asleep, slumber lightens the weight of their chains to those in fetters, even inflammations accompanying wounds, and

<sup>1</sup> δαίμα, τάρβος, as if derived from δαίω and ταραττειν.

<sup>2</sup> The omen derived from words casually heard upon commencing any business — a thing to which great importance was then attached.

fierce and agonizing ulcers that eat into the flesh quit for a while the sleeping man: —

Sweet balm of sleep, true medicine for disease,  
How dear thy coming, truly at my need.

*This*, Superstition does not allow one to exclaim, for it is the only thing that makes no truce with sleep, nor grants to the soul then, at least, to repose, and gain a little courage by driving off its burdensome and painful notions about the Deity, but as it were in the realms of the damned, it raises up in the sleep of the superstitious, terrific phantoms, monsters, apparitions, and tortures of all kinds; scaring the miserable soul, it chases it out of the refuge of sleep with spectres: while it is scourged and tormented by its own self, as though by the hand of another; and receives troubles both dreadful and of strange sort; and then, when they wake up, they do not come to their senses, nor laugh at their visionary fears, nor feel glad that nothing of what had so disturbed them was a reality; but after having escaped the visionary illusion that had no harm in it, they cheat themselves over again, waste their money, and vex themselves, by rushing to fortune-tellers and such like impostors, and saying —

Hath a dream and vision troubled thy brain  
Or hast thou encountered the Night-hag's train?  
Send for the crone that well can break the spell,

and dip thyself in the sea, and pass a day seated on the earth.

O Greeks, inventors of barbaric woes!

through your own superstition, such as smearing with mud, wallowing in the mire, Sabbath-keeping,<sup>1</sup> unseemly prostrations on the face, long sittings before the idol, extraordinary gestures of adoration.<sup>2</sup> "To sing with a just mouth" was the advice to lyrists of those who professed to keep up the established rules of music — we, on our

<sup>1</sup> A remarkable allusion to the influence of Judaism amongst the Greeks of the second century.

<sup>2</sup> Such as praying with the head bent down and held between the two knees; regularly practised by the Buddhists in great acts of devotion, and copied by their disciples in Syria.

part, demand that men pray to the gods with mouths erect and as it should be, and not merely to examine whether the tongue or top of the entrails of the victim be clean and fitting, whilst they distort and pollute their own tongues with absurd titles and foreign<sup>1</sup> invocations, to do shame to, and sin against, the divine and national dignity of religion. But the comic poet has said somewhere with respect to those who overlay their beds with gold or with silver, that sleep is the only thing the gods have given us gratis, "Why, then, dost thou make it too an expensive article to thyself?" It is equally right to say to the superstitious man: "Sleep the gods have bestowed upon us as the balm of troubles, and for refreshment; wherefore dost thou make it a torture-chamber for thyself, hateful and painful, thy wretched soul not being able to make its escape, and take refuge in a second slumber? Heraclitus observes that for men awake there is one and a common world; but of men asleep each one wanders away into a world of his own. But for the superstitious there is no world in common with the rest; for neither when awake does he enjoy the rational world, nor when asleep does he escape from the terrifying one; but his reason is always a-dreaming, he fears even when awake — escape is impossible, so is change of place. Polycrates was a terrible tyrant at Samos, Periander another at Corinth; yet nobody was afraid of them after he had migrated into a free city, democratically governed; but he that dreads the government of the gods as a gloomy and implacable tyranny — whither shall *he* migrate, where shall *he* flee, what land shall *he* find free from gods, what sea? into what part of the earth canst thou creep and hide thyself, poor wretch! and be sure that thou hast escaped from God? Even slaves without hope of manumission are allowed by law to demand to be sold, and to change their master for a milder one;<sup>2</sup> but Superstition allows not of a change of *gods*, nor is it possible to find a god whom that man shall not fear who is afraid of those of his own country and own family — he that shudders at the Preservers

<sup>1</sup> The long strings of Hebrew titles found on the talismans of the age, and even on public monuments, like the inscription at Miletus, which invokes the protection of ΙΑΩ with his permutation of the seven vowels.

<sup>2</sup> A curious but effectual provision for securing their humane treatment.

and the Benevolent; he that trembles at and dreads the beings from whom we ask in prayer riches, plenty, peace, concord, the prospering of our works and best actions. And then these very people consider *servitude* a misfortune, and exclaim: —

A sad misfortune 'tis to man or maid  
To be a slave, and get an unlucky master!

But how much more grievous do you hold their case who get masters whom they cannot flee from, cannot get out of their way, cannot pacify! Even slaves have an altar of refuge; even robbers hold many temples to be inviolable; and people fleeing from enemies take courage if they can embrace some idol or shrine — but *these* are the very things the superstitious man most shudders at, is frightened with, and fears — the very things in which such as dread dangers place their trust! Tear not away the superstitious man from the altar — it is *there* that he is tortured, and receives the punishment of his offence!

What need is there to speak at length? The appointed limit of Life for all mankind is Death; but to Superstition not even death is the limit — she leaps over the boundaries of Life into the other side, making Fear longer-lived than life, and tacking on to Death the imagination of never-ending woes. And when she comes to the end of her troubles, she fancies that she is entering upon others that have no end. Deep below are opened the gates of Hell, rivers of fire, and fountains of Styx are at once disclosed; a fantastic darkness envelops all, where certain spectral forms flit about, offering frightful sights to the eye, piteous sounds to the ear; also judges seated, and executioners at hand; yawning gulfs and deep places, crammed with all manner of evil things. Thus unhappy Superstition has obtained through death an end of suffering, but has, through its folly, created an expectation of future misery for itself. Atheism is exposed to none of these evils; yet its ignorance is painful, and to be in error and blindness concerning things of such moment is a great misfortune to the soul — just as though it had had put out the brightest and most important of its many eyes, namely, the idea of the Deity; but still (as above remarked) passion, wounds, disturbance, and abjectness do not, as a matter

of course, regularly accompany this state of belief. "Music," says Plato, "the creator of harmony and order, was not given by heaven to man for the purpose of amusement and tickling of the ears, but to disentangle gently, bring round, and restore again to its proper place the turbulence of the soul that has gone astray in the body as regards its revolutions and connections, and has often committed excesses through a deficiency in education and gracefulness, by intemperance and neglect of duty." "Whomsoever Jove loveth not," says Pindar, "are disgusted at hearing the voice of the Muses," for they are exasperated and vexed thereby. In fact, they say that tigers, if a tambourine be sounded over them, become furious, grow mad, and finally tear themselves to pieces. But it is a less evil<sup>1</sup> for them upon whom is come a want of taste for, and insensibility to, the charms of music, by reason of deafness and loss of hearing. Tiresias suffered a misfortune in not seeing his children or his acquaintances; but Athamas suffered a greater one, as did Agave, in seeing them in the shape of lions or stags. And surely it had been better for Hercules in his madness, neither to have seen, or been sensible of their presence, rather than to have treated those most dear to him like so many foes. What then? Does it not seem to you that the state of the Atheists, as compared with that of the superstitious, presents exactly the same sort of difference? The former do not *see* the gods at all, the latter *believe* that they exist; the former overlook them; the latter fancy terrible what is benign, tyrannical what is paternal, mischievous what is preservative, savage and bestial that which is pure. And then they believe metal-workers, and sculptors, and wax-modellers, that the gods are of human form; and in such form do they model, and procure, and worship them; and despise philosophers and statesmen when they teach that the majesty of God is coupled with goodness and magnificence, with strength and with protective care for man. The one party, therefore, are possessed with an insensibility to, and a disbelief in, the good things that benefit them; the other party are filled with alarm at, and fear of, the things that benefit them. And to sum up — Atheism is insensibility to what is divine, which shows itself in not

<sup>1</sup> The not hearing the voice of the Muses.

understanding what is good; Superstition an over-sensibility, in suspecting the good to be bad. People are *afraid* of the gods, and fly for refuge to the gods; they flatter them, and they revile them; they make vows to them, and they upbraid them. It is the common lot of mankind not to prosper to the end in all things. "For *they* are ever young, and free from sickness, unacquainted with all troubles, having escaped the loud-roaring fury of the Acheron," says Pindar of the gods; but human sufferings and doings are mixed up with chances flowing in different channels for different people. Come, now, and contemplate the Atheist in misfortune, and observe the way in which he behaves (that is, if he be one who practises self-control on other occasions) — how he makes the best of the matter, and supplies himself with consolations and remedies: and if he be impatient and annoyed by his troubles, how he lays all his complaints against Fortune and Chance, and exclaims that nothing goes according to right, and by the dispensation of Providence; but all are borne along confusedly and irrationally, and human affairs are all caprice. Such is not the behavior of the superstitious man: but if the mishap that has befallen him is of the most trifling kind, he sits down building up upon his trouble yet further calamities, grievous, great, and not to be averted; and heaping besides upon himself apprehensions, fears, and suspicions, making the mischief burn<sup>1</sup> with all sorts of weeping and groaning. For it is not man, nor chance, nor occasion, nor himself, but God on whom he lays the blame of all, and from Him he says the heaven-sent stream of calamity comes rushing down upon himself, and that he, not because he is unfortunate, but as being hateful to God, is therefore tormented and punished by the Powers above, and suffers everything according to his deserts, on account of his own misconduct.<sup>2</sup> Now the Atheist, when sick, counts up to himself, and calls to mind his errors, and excesses, and irregularities as to diet, or his over great fatigue, or unaccustomed changes of climate and of place. Again, if he have met with disappointments in political matters, having got into bad odor with the populace, or into ill repute with the upper

<sup>1</sup> Fanning the flame of the evil.

<sup>2</sup> *δι' αὐτῶν τῶν νῦν*, which looks like a corruption, perhaps *τῶν νῦν*, "of his present calamities": *δι' αὐτῶν*, "through his own fault."

powers, he examines the mischance as though proceeding from himself, or those about him: —

In what point have I erred; what fault committed;  
What duty have I, careless, left undone?

But to the superstitious man, every infirmity of body, every loss of money, or loss of children, every unpleasantness or failure in political matters, are called "plagues from God," and "assaults of the dæmon;" consequently, he ventures not to help himself under what has happened, nor to remedy it, nor resist it, lest he should appear to fight against God, and to resist when he is chastised; but, if sick, the physician is pushed away; if in sorrow, the philosopher who comes to advise and comfort him has the door slammed in his face. "Let me alone (says he), my good fellow, to suffer my punishment — impious, accursed as I am, hateful to gods and dæmons!" And then, in the case of a man that does not believe there is a God, but who is sick or suffering greatly in some other way, one can wipe away his tears, cut off his hair, remove his bed-clothes; but as for the superstitious man, how can you possibly address him, or in what way can you bring him help? He sits out of doors, wearing sackcloth, or else girded with filthy rags. Oftentimes wallowing quite naked in the mire, he makes confession aloud of his sins of omission and commission, of having eaten or drunk this or that,<sup>1</sup> or walked along a way that the genius had forbidden him. And if he come best off, and suffers from a mild form of superstition, he sits at home surrounded with burning incense, besmeared with unguents, "whilst the old women (says Bion) tie round him, and tie to him, like a peg, whatever they please."

Tiribazus, they tell us, when arrested by the Persians, being a strong man, drew his sword and made a desperate resistance, until those who were seizing him protested and called out that they did so by the king's order, and then he threw down his weapon and allowed them to tie his hands. Is not this a parallel case? Other men struggle with their misfortunes, and push away their troubles, devising ways of escape for themselves, and means of avert-

<sup>1</sup> Many kinds of food were forbidden in different religions, as pork to the Egyptians and their colonies, fish to the Syrians, all roots to the devotees of Cybele, etc., the mystic motives for which Julian has explained at length in his "Hymn to the Mother of the Gods."



ing their difficulties. But the superstitious man, by listening to nobody, by saying to himself: "Wretch! all these things dost thou suffer from Providence, and by God's command," has cast away all hope, has abandoned himself, fled from and baffled the efforts of those coming to his relief. Many trifling evils Superstition makes into fatal ones. Midas of old, as it appears, being dispirited and panic-struck by certain dreams he had had, was so affected in mind that he sought a voluntary death by drinking bull's blood. Aristodemus, King of the Messenians, in the war around Ithome, because his dogs howled in a way like the wolves, and furze grew up around his paternal hearthstone, and the diviners were alarmed at the omens, lost all courage and hope through utter terror, and slew himself with his own hand. And perhaps it had been better for Nicias, general of the Athenians, to have got rid of his superstition in the same way as did Midas and Aristodemus rather than to have sat still and allowed himself to be walled up by the enemy, because he was frightened at the shadow of the moon's eclipse; and finally, together with forty thousand of his men, either butchered or taken alive, to fall into their hands, and perish ingloriously. For the opposing barrier of earth that lay in his way, at a time for making the best use of his legs, was nothing formidable nor frightful, merely because a shadow crept over the moon, but what really was terrible was the darkness of superstition that fell upon him, to confuse and blind the man's judgment in a state of things the most requiring sound judgment.

Mark, my Glaucus, how the billows out at sea are heaving high;  
On the hills a cloud big-bellied rises wall-like to the sky:  
Omen of a coming tempest.

The pilot seeing this, offers, it is true, vows to heaven for deliverance, and invokes the Saviour Gods, but at the same time he manages the rudder, lowers the yard, and striking his mainsail makes his flight from the loud billowing sea. Hesiod bids the husbandman, before ploughing and sowing, to offer vows to Terrestrial Jove and to chaste Ceres, with "his hand upon the plough tail." Homer says that Ajax, when about to fight in single combat with Hector, bade the Greeks offer vows to the gods in his behalf, and

when they were offering their vows, put on his armor. Agamemnon, too, after he had commanded the Greeks,

To sharpen well the spear, and brace the shield,

then begs from Jove: —

Grant me this day to cast down Priam's city,

for God is the hope of valor, not the cover for cowardice. But the Jews, it being the Sabbath, seated in their phylacteries,<sup>1</sup> remained still whilst the enemy was laying scaling ladders and occupying the walls, being tied up together, as it were, in one and the same net by Superstition. Such then is Superstition in the circumstances and occasions called unlucky and changeful — but even in agreeable conditions of things it has nowise the advantage over Atheism. Now the pleasantest things of all to men are festivals and banquets at the temples, also ceremonies of initiation, bacchic rites, vows to gods, and adorations of their images. Contemplate well the Atheist on such occasions, as he smiles with an unfeeling and sardonic grin on his face at what is going on; and perhaps scoffs at them in a whisper to his friends, "that the people must be possessed and out of their senses to think that they did such things in honor of gods," but still he gets no further harm from his opinion. But the superstitious man wishes indeed but is unable to enjoy himself and receive pleasure from these doings: —

With smoking incense is the city filled;  
With hymns and cries of woe together mingled!

The soul of the superstitious man turns pale under his crown of flowers, is affrighted whilst he sacrifices, offers

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀγνάμποις, which Reiske renders "vestibus non pexis," i.e. "sordidis," as if the reading were ἀγνάμποις: an absurd explanation every way, for the Jews always wear their best on the Sabbath. That profound Hebraist, Mr. Sinker, has solved the enigma for me; he points out that ἀσάλευτα, "immovable," is the regular Greek name for "phylacteries," because of the *immobility* the devout were bound to maintain whilst wearing them, and of which the Rabbinical writers give many instances. The Greek words for "immovable" and "inflexible" might very well be used as equivalent for the same article. These phylacteries, strips of leather with Scripture texts written on them, are always

the vows with a faltering voice, puts incense upon the flame with a trembling hand; and in fine proves futile the maxim of Pythagoras "that we are at our best when walking towards the gods"; for *then* the superstitious are in their most miserable and worst condition, approaching, as they do, the shrines of gods or chapels as though they were the dens of bears, the holes of dragons, the lurking-places of the monsters of the deep, and on this account I am seized with astonishment at people's saying that Atheism is impiety, and not saying that Superstition is so, and yet Anaxagoras stood his trial for blasphemy because he said that the sun was a *stone*; but no one ever called the Cimmerians impious because they think there is no sun at all. What do you say to it? Is the man a criminal that holds there are no gods; and is not he that holds them to be such as the superstitious believe them, is he not possessed with notions infinitely more atrocious? I for my part would much rather have men say of me that there never was a Plutarch at all, nor is now, than to say that Plutarch is a man inconstant, fickle, easily moved to anger, revengeful for trifling provocations, vexed at small things. If when you invite others to dinner, you should omit *him*, if, in consequence of pressing business, you did not approach his vestibule, or salute him, he will cling to you and eat up your body, or he will seize thy baby and beat it to death; or he will get a wild beast and turn it loose into thy garden, and spoil thy crops for thee. When Timanthes at Athens was singing a hymn to Artemis and calling her "Wild-runner, frantic, mad, infuriated" — Cinesias, the song-maker, got up from among the audience and cried, "Mayest thou have a daughter like her!" And truly, similar things, and yet worse, do the superstitious believe about Artemis. "Whether thou art hurrying away from the strangling, whether thou hast rent in pieces the suckling, whether thou hast been midwife to the monster, whether thou art come upon us all stained with gore, whether thou hast been dragged hither from the cross-road for the purpose of fortune-telling, clasping thine arms

worn by Jews when saying their prayers. After all, *ἐν ἀνυμπτοῖς* may be nothing more than adverbially used for "inflexibly." In the wet August of 1881 the Sundays alone were fine; the farmers allowed the cut wheat to rot on the ground rather than labor to house it. Common sense has not advanced in nearly two thousand years.

around the murderer." <sup>1</sup> Not one <sup>2</sup> whit more decent notions than these will they conceive respecting Apollo, and Juno, and Mars, and Venus — for all these deities do they tremble at and awfully fear. And yet, what abuse like this did Niobe utter about Latona, like to what superstition has made senseless folks say about the goddess, that because she had been insulted, she killed with her arrows for the wretched woman,

Six daughters, and six sons in blooming youth,

so insatiable was she with the sufferings of others, and hard to be appeased. But if in reality the goddess were capable of anger, a hater of vice, and annoyed at being ill-spoken of, and did not laugh at human ignorance and stupidity, but were exasperated thereby; in that case she ought to have shot those that invented such lies against her about her cruelty and spitefulness, and who wrote and told such stories. For we condemn the rage of Hecuba as barbarous and bestial, where she says: —

— his inmost heart I will devour,  
And cling to him to eat it,

but the Syrian goddess the superstitious believe, if any one eats sprats or anchovies, cankers their shin-bones, fills their bodies with ulcers, and withers up their liver. Is it therefore wicked to speak evil things of the gods, but not wicked to think them? Or is it the *thought* that renders the voice of the blasphemer so offensive? And yet we censure abusive language as an indication of hostility, and those that speak evil of us we regard as enemies, as being treacherous and ill-disposed towards us. But you see what sort of things the superstitious think about the gods — imagining them to be furious, faithless, fickle, revengeful, cruel, covetous; from all which it necessarily follows that the superstitious man both hates and fears the gods: for how can he do otherwise, when he believes that the greatest evils have happened to him through their doing,

<sup>1</sup> Evidently part of a chorus, addressed to Artemis in the character of Hecate, Queen of Hell; hopelessly corrupt, but a few words have escaped here and there, enough to enable us to recognize the usual attributes of the goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Some words lost here.

and will happen to him again? Hating the gods and fearing them, he is their enemy; and though he may reverence and do obeisance, and sacrifice, and keep vigils in their temples, it is not to be wondered at, for people bow down before tyrants and pay court to them, and erect their statues in gold, but hate in silence all the time they are offering sacrifice to them. Hermolaus was physician to Alexander, Pausanias was a guardsman to Philip, Chæreas to Caligula, yet each one of these said to himself, as he followed his lord: —

Revenge, I will, if e'er I get the chance.

The Atheist *thinks* there are no gods, the superstitious man *wishes* there were none; but he believes in them in spite of himself, because he is afraid to die, and like as Tantalus seeks to evade the rock suspended over him, so does the latter evade his fear, by the weight of which he is no less oppressed, and would be content with, nay gladly accept, the Atheist's state of mind, as a state of liberty. But as it is, Atheism has nothing in common with Superstition: for the superstitious man, though by inclination Atheist, is yet far too weak-minded to think about the gods what he wishes to think. And again Atheism is in no way responsible for Superstition — whereas Superstition has both supplied the cause for Atheism to come into being, and after it is come, furnished it with an excuse — not, indeed, a just nor a sound one, but yet one not destitute of a certain plausibility; for it was not because they had discovered anything to be found fault with in the heavens, or in the stars, or in the seasons, or in the revolutions of the sun about the earth, the producers of day and night, or anything erroneous or disorderly in the mode of nutrition of living things, or in the growth of plants, that they passed sentence of *Atheism* upon the Universe; but it was the ridiculous doings and sufferings of Superstition, its impostures, witchcrafts, races in a circle, and beating of timbrels; its impure purifications, and uncleanly cleansings, its barbaric and illegal penances and self-defilement at the holy places, all these things have given occasion to some to say that it were better there should be no gods at all than that there should be any that accepted such worship, that took pleasure in such rites;

gods so insolent, so covetous, so irritable. Were it not better for those Gauls and Scythians of old, to have no conception or notion of deities at all, nor acquired knowledge of them, than to believe there were gods that delighted in the blood of slaughtered men, and regarded such as the most perfect sacrifice, and religious ceremony? What an advantage had not it been to the Carthaginians to have taken Criteas or Diagoras for lawgiver from the first, rather than to have offered such victims as they used to offer to Saturn — not, as Empedocles says, when attacking such as sacrificed living things,

His metamorphosed child the sire himself  
Slaughters and offers vows — fool that he is,

but with their eyes open, and knowingly did they sacrifice their own children. Childless persons used to buy infants of the poor, and slaughter<sup>1</sup> them like so many lambs or chickens; the mother stood by, without a tear, without a groan, for should she weep, should she utter a groan, she was deprived of her price, and the child was sacrificed all the same: and the whole place was filled with noise in front of the image; by people sounding pipes and beating timbrels, in order that the sound of any lamentations might not be audible. Did the Typhons reign over us, or the Giants, after driving the gods from their thrones — what other sacrifices than these would *they* delight in, what other rites would *they* demand? Amastris, queen of Xerxes, being alarmed at something or other, buried men alive as offerings in her own stead to Hades — that god whom Plato calls “humane, wise and rich, controlling the ghosts by persuasion and by argument, and thence having got the name of *Hades* (the Pleaser).” Xenophanes, the naturalist, seeing the Egyptians beating their breasts and making lamentations at the festivals, advised them sensibly enough, saying, “If these people are gods, do not lament for them — if mortals, do not sacrifice unto them.” But no disease is so full of variations, so changeable in symptoms, so made up out of ideas opposed to,

<sup>1</sup> The word here is used in its strict sense of “cutting the throats”: the children were not burnt *alive*, but their quivering bodies were placed on the extended palms of the great Moloch, whence they tumbled into the fiery pit below, as Davies has shown in his “Carthage,” chapter “Moloch and his Victims.”

may, rather, at war with one another, as is the disease called Superstition. We must, therefore, fly from it, but in a safe way, and to our own good — not like those who, running away from the attack of highwaymen, or wild beasts, or a fire, have entangled themselves in mazes that contain pitfalls as well as precipices: for thus, some people, when running away from Superstition, fall headlong into Atheism, both rugged and obstinate, and leap over that which lies between the two, namely, true Religion.

## THE PROCREATION OF THE SOUL AS DIS- COURSED IN TIMÆUS.

THE FATHER TO AUTOBULUS AND PLUTARCH WISHETH  
HEALTH.

SINCE in your opinion it is requisite for me to collect together what I have discoursed and written dispersedly in several treatises explaining, as we apprehended his sense and meaning, what opinion Plato had concerning the soul, as requiring a particular commentary by itself; therefore I have composed this dissertation that is in other respects not easy to handle and needs excuse too because it contradicts most of Plato's followers. And I will first repeat the words as they run originally in the text itself of Timæus.<sup>1</sup>

“There being one substance not admitting of division, but continuing still the same, and another liable to be divided into several bodies, out of both these he produced for a middle mixture a third sort of Substance, partaking of the nature of the Same and of the nature of the Other, and placed it in the midst between that which was indivisible and that which was subject to be corporeally divided. Then taking all three, he blended them into one form, forcibly adapting to the Same the nature of the Other, not readily condescending to a mixture. Now when he had thus mixed them with the Substance, and reduced the three into one, he again divided this whole matter into so many parts as were thought to be necessary; every one of these parts being composed of the Same, the Other, and the Substance. And thus he began his division.”

By the way, it would be an endless toil to recite the contentions and disputes that have from hence arisen among his interpreters, and to you indeed superfluous, who are not ignorant yourselves of the greatest part.

But seeing that Xenocrates won to his opinions several

<sup>1</sup> Timæus, p. 35 A-B.



of the most eminent philosophers, while he defined the substance of the soul to be number made by itself; and that many adhered to Crantor the Solian, who affirmed the soul to consist partly of an essence perceptible to the mind, partly of a nature concerned with sensible things and controlled by opinions; I am apt to believe that the perspicuity of these matters clearly dilucidated will afford you a fair entrance into the knowledge of the rest.

Nor does either of the two conjectures require many words of explanation. For the one side pretends that by the mixture of the divisible and indivisible substance no other thing is meant than the generation or original of number, seeing that the unit is undividable but multitude is subject to division; however, that out of these is begot number, of one terminating plurality and putting a period to infinity, which they call the unlimited binary. The binary Zaratas, the scholar of Pythagoras, named the mother, but, the unit the father of number; and so he supposed those numbers were the best which approached nearest in resemblance to the unit. Nevertheless, this number cannot be said to be the soul; for it neither has the power to move, neither can it be moved. But the Same and the Other being blended together, of which one is the original of motion and mutation, the other of rest and stability, from these two springs the soul, which is no less active or passive itself to stay or to be stayed, than to move or to be moved.

But the followers of Crantor, supposing the proper function of the soul to consist in judging of those things which are discernible to the understanding and those which are liable to sense, as also of the differences and similitudes of these things, as well in themselves as in reference one to another, allege the soul to be composed of all, to the end she may have a true knowledge of the whole. Now the things of which the All is composed are fourfold, — the intelligible nature, always immutable and still the same, and the sensitive nature, which is passive and subject to alteration; and also the nature of the Same, and the nature of the Other, in regard the two former in some measure participate also of diversity and identity.

All these philosophers likewise equally hold that the soul does not derive its beginning from time nor is the product of generation, but that it is endued with several

faculties and virtues, into which Plato, as it were, melting and dissolving its substance for contemplation's sake, supposes it in his dialogue to have had its original from procreation and mixture.

The same was his opinion concerning the world; for he knew it to be eternal and without beginning, but not perceiving it so easy to apprehend how the structure was reared, or by what order and government supported, unless by admitting its beginning and the causes thereto concurring, he followed that method to instruct himself. These things being thus generally by them laid down, Eudorus will allow to neither side any share of probability; and indeed to me they both seem to have wandered from the opinion of Plato, if we intend to make the most likely rule our guide, — which is not to advance or own conceits, but to come as close as we can to his sense and meaning. Now as to this same mixture (as they call it) of the intelligible and sensitive substance, no reason appears why it should be more the original of the soul than of any other thing that ye can name. For the whole world itself and every one of its parts pretend to no other composition than of a sensitive and an intelligible substance, of which the one affords matter and foundation, the other form and figure to the whole mass. And then again, whate'er there is of material substance, framed and structured by participation and assimilation of the intelligible nature is not only to be felt but visible to the eye; whereas the soul still soars above the reach of all natural apprehension. Neither did Plato ever assume the soul to be number, but a perpetually self-moving nature, the fountain and principle of motion. Only he embellished and adorned the substance of it with number, proportion, and harmony; as being a subject capable of receiving the most goodly form which those ornaments could produce. So that I cannot believe it to be the same thing to compose the soul according to number, and to affirm the soul to be number itself. Nor can it be said to be harmony because harmoniously composed, as he has clearly demonstrated in his Treatise of the Soul. But plain it is, that those philosophers understood not the meaning of the Same and the Other. For they tell us how the Same contributes rest, the Other motion towards the generation of the soul. Though Plato himself, in his

treatise entitled the Sophist, disposes and distinguishes Essence, the Same, the Other, together with Motion and Rest, as being five things altogether differing one from another and void of mutual affinity.

But these men are generally, as the most part of Plato's readers, timorous and vainly perplexed, using all their endeavors by wresting and tormenting his sense to conceal and hide what he has written, as if it were some terrible novelty not fit for public view, that the world and the soul neither had their beginning and composition from eternity, nor was confined in a boundless immensity of time, — of which we have particularly spoken already. So that now it shall suffice to say no more than this, that these writers confound and smother (if they do not rather utterly abolish) his eager contest and dispute in behalf of the gods, wherein Plato confesses himself to have been transported with an ambitious zeal, even beyond the strength of his years, against the Atheists of his time. For if the world had no beginning, Plato's opinion vanishes, — that the soul, much elder than the body, is the principle of all motion and alteration, or, to use his own words, their chieftain and first efficient cause, whose mansion is in Nature's secret retirements. But what the soul is, what the body, and why the soul is said to have been elder than the body, shall be made appear in the progress of this discourse. The ignorance of this seems to have been the occasion of much doubt and incredulity in reference to the true opinion.

First, therefore, I shall propose my own sentiments concerning these things, desiring to gain credit no otherwise than by the most probable strength of arguments, explaining and reconciling to the utmost of my ability truth and paradox together; after which I shall apply both the explication and demonstration to the words of the text. In my opinion then the business lies thus. The world, saith Heraclitus, neither did any one of all the gods nor any mortal man create, — as if he had been afraid that, not being able to make out the creation by a deity, we should be constrained to acknowledge some man to have been the architect of the universe. But certainly far better it is, in submission to Plato's judgment, to avow, both in discourse and in our songs of praise, to attribute the glory of the structure to God, — for the frame itself

is the most beautiful of all masterpieces, and God the most illustrious of all causes, — but that the substance and materials were not created, but always ready at the ordering and disposal of the Omnipotent Builder, to give it form and figure, as near as might be, approaching to his own resemblance. For the creation was not out of nothing, but out of matter wanting beauty and perfection, like the rude materials of a house, a garment, or a statue, lying first in shapeless confusion. For before the creation of the world there was nothing but a confused heap; yet was that confused heap neither without a body, without motion, nor without a soul. The corporeal part was without form or consistence, and the moving part stupid and headlong. God neither incorporated that which is incorporeal, nor conveyed a soul into that which had none before; like a person either musical or poetical, who does not make either the voice or the movement, but only accommodates the voice with harmony, and graces the movement with proper measures. Thus God did not make the tangible and resisting solidity of the corporeal substance, nor the imaginative or moving faculties of the soul; but taking these two principles as they lay ready at hand, — the one obscure and dark, the other turbulent and senseless, both imperfect without the bounds of order and decency, — he disposed, digested, and embellished the confused mass, so that he brought to perfection a most absolute and glorious creature. Therefore the substance of the body is no other than that all-receiving Nature, the seat and nurse of all created beings.

But the substance of the soul, in Philebus, he called an infinite being, the privation of number and proportion; having neither period nor measure either of diminution or excess or distinction or dissimilitude. But as to that order which he alleges in Timæus to be the mixture of nature with the indivisible substance, but which being applied to bodies becomes liable to division, — he would not have it thought to be a bulk composed of units or points, nor longitude and breadth, which are qualities more consentaneous to bodies than to the soul, but that disorderly unlimited principle, moving both itself and other substances, that which he frequently calls necessity, and which within his treatise of laws he openly styles the disorderly, ill-acting, or harm-doing soul. For such was

this soul of herself; but at length she came to share of understanding, ratiocination, and harmony, that she might be the soul of the world. Now that all-receiving principle of matter enjoyed both magnitude, space, and distance; but beauty, form, and measure of proportion it had none. However, all these it obtained, so that, after being thus embellished and adorned, it might assume the form of all the various bodies and organs of the earth, the sea, the heavens, the stars, and of all those infinite varieties of plants and living creatures. Now as for those who attribute to this matter, and not to the soul, that which in *Timæus* is called necessity, in *Philebus* vast disproportion and unlimited exorbitancy of diminution and excess, — they can never maintain it to be the cause of disorder, since Plato always alleges that same matter to be without any form or figures, and altogether destitute of any quality or effectual virtue properly belonging to it; comparing it to such oils as have no scent at all, which the perfumers mix in their tinctures. For there is no likelihood that Plato would suppose that to be the cause and principle of evil which is altogether inert in itself, sluggish, and never to be roused on to action, and yet at the same time brand this immensity with the harsh epithets of deformed and mischievous, and call it necessity repugnant and contumaciously rebellious against God. For this same necessity, which renverses heaven (to use his own phrase in his *Politicus*) and turns it the quite contrary way from decency and symmetry, together with innate concupiscence, and that inbred confusion of ancient nature, hurly-burly'd with all manner of disorder, before they were wrought and kneaded into the graceful decorum of the world, — whence came they to be conveyed into several varieties of forms and beings, if the subject, which is the first matter, were void of all quality whatsoever and deprived of all efficient cause; more especially the Architect being so good of himself, and intending a frame the nearest approaching to his own perfections? For besides these there is no third principle. And indeed, we should stumble into the perplexed intricacies of the Stoics, should we advance evil into the world out of nonentity, without either any preceding cause or effect of generation, in regard that among those principles that have a being, it is not probable that either real good or

that which is destitute of all manner of quality should afford birth or substance to evil. But Plato escaped those pitfalls into which they blundered who came after him; who, neglecting what he carefully embraced, the third principle and energetic virtue in the middle between God and the first matter, maintain the most absurd of arguments, affirming the nature of evils to have crept in spontaneously and adventitiously, I know not how nor by what strange accidents. And yet they will not allow an atom of Epicurus so much as a moment's liberty to shift in its station, which, as they say, would infer motion out of nonentity without any impulsive cause; nevertheless themselves presuming all this while to affirm that vice and wickedness, together with a thousand other incongruities and vexations afflicting the body, of which no cause can be ascribed to any of the principles, came into existence (as it were) "by consequence."

Plato however does not so; who, despoiling the first matter of all manner of distinction, and separating from God, as far as it is possible, the causes of evil, has thus delivered himself concerning the world, in his *Politicus*. "The world," saith he, "received from the Illustrious Builder all things beautiful and lovely; but whatsoever happens to be noxious and irregular in heaven, it derives from its exterior habit and disposition, and conveys them into the several creatures." And a little farther in the same treatise he saith: "In process of time, when oblivion had encroached upon the world, the distemper of its ancient confusion more prevailed, and the hazard is, lest being dissolved it should again be sunk and plunged into the immense abyss of its former irregularity." But there can be no dissimilitude in the first matter, as being void of quality and distinction.

Of which when Eudemus with several others was altogether ignorant, he seems deridingly to cavil with Plato, and taxes him with asserting the first matter to be the cause, the root, and principle of all evil, which he had at other times so frequently dignified with the tender appellations of mother and nurse. Whereas Plato gives to matter only the titles of the mother and nurse; but the cause of evil he makes to be the moving force residing within it, not governed by order and reason though not without a soul neither, which, in his treatise of the *Laws*, he calls

expressly the soul repugnant and in hostility with that other propitiously and kindly acting. For though the soul be the principle of motion, yet is it the understanding and intelligence which measures that motion by order and harmony, and is the cause of both. "For God did not wish to constitute otiose matter, but he brought it to rest after it had been troubled by an inanimate cause." Neither did he infuse into nature the principles of alteration and affections; but when it was under the pressure of those unruly disorders and alterations, he discharged it of its manifold enormities and irregularities, making use of symmetry, proportion, and number. As the most proper instruments, not of alteration and lawless motion to distract the several beings with passions and distinctions, but rather to render them fixed and stable, and nearest in their composition to those things that in themselves continue still the same upon the equal poise of diuturnity. And this, in my judgment, is the sense and meaning of Plato.

Of which the easy reconciliation of his seeming incongruities and contradiction of himself may serve for the first proof. For indeed no men of judgment would have objected to the most Bacchanalian sophister, more especially to Plato, the guilt of so much inconvenience and impudent rashness in a discourse by him so elaborately studied, as to affirm the same nature in one place never to have been created, in another to have been the effects of generation;— in Phædrus to assert the soul eternal, in Timæus to subject it to procreation. The words in Phædrus need no repetition, as being familiar, wherein he proves the soul to be incorruptible as it never had a beginning, and to be uncreated because it moves itself. But in Timæus, "God," saith he, "did not make the soul a junior to the body, as now we labor to prove it to have been subsequent to the body. For he would have never suffered the more ancient, because linked and coupled with the younger, to have been governed by it; only we, guided I know not how by chance and inconsiderate rashness, frame odd kind of notions to ourselves. But God most certainly composed the soul excelling the body both in seniority of source and in power, to be mistress and governess of her inferior servant." <sup>1</sup> And then again he

<sup>1</sup> Timæus, p. 34 B.

adds, how that the soul, reverting upon herself, began the divine beginning of an eternal and prudent life. "Now," saith he, "the body of heaven became visible; but the soul being invisible, nevertheless participating of ratiocination and harmony, by the best of intelligible beings she was made the best of things created."<sup>1</sup> Here then he determines God to be the best of sempiternal beings, the soul to be the most excellent of temporal existences. By which apparent distinction and antithesis he denies the soul is eternal, and that it never had a beginning.

And now what other or better reconciliation of these seeming contrarieties than his own explanation, to those that are willing to apprehend it? For he declares to have been without beginning the never procreated soul, that moved\*all things confusedly and in an irregular manner before the creation of the world. But as for that which God composed out of this and that other permanent and choicest substance, creating it both prudent and orderly, and adding of his own, as if it were for form and beauty's sake, intellect to sense, and order to motion, and which he constituted prince and chieftain of the whole, — that he acknowledges to have had a beginning and to have proceeded from generation. Thus he likewise pronounces the body of the world in one respect to be eternal and without beginning, in another sense to be the work of creation. To which purpose, where he says that the visible structure, never in repose at first but restless in a confused and tempestuous motion, was at length by the hand of God disposed and ranged into majestic order, — where he says that the four elements, fire and water, earth and air, before the stately pile was by them embellished and adorned, caused a prodigious fever and shivering ague in the whole mass of matter, that labored under the combats of their unequal mixtures, — by his urging these things, he gives those bodies room in the vast abyss before the fabric of the universe.

Again, when he says that the body was younger than the soul, and that the world was created, as being of a corporeal substance that may be seen and felt, — which sort of substances must necessarily have a beginning and be created, — it is evidently demonstrable from thence

<sup>1</sup> *Timæus*, p. 36 E.



that he ascribes original creation to the nature of bodies. Yet he is far from being repugnant or contradictory to himself in these sublimest mysteries. For he does not contend, that the same body was created by God or after the same manner, and yet that it was before it had a being, — which would have been to act the part of a juggler; but he instructs us what we ought to understand by generation and creation. Therefore, says he, at first all these things were void of measure and proportion; but when God first began to beautify the whole, the fire and water, earth and air, having perhaps some prints and footsteps of their forms, lay in a huddle jumbled together, — as probable it is that all things are, where God is absent, — which then he reduced to a comely perfection varied by number and order. Moreover, having told us before that it was a work not of one but of a twofold proportion to bind and fasten the bulky immensity of the whole, which was both solid and of a prodigious profundity, he proceeds to declare how God, after he had placed the water and the earth in the midst between the fire and the air, incontinently closed up the heavens into a circular form. Out of these materials, saith he, being four in number, was the body of the world created, agreeing in proportion, and so amicably corresponding together, that being thus embodied and confined within their proper bounds, it is impossible that any dissolution should happen from their own contending force, unless he that riveted the whole frame should go about again to rend it in pieces; — most apparently teaching us, that God was not the parent and architect of the corporeal substance only, or of the bulk and matter, but of the beauty and symmetry and similitude that adorned and graced the whole. The same we are to believe, he thought, concerning the soul; that there is one which was neither proceeding from God nor is the soul of the world, but a certain automatic and ever-moving power of an irrational and disorderly motion hither and thither subject to fancy and opinion; while the other is that which God himself, having accoutred and adorned it with suitable numbers and proportions, has made queen regent of the created world, herself the product of creation also.

Now that Plato had this belief concerning these things, and did not for contemplation's sake lay down these

suppositions concerning the creation of the world and the soul, — this, among many others, seems to be an evident signification that, as to the soul, he avers it to be both created and not created, but as to the world, he always maintains that it had a beginning and was created, never that it was original and eternal. What necessity therefore of bringing any testimonies out of Timæus? For the whole treatise, from the beginning to the end, discourses of nothing else but of the creation of the world. As for the rest, we find that Timæus, in his *Atlantic*, addressing himself in prayer to the Deity, calls God that being which of old existed in his works, but now was apparent to reason. In his *Politicus*, his *Parmenidean* guest acknowledges that the world, which was the handiwork of God, is replenished with several good things, and that, if there be anything in it which is vicious and offensive, it is due to the mixture of its former incongruous and irrational habit. But Socrates, in the *Politics*, beginning to discourse of number, which some call by the name of wedlock, says: "The created Divinity has a circular period, which is, as it were, enchased and involved in a certain perfect number;" meaning in that place by created Divinity no other than the world itself.

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

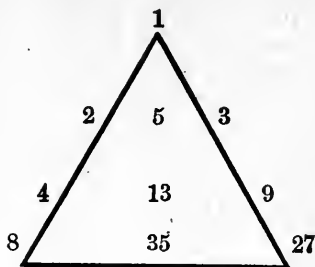
The first pair of these numbers consists of one and two, the second of three and four, the third of five and six; neither of which pairs make a tetragonal number, either by themselves or joined with any other figures. The fourth consists of seven and eight, which, being

1	2
3	4
5	6
7	8

added all together, produce a tetragonal number of thirty-six. But the quaternary of numbers set down by Plato have a more perfect generation, of even numbers multiplied by even distances, and of odd by uneven intervals. This quaternary contains the unit, the common original of all even and odd numbers. Subsequent to which are two and three, the first plane numbers; then four and nine, the first squares; and next eight and twenty-seven, the first cubical numbers. Whence it is apparent, that his intention was not that the numbers should be placed in a direct line one above another, but apart and facing one against the other, the even by themselves, and the odd by them-

selves, according to the scheme here given. In this manner similar numbers will be joined with like, which will produce other plain numbers, as well by addition as by multiplication.

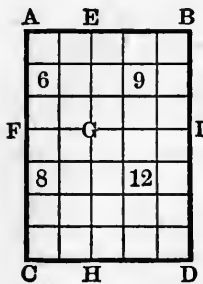
By addition thus: two and three make five, four and nine make thirteen, eight and twenty-seven make thirty-five. Of all which numbers the Pythagoreans called five the nourisher, that is to say, the breeding or fostering sound, believing a fifth to be the first of all the intervals.



But as for thirteen, they called it the remainder, despairing, as Plato himself did, of being ever able to divide a tone into equal parts. Then five and thirty they named harmony, as consisting of the first two cubes, the first that rise from an odd and an even number, as also of the four numbers, six, eight, nine, and twelve, comprehending both harmonical and arithmetical proportion. Which nevertheless will be more conspicuous, being made out in a scheme to the eye.

Admit a right-angled parallelogram, *ABCD*, the lesser side of which *AB* consists of five, the longer side *AC* contains seven squares. Let the lesser division be unequally divided into two and three squares, marked *E*; and the larger division in two unequal divisions more of three and four squares, marked *F*. Thus *A EFG* comprehends six, *EBGI* nine, *FGCH* eight, and *GIHD* twelve. By this means the whole parallelogram, containing thirty-five little square areas, comprehends all the proportions of the first concords of music in the number of these little squares. For six is exceeded by eight

in a sesquiterce proportion, wherein the diatessaron is comprehended. And six is exceeded by nine in a sesquialter proportion, wherein also is included the fifth. Six is exceeded by twelve in duple proportion; and then



lastly, there is the sesquioctave proportion of a tone in eight to nine. And therefore they call that number which comprehends all these proportions harmony. This number is 35, which being multiplied by 6, the product is 210, which is the number of days, they say, which brings those infants to perfection that are born at the seventh month's end.

To proceed by way of multiplication, — twice 3 make 6, and 4 times 9 thirty-six, and 8 times 27 produce 216. Thus six appears to be a perfect number, as being equal in its parts; and it is called matrimony, by reason of the mixture of the first even and odd. Moreover it is composed of the original number, which is one, of the first even number, which is two, and the first odd number, which is three. Then for 36, it is the first number which is both quadrangular and triangular, being quadrangular from 6, and triangular from 8. The same number comes from the multiplication of the first two square numbers, 4 and 9; as also from the addition of the three cubical numbers, 1, 8, and 27, which being put together make up 36. Lastly, you have a parallelogram with uneven sides, by the multiplication of 12 by 3, or 9 by 4. Take then the numbers of the sides of all these figures, the 6 of the square, the 8 of the triangle, the 9 for the one, and the 12 for the other; and there you will find the proportions of all the concords. For 12 to 9 will be a fourth; to eight it will prove a fifth; to six it will be an octave; and the two hundred and sixteen is the cubical number proceeding from six which is its root, and so equal to its own perimeter.

Now these numbers aforesaid being endued with all these properties, the last of them, which is 27, has this peculiar to itself, that it is equal to all those that precede added together; besides, that it is the periodical number of the days wherein the moon finishes her monthly course; the Pythagoreans make it to be the tone of all the harmonical intervals. On the other side, they call thirteen the remainder, in regard it misses a unit to be half of twenty-seven. Now that these numbers comprehend the proportions of harmonical concord, is easily made apparent. For the proportion of 2 to 1 is duple, which contains the diapason; as the proportion of 3 to 2 sesquialter, which embraces the fifth; and the proportion of 4 to 3 sesquiterce,

which comprehends the diatessaron; the proportion of 9 to 3 triple, including the diapason and diapente; and that of 8 to 2 quadruple, comprehending the double diapason. Lastly, there is the sesquioctave in 8 to 9, the interval of a single tone. If then the unit, which is common, be numbered as well to the even as the odd, the whole series gives the sum of the decade. For the even numbers ( $1 + 2 + 4 + 8$ ) give 15, the triangular number of five. On the other side, take the odd numbers, 1, 3, 9, and 27, and the whole is 40; by which numbers the skilful measure all musical intervals, of which they call one a diesis, and the other a tone. Which number of 40 proceeds from the force of the quaternary number by multiplication. For each of the first four numbers being by itself multiplied by four, the products will be 4, 8, 12, 16, which being added all together make 40, comprehending all the proportions of harmony. For 16 is a sesquiterce to 12, duple to 8, and quadruple to 4. Again, 12 holds a sesquialter proportion to 8, and triple to 4. In these proportions are contained the intervals of the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, and double diapason. Moreover, the number 40 is equal to the two first tetragons and the two first cubes being taken both together. For the first tetragons are 1 and 4, the first cubes are 8 and 27, which being added together make 40. Whence it appears that the Platonic quaternary is much more perfect and fuller of variety than the Pythagoric.

But since the numbers proposed did not afford space sufficient for the middle intervals, therefore there was a necessity to allow larger bounds for the proportions. And now we are to tell what those bounds and middle spaces are. And first, concerning the medieties (or middle terms); of which that which equally exceeds and is exceeded by the same number is called arithmetical; the other, which exceeds and is exceeded by the same part of the extremes, is called sub-contrary. Now the extremes and the middle of an arithmetical mediety are 6, 9, 12. For 9 exceeds 6 as it is exceeded by 12, that is to say, by the number three. The extremes and middle of the sub-contrary are 6, 8, 12, where 8 exceeds 6 by 2, and 12 exceeds 8 by 4; yet 2 is equally the third of 6, as 4 is the third of 12. So that in the arithmetical mediety

the middle exceeds and is exceeded by the same amount; but in the sub-contrary mediety, the middle term is less than one of the extremes, and exceeds the other by the same part of each extreme; for in the first 3 is the third part of the mean; but in the latter the third parts 4 and 2 each is of a different extreme. Whence it is called sub-contrary. This they also call harmonic, as being that whose middle and extremes afford the first concords; that is to say, between the highest and lowermost lies the diapason, between the highest and the middle lies the diapente, and between the middle and lowermost lies the fourth or diatessaron. For if you place the highest extreme at nete and the lowermost at hypate, the middle will fall upon mese, making a fifth to the uppermost extreme, but a fourth to the lowermost. So that nete belongs to 12, mese to 8, and hypate to 6.

Now the more readily to find out these means Eudorus hath taught us an easy method. For after you have proposed the extremities, if you take the half part of each and add them together, the product shall be the middle, alike in both duple and triple proportions, in arithmetical mediety. But as for sub-contrary mediety, in duple proportion, first having fixed the extremes, take the third part of the lesser and the half of the larger extreme, and the addition of both together shall be the middle; in triple proportion, the half of the lesser and the third part of the larger extreme shall be the mean. As for example, in triple proportion, let 6 be the least extreme, and 18 the biggest; if you take 3 which is the half of 6, and 6 which is the third part of 18, the product by addition will be 9, exceeding and exceeded by the same parts of the extremes. In this manner the mediums are found out; and these are so to be disposed and placed as to fill up the duple and triple intervals. Now of these proposed numbers, some have no middle space, others have not sufficient. Being therefore so augmented that the same proportions may remain, they will afford sufficient space for the aforesaid means. To which purpose, instead of a unit they choose the six, as being the first number including in itself a half and third part, and so multiplying all the figures below it and above it by 6, they make sufficient room to receive the me-

diums, both in double and triple distances, as in the example:—

12	2	6	3	18
24	4		9	54
48	8		27	162

Now Plato laid down this for a position, that the intervals of sesquialters, sesquiterces, and sesquioctaves having once arisen from these connections in the first spaces, the deity filled up all the sesquiterce intervals with sesquioctaves, leaving a part of each, so that the interval left of the part should bear the numerical proportion of 256 to 243.<sup>1</sup> From these words of Plato they were obliged to enlarge their numbers and make them bigger. Now there must be two numbers following in order in sesquioctave proportion. But the six does not contain a sesquioctave; and if it should be cut up into parts and the units reduced into fractions, this would strangely confuse the study of these things. Therefore the occasion itself demanded multiplication; so that, as in changes in the musical scale, the whole scheme was increased in agreement with the first (or base) number. Eudorus therefore, imitating Crantor, made choice of 384 for his first number, being the product of 64 multiplied by 6; which method the number 64 led them to adopt, having for its sesquioctave 72. But it is more agreeable to the words of Plato to introduce the half of 384. For the remainder of that will bear a sesquioctave proportion in those numbers which Plato mentions, 256 and 243, if we make use of 192 for the first number. But if the same number be made choice of doubled, what is left (or leimma) will have the same proportion, but the numbers will be doubled, *i.e.* 512 and 486. For 256 is in sesquiterce proportion to 192, as 512 to 384. Neither was Crantor's reduction of the proportions to this number without reason, which made his followers willing to pursue it; in regard that 64 is both the square of the first cube, and the cube of the first square; and being multiplied by 3, the first odd and trigonal, and the first perfect and sesquialter number, it produces 192, which also has its sesquioctave, as we shall demonstrate.

<sup>1</sup> Timæus, p. 36 A.

But first of all, we shall better understand what this leimma or remainder is and what was the opinion of Plato, if we do but call to mind what was frequently bandied in the Pythagorean schools. For interval in music is all that space which is comprehended by two sounds varied in pitch. Of which intervals, that which is called a tone is the full excess of diapente above diatessaron; and this being divided into two parts, according to the opinion of the musicians, makes two intervals, both which they call a semitone. But the Pythagoreans, despairing to divide a tone into equal parts, and therefore perceiving the two divisions to be unequal, called the lesser leimma (or defect), as being lesser than the half. Therefore some there are who make the diatessaron, which is one of the concords, to consist of two tones and a half; others, of two tones and leimma. In which case sense seems to govern the musicians, and demonstration the mathematicians. The proof by demonstration is thus made out. For it is certain from the investigation of instruments that the diapason has double proportion, the diapente a sesquialter, the diatessaron a sesquiterce, and the tone a sesquioctave proportion. Now the truth of this will easily appear upon examination, by hanging two weights double in proportion to two strings, or by making two pipes of equal hollowness double in length, the one to the other. For the bigger of the pipes will yield the deep sound, as hypate to nete; and of the two strings, that which is extended by the double weight will be acuter than the other, as nete to hypate, which is a diapason. In the same manner two longitudes or ponderosities, being taken in the relation of 3:2, will produce a diapente; and three to four will yield a diatessaron; the latter carries a sesquiterce, the former a sesquialter proportion. But if the same inequality of weight or length be so ordered as nine to eight, it will produce a tonic interval, no perfect concord, but harmonical enough; in regard the strings being struck one after another will yield so many musical and pleasing sounds, but all together a dull and ungrateful noise. But if touched in consort, either singly or together, thence a delightful melody will charm the ear. Nor is all this less demonstrable by reason. For in music, the diapason is composed of the diapente and diatessaron. But in numbers,



the duple is compounded of the sesquialter and sesquiterce. For 12 is a sesquiterce to 9, but a sesquialter to 8, and a duple to 6. Therefore is the duple proportion composed of the sesquialter and sesquiterce, as the diapason of the diapente and diatessaron. For here the diapente exceeds the diatessaron by a tone; there the sesquialter exceeds the sesquiterce by a sesquioctave. Whence it is apparent that the diapason carries a double proportion, the diapente a sesquialter, the diatessaron a sesquiterce, and the tone a sesquioctave.

This being thus demonstrated, let us see whether the sesquioctave will admit a division into two equal parts; which if it will not do, neither will a tone. However, in regard that 9 and 8, which make the first sesquioctave, have no middle interval, but both being multiplied, the space that falls between causes two intervals, thence it is apparent that, if those distances were equal, the sesquioctave also might be divided into equal parts. Now the double of 9 is 18, that of 8 is 16, the intermedium 17; by which means one of the intervals becomes larger, the other lesser; for the first is that of 18 to 17, the second that of 17 to 16. Thus the sesquioctave proportion not being to be otherwise than unequally divided, consequently neither will the tone admit of an equal division. So that neither of these two sections of a divided tone is to be called a semitone, but according as the mathematicians name it, the remainder. And this is that which Plato means, when he says, that God, having filled up the sesquiterces with sesquioctaves, left a part of each; of which the proportion is the same as of 256 to 243. For admit a diatessaron in two numbers comprehending sesquiterce proportion, that is to say, in 256 and 192; of which two numbers, let the lesser 192 be applied to the lowermost extreme, and the bigger number 256 to the uppermost extreme of the tetrachord. Whence we shall demonstrate that, this space being filled up by two sesquioctaves, such an interval remains as lies between the numbers 256 and 243. For the lower string being forced a full tone up, which is a sesquioctave, it makes 216; and being screwed a tone upward it makes 243. Which 243 exceeds 216 by 27, and 216 exceeds 192 by 24. And then again of these two numbers, 27 is the eighth of 216, and 24 the eighth of 192. So the biggest of these two numbers is a sesqui-

octave to the middle, and the middle to the least; and the distance from the least to the biggest, that is from 192 to 243, consists of two tones filled up with two sesquioctaves. Which being subtracted, the remaining interval of the whole between 243 and 256 is 13, for which reason they called this number the remainder. And thus I am apt to believe the meaning and opinion of Plato to be most exactly explained in these numbers.

Others, placing the two extremes of the diatessaron, the acute part in 288, and the lower sound in 216, in all the rest observe the same proportions, only that they make use of the remainder of the two middle intervals. For the base, being forced up a whole tone, makes 243; and the upper note, screwed down a full tone, begets 256. Moreover 243 carries a sesquioctave proportion to 216, and 288 to 256; so that each of the intervals contains a full tone, and the residue is that which remains between 243 and 256, which is not a semitone, but something less. For 288 exceeds 256 by 32, and 243 exceeds 216 by 27; but 256 exceeds 243 by 13. Now this excess is less than half. So it is plain that the diatessaron consists of two tones and the residue, not of two tones and a half. Let this suffice for the demonstration of these things. Nor is it a difficult thing to believe, by what has been already said, wherefore Plato, after he had explained how the intervals of sesquialter, sesquiterce, and sesquioctave had arisen, when he comes to fill up the intervals of sesquiterces with sesquioctaves, makes not the least mention of sesquialters; for that the sesquialter is soon filled up, by adding the sesquiterce to the sesquioctave, or the sesquioctave to the sesquiterce.

Having therefore shown the manner how to fill up the intervals, and to place and dispose the medieties, had never any person taken the same pains before, I should have recommended the further consideration of it to the recreation of your fancies; but in regard that several most excellent musicians have made it their business to unfold these mysteries with a diligence more than usually exact, — more especially Crantor, Clearchus, and Theodorus, — it shall suffice only to show how these men differed among themselves. For Theodorus, varying from the other two, and not observing two distinct files or rows of numbers, but placing the duples and triples in a direct

line one before another, grounds himself upon that division of the substance which is called the division in length, making two parts (as it were) out of one, not four out of two. Then he says, that the interposition of the mediums ought to take place in that manner, to avoid the trouble and confusion which must arise from transferring out of the first duple into the first triple the intervals which are ordained for the supplement of both. . . . But as for those who take Crantor's part, they so dispose their numbers as to place planes with planes, tetragons with tetragons, cubes with cubes, opposite to one another, not taking them in file, but alternatively odd to even. [Here is some great defect in the original.]

Which, being in themselves permanently the same, afford the form and species; but being subject to corporeal division, they become the matter and subject to receive the other's impression, the common mixture being completed out of both. Now the indivisible substance, which is always one and the same, is not to be thought to be incapable of division by reason of its smallness, like the most minute of bodies, called atoms. But as it is unmixed, and not to be any way affected, but pure and altogether of one sort, it is said not to consist of parts, but to be indivisible. By means of which purity, when it comes in any manner whatsoever to approach and gently touch compounded divisible and differing substances, all variety ceases and they unite together into one habit by sympathy and similitude. If now any one will call that substance which admits corporeal separation matter, as a nature subject to the former and partaking of it, the use of that equivocal term will nothing disadvantage our discourse. But they are under a mistake that believe the corporeal to be blended with the indivisible matter. First, for that Plato does not here make use of any one of its names; whereas in other places he calls it the receptacle and nurse, capable of receiving and fostering the vast infinity of created beings; not divisible in bodies, but rather the body itself parted and divided into individuals. Then again, what difference would there be between the creation of the world and that of the soul, if the composition of each proceeded from both matter and intelligible being? Certainly Plato, as endeavoring to separate the generation of the body from that of the

soul, tells us that the corporeal part was by God seated and deposited within it, and that it was outwardly covered and enveloped by it; and after he had thus wrought the soul to its perfection out of proportion, he then proceeds to this argument concerning matter, of which he had no occasion to make mention before when he was producing the soul, as being that which had not its existence from matter.

The same may be said against the followers of Posidonius. For they seem not altogether to divorce the soul from matter; but imagining the substance of limitations to be divisible in reference to bodies, and intermixing it with the intelligible essence, they defined the soul to be an idea (or essential form) of that which has dimensions in every direction, subsisting in an harmonical porportion of numbers. For (they say) all mathematical objects are arranged between the first intelligible and sensible beings; and since the soul contains the sempiternal nature of things intelligible and the pathetic nature of things subjected to sense, it seems but rational that it should consist of a substance between both. But they were ignorant that God, when the soul was already brought to perfection, afterwards making use of the limitations of bodies to form and shape the matter, confined and environed the dissipated and fleeting substance within the compass of certain surfaces composed of triangles adapted together. And it is not less absurd to make the soul an idea. For the soul is always in motion; the other is incapable of motion; the one never to be mixed with that which is subjected to sense, the other wrought into the substance of the body. Moreover, God could be said only to imitate an idea, as his pattern; but he was the artificer of the soul, as of a work of perfection. Now enough has been already done to show that Plato does not declare number to be the substance of the soul, only that it is ordered by number.

However this is a common argument against both the former opinions, that neither in corporeal limits nor in numbers there is the least footstep or appearance of that power by which the soul assumes to itself to judge of what is subject to sense. For it was the participation of the intelligible principle that endued it with understanding and the perceiving faculty. But as for opinion,

belief, imagination, and its being affected with qualities relating to the body, no man could ever dream that they proceeded solely either from units, or lines, or surfaces. For not only the souls of mortals have a power to judge of what is subject to sense; but the soul of the world also, says Plato, "when touching anything which has essence, whether dispersed in parts or undivided is stirred throughout her being to declare the sameness and diversity of things, and as to what and in what way and how and when individuals are related and affected,' both in the world of generation and in the world of immutable being. Here he gives at the same time an intimation of the ten Categories or Predicaments; but afterwards he gives us a clearer manifestation of these things.

"When reason is in the neighborhood of sense, and the circle of the other also moving truly imparts the intimations of sense to the whole soul, then arise fixed and true opinions and beliefs. But when reason is in the sphere of the rational and the circle of the same moving smoothly indicates this; then intelligence and knowledge are of necessity perfected. And if any one affirms that in which these are to be found to be other than the soul, he will say the opposite of truth."

From whence then does the soul enjoy this motion whereby it apprehends what is subject to sense, different from that other intelligible motion which ends in knowledge? This is a difficult task to resolve, unless we steadfastly assert that Plato here did not compose the soul, so singly considered, but the soul of the world also, of the parts above mentioned, — of the more worthy indivisible substance, and of the less worthy divisible in reference to bodies. And this world soul is no other than that motion which gives heat and vigor to thought and fancy, and sympathizes with what is subject to sensation, not created, but existing from eternity, like the other soul. For Nature, which had the power of understanding, had also the power of opining. But the intelligible power is subject neither to motion nor affection, being established upon a substance that is still the same. The other is movable and fleeting, as being engaged to an unstable, fluctuating, and disunited matter. In regard the sensible substance was so far from any order, that it was without shape and boundless. So that the power which is fixed in this was capable

of producing no clear and well-grounded notions and no certain or well-ordered movements, but only sleepy dreams and deliriums, which amuse and trouble corporeal stupidity; unless by accident they lighted upon the more worthy substance. For it was in the middle between the sensible and discerning faculty, and had a nature conformable and agreeable to both; from the sensible, comprehending substance, and borrowing from judgment its power of laying hold of the intelligible.

And this the words of Plato reveal. "For this is my opinion," saith he, "in short, that being, place, and generation were three distinct things even before the heavens were created."<sup>1</sup> By place he means matter, as being the seat and receptacle; by being or existence, the intelligible nature; and by generation, the world not being yet created, he signifies only that substance which was subject to change and motion, disposed between the forming cause and the thing formed, transmitting hither those shapes and figures which were there contrived and moulded. For which reason it was called divisible; there being a necessity of distributing sense to the sensitive, and imagination to the perceptive faculty. For the sensitive motion, being proper to the soul, directs itself to that which is outwardly sensible. As for the understanding, it was fixed and immovable of itself, but being settled in the soul and becoming its lord, it turns upon itself, and performs a circular movement about that which is always permanent, attaining to eternally durable being. With great difficulty therefore did they admit a conjunction, till the divisible at length intermixing with the indivisible, and the restlessly hurried with the sleepy and motionless, forced the Other to coalesce with the Same. Yet the Other was not motion, as neither was the Same stability, but the origin of distinction and inequality. For both the one and the other proceed from a different principle; the Same from the unit, the Other from the duad; and these were first intermixed with the soul, being fastened and bound together by number, proportion, and harmonical mediums; so that the Other being riveted into the Same begets diversity and disagreement; and the Same being fermented into the Other produces order.

<sup>1</sup> *Timæus*, p. 52 D.

And this is apparent from the first powers of the soul, which are judgment and motion. Motion immediately shows itself in the heavens, giving us an example of diversity in identity by the circumvolution of the fixed stars, and of identity in diversity by the order of the planets. For in them the Same bears the chiefest sway; in terrestrial bodies, the contrary factor. Judgment has two principles, — understanding from the Same, to judge of things in general, and sense from the Other, to judge of things in particular. Reason is a mixture of both, being intellect in reference to things intelligible, and opinion in things subject to sense; making use of the interdisposed organs of imagination and memory, of which these in the Same produce the Other, and those in the Other make the Same. For understanding is the motion of the considerative faculty about that which is permanent and stable. Opinion is a continuance of the perceptive power upon that which is continually in motion. But as for fancy or imagination, being a connection of opinion with sense, the Same has placed it in the memory; and the Other moves it again in the difference between past and present, touching at the same time upon diversity and identity.

But now let us take a draught of the corresponding composition of the soul from the structure of the body of the universe. There we find fire and earth, whose nature is such as not to admit of mixture one with another but with great difficulty, or rather is altogether obstinately refractory to mixture and constancy. God therefore, setting air and water in the middle between both, — the air next the fire, the water next the earth, — first of all tempered the middlemost one with another, and next, by the assistance of these two, he brought the two extreme elements not only to mix with the middlemost, but also to a mutual closure or conjunction between themselves. Then he drew together those contrary factors and opposing extremes, the Same and the Other, not immediately, the one adjoining to the other, but placing other substances between; the indivisible next the Same, and the divisible next the Other, disposing each to each in convenient order, and mixing the extremes with the middlemost. After which manner he interweaved and tissueed the whole into the form and composition of the soul,

completing, as far as it was possible, similitude out of things different and various, and one out of many. Therefore it is alleged by some, that Plato erroneously affirmed the nature of the Other to be an enemy to mixture, as not being only capable to receive it, but a friend of change. Whereas that should have been rather said of the nature of the Same; which, being stable and an utter adversary to mutability, is so far from an easy and willing condescension to mixture, that it flies and abhors it, to the end it may preserve itself pure and free from alteration. But they who make these objections against Plato betray their own ignorance, not understanding that the Same is the idea (or essence) of those things that always continue in the same state and condition, and that the Other is the idea of those things which are subject to be variously affected; and that it is the peculiar nature of the one to disjoin and separate into many parts whatever it happens to lay hold upon, and of the other to cement and assimilate scattered substances, till they resume one particular form and efficacy.

And these are the powers and virtues of the soul of the universe. And when they once enter into the organs of corruptible bodies, there the form of the binary and boundless principle shows itself most briskly, while that of the unmixed and purer principle lies as it were dormant in obscurity. And thus it happens, that a man shall rarely observe any human passion or motion of the understanding, where there shall not something appear either of desire or emulation, joy or grief. Several philosophers therefore will have the passions to be so many sorts of reasonings, seeing that desire, grief, and anger are all the effects of judgment. Others allege the virtues themselves to be derived from passions; fortitude derived from fear, temperance from voluptuousness, and justice on avarice. Now the soul being both speculative and practical, contemplating as well generals as particulars, and seeming to comprehend the one by the assistance of the understanding and the other by the aid of sense, common reason, which encounters the Same in the Other and the Other in the Same, endeavors by certain limits and distinctions to separate one from many and the divisible from the indivisible; but she cannot accomplish her design nor be purely in one or the other, in regard the principles are so



oddly interwoven and intermixed and confusedly huddled together.

For this reason did God constitute a receptacle for the Same and the Other, out of the indivisible and divisible substance, to the end there might be order in variety. Now this was "becoming." For without this the Same could have no variety, and therefore no motion or genesis; and the Other could have no order, and therefore no consistence or genesis. For should we grant the Same to be with itself, such a commixture would produce nothing generative, but would want a third factor, like matter, to receive both and be disposed of by both. And this is that matter which God first composed, when he bounded the movable nature of bodies by the steadfastness of the understanding.

Now then, as voice, merely voice, is only an insignificant and brutish noise, but speech is the expression of the mind by significant utterance; as harmony consists of sounds and intervals, — a sound being always one and the same, but an interval being the difference and diversity of sounds, while both being mixed together, air and melody result — thus the passive nature of the soul was without limits and station, but afterwards became determinate, when limits were set and a certain form entered the divisible and manifold variety of motion. Thus having embraced the Same and the Other, by the similitudes and dissimilitudes of numbers which make concord out of disagreement, the life of the world, comes into being sober and prudent, harmony itself, and reason bringing necessity mixed with persuasion. This necessity is by most men called fate or destiny, by Empedocles friendship and discord, by Heraclitus the opposite straining harmony of the world, as of a bow or harp, by Parmenides light and darkness, by Anaxagoras mind and infinity, by Zoroaster God and Dæmon, naming one Oromasdes, the other Arimanius. Though as for Euripides, he makes use of the disjunctive erroneously instead of the copulative, where he says,

Jove, whether he may be  
Necessity, that Nature's force controls,  
Or the intelligence of human souls.

For, indeed, the powers which have dominion over the universe are necessity and wisdom. This is that therefore

which the Egyptians express in their fables, feigning that, when Horus was punished and dismembered, he bequeathed his spirit and blood to his father, but his flesh and his fat to his mother. There is no part of the soul which remains pure and unmixed, or separate from the rest; for, according to the opinion of Heraclitus, "harmony latent is of greater value than that which is visible," as being that wherein the blending deity concealed and sunk all varieties and dissimilitudes. Nevertheless, there appears in the irrational part a turbulent and boisterous temerity; in the rational part, an orderly and well-marshalled prudence; in the sensitive part, the constraint of necessity; but in the understanding, entire and perfect command of itself. The limiting and bounding power sympathizes with the whole and the indivisible, by reason of the nearness of their relations; on the other side, the dividing power fixes itself upon particulars, by virtue of the divisible substance; and the whole rejoices at the mutation of the Same into the Other, as occasion requires. In the like manner, the various inclinations of men to virtue and vice, to pleasure and toil, as also the enthusiasms and raptures of lovers, the combats of honor with lustful desires, plainly demonstrate the mixture of the divine and impassible with the mortal and corporeal part; of which Plato himself calls the one concupiscence of pleasures natural to ourselves; the other an opinion introduced from without, aspiring to the chiefest good. For passible qualities of the soul arise from herself; but she participates of understanding, as being infused from without, by the more worthy principle.

Nor is the celestial nature exempt from this double society and communion. For sometimes it inclines one way or the other, but it is set straight by the more potent revolution of the Same, and governs the world. Nay, there shall come a time, as it has happened already, when the world's moving wisdom shall grow dull and drowsy, drowned in oblivion of its own duty; while that which is familiar and agreeable to the body from the beginning draws and winds back the right-hand motion of the universe, causing the wheels to go slow and heavy. Yet shall it not be able to dash in pieces the whole movement, for that the better part, rousing and recollecting herself and observing the pattern and exemplar of God, shall

with his help reduce all things again into their former order. Thus it is demonstrable by many proofs, that the soul was not altogether the sole workmanship of the deity, but that having in itself a certain portion of innate evil, it was by him digested and beautified who restricted infinity by unity, to the end it might be a substance within the compass of certain limits; intermixing order and mutation, variety, by the force of the Same and the Other; and lastly working into all these, as far as it was possible, a mutual community and friendship by the assistance of numbers and harmony.

Concerning which things, although you have heard frequent discourses, and have likewise read several arguments and disputes committed to writing upon the same subjects, it will not be amiss for me also to give a short account, after a brief repetition of Plato's own words. And he began to divide on this wise: first of all he took away one part of the whole and then he separated [1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, 27] a second part of which was double the first, and then he took away a third part which was half as much again as the first, and then he took a fourth part which was twice as much as the second, and a fifth part which was three times as much as the third, and a sixth part which was eight times as much as the first, and a seventh part which was twenty-seven times the first. After this he filled up the double and triple intervals [*i.e.* 1, 2, 4, 8 and 1, 3, 9, 27] cutting off portions from the whole and placing them between the intervals, so that in each interval there were two kinds of means —

$$\left[ \bar{1} \quad \frac{4}{3} \quad \frac{3}{2} \quad \bar{2} \quad \frac{8}{3} \quad 3 \quad \bar{4} \quad \frac{16}{3} \quad 6 \quad \bar{8} \right]$$

$$\left[ \bar{1} \quad \frac{3}{2} \quad 2 \quad \bar{3} \quad \frac{9}{2} \quad 6 \quad \bar{9} \quad \frac{27}{2} \quad 18 \quad \bar{27} \right]$$

the one exceeding and exceeded by equal parts of the respective extremes [as for example, 1,  $\frac{4}{3}$ , 2 in which the mean  $\frac{4}{3}$  is one-third more than 1 and one-third less than 2], the other being that kind of mean which exceeds and is exceeded by an equal number. Where there are intervals of  $\frac{3}{2}$ , of  $\frac{4}{3}$ , and of  $\frac{9}{8}$ , made by the connecting terms in the former intervals, he filled up all the intervals of  $\frac{4}{3}$  with

the intervals  $\frac{2}{3}$ , leaving a part of each, of which the interval was in the ratio of 256 to 243.<sup>1</sup>

Here the question will be first concerning the quantity, next concerning the order, and in the third place concerning the force and virtue of the numbers. As to the quantity, we are to consider which he takes in the double. As to the order, whether they are to be placed in one row, according to the direction of Theodorus, or as Crantor will have them in the form of a  $\Delta$ , placing the unit at the top, and the duples and triples apart by themselves in two several files. Lastly, we are to examine of what use and virtue they are in the structure and composition of the soul.

As to the first, we shall relinquish the opinion of those who affirm that it is enough, in proportions, to consider the nature of the intervals, and of the medieties which fill up their vacancies; and who say the demonstration may be made out for any numbers whatsoever that have spaces sufficient to receive the aforesaid proportions. For this being granted, it makes the demonstration obscure, without the help of schemes, and drives us from another theory, which carries with it a delight not unbecoming philosophy.

1 Beginning therefore from the unit, let us place  
 2 3 the duples and triples apart; and there will be on  
 4 9 the one side, 2, 4, 8; on the other, 3, 9, 27;—  
 8 27 seven numbers in all, proceeding forward by  
 multiplication four stages from the unit, which is taken as the common base. . . . For not only here, but upon other occasions, the sympathy of the quaternary number with the septenary is apparent. There is this peculiar to that tetractys or quaternary number thirty-six, so much celebrated by the Pythagoreans, which is more particularly worthy admiration,—that it is composed of the four first even numbers and the four first odd numbers; and it is the fourth connection made of numbers put together in order. The first connection is of one and two; the second of odd numbers. . . . For placing the unit, which is common to both, before, he first takes eight and then twenty-seven, as it were pointing out with the finger where to place each particular sort. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Timæus, p. 35 B.

But it belongs to others to explain these things more accurately and distinctly; while we content ourselves with only what remains, as peculiarly proper to the subject in hand.

For it was not out of vain-glory, to boast his skill in the mathematical sciences, that Plato inserted in a treatise of natural philosophy this discourse of harmonical and arithmetical medieties, but believing them both apt and convenient to demonstrate the structure and composition of the soul. For some there are who seek these proportions in the swift motions of the spheres of the planets; others rather in the distances, others in the magnitude of the stars; others, more accurate and nice in their inquiry, seek for the same proportions in the diameters of the epicycles; as if the Supreme Architect, for the sake of these, had adapted the soul, divided into seven parts, to the celestial bodies. Many also there are, who hither transfer the inventions of the Pythagoreans, tripling the distances of bodies from the middle. This is done by placing the unit next the fire; three next the Antichthon, or earth which is opposite to our earth; nine next the Earth; 27 next the Moon; 81 next to Mercury; 243 upon Venus; and 729 upon the Sun. The last (729) is both a tetragonal and cubical number, whence they also call the sun a tetragon and a cube. By this way of tripling they also reduce the other stars to proportion. But these people may be thought to dote and to wander very much from reason, if there be any use of geometrical demonstration, since by their mistakes we find that the most probable proofs proceed from thence; and although geometers do not always make exact statements, yet they approach the nearest to truth when they say that the diameter of the sun, compared with the diameter of the earth, bears the proportion of 12 to 1; while the diameter of the earth to that of the moon carries a triple proportion. And for that which appears to be the least of the fixed stars, the diameter of it is no less than the third part of the diameter of the earth, and the whole globe of the earth to the whole globe of the moon is as twenty-seven to one. The diameters of Venus and the earth bear a duple, the globes or spheres of both an octave proportion. The breadth of the shadow in an eclipse holds a triple proportion to the diameter of

the moon; and the deviation of the moon from the middle of the signs, either to the one or the other side, is a twelfth part. Her positions as to the sun, either in triangular or quadrangular distances, give her the form when she appears as in the first quarter and almost at the full; but when she comes to be quite round, that is, when she has run through half the signs, she then makes (as it were) a kind of diapason harmony. But in regard the motions of the sun are slowest when he arrives at the solstices, and swiftest when he comes to the equinoxes, by which he takes from the day or adds to the night, the proportion holds thus. For the first thirty days after the winter solstice, he adds to the day a sixth part of the length whereby the longest night exceeds the shortest; the next thirty days he adds a third part; to all the following till the equinox he adds a half; and so by sextuple and triple intervals he makes even the irregularity of time.

Moreover, the Chaldæans make the spring to hold the proportion of a diatessaron to autumn; of a diapente to the winter, and of a diapason to the summer. But if Euripides rightly divides the year, where he says,

Four months the parching heats of summer reign,  
And four of hoary winter's cold complain;  
Two months doth vernal pride the fields array,  
And two months more to autumn tribute pay,

then the seasons shall be said to change in octave proportion.

Others there are, who fancy the earth to be in the lowest string of the harp, called proslambanomenos; and so proceeding, they place the moon in hypate, Mercury and Venus in the diatoni and lichani; the sun they likewise place in mese, as in the midst of the diapason, a fifth above the earth and a fourth from the sphere of the fixed stars.

But neither doth this pleasant conceit of the latter come near the truth, neither do the former reach accuracy. However, they who will not allow the latter to depend upon Plato's sentiments will yet grant the former to partake of musical proportions; so that, there being five tetrachords, in these five distances they place all the planets; making the first tetrachord from the Moon to

the Sun and the planets which accompany the Sun, that is, Mercury and Venus; the next from the Sun to the fiery planet of Mars; the third between this and Jupiter; the fourth from thence to Saturn; and the fifth from Saturn to the sphere of the fixed stars. So that the sounds and notes which bound the five tetrachords bear the same proportion with the intervals of the planets. Still further, we know that the ancients had two notes called hypate, three called nete, one mese, and one paramese, thus confining their scale to seven regular notes, equal in number to the number of the planets. But the moderns, adding the proslambanomenos, which is a full tone in descent from hypate, have multiplied the scheme into the double diapason, and thereby confounded the natural order of the concords; while the diapente happens to be before the diatessaron, with the addition of the whole tone in the bass. Whereas Plato makes his addition in the upper part; for in the Republic<sup>1</sup> he says, that every one of the eight spheres rolls about a Siren which is fixed upon each of the tuneful globes, and that they all sing one harmony without diversity of modulation, taking every one their peculiar concords, which together complete a melodious concert.

These Sirens sing freely divine and heavenly tunes, and accompany their sacred circuit and dance with an harmonious song of eight chords. Nor was there necessity of a fuller chorus, in regard that within the confines of eight notes lay the first bounds and limits of all duple and triple proportions; the unit being added to the even and odd numbers. And certainly from hence it was that the ancients raised their invention of nine Muses; of which eight were employed in celestial affairs; the ninth was to take care of things terrestrial, and to reduce and reform the inequality and confusion of error and jarring variance.

Now then consider whether the soul does not roll and turn and manage the heavens and the celestial bodies by means of those harmonious concords and equal motions that are wrought and fermented within her, being herself most wise and most just. And such she became by virtue of harmonical proportions, whose images standing for

<sup>1</sup> X. p. 617 B.

incorporeal things are imprinted into the visible parts and bodies of the world. But the chief and most predominating power is visibly combined in the soul, which renders her consonant and obedient to herself, the other parts yielding to her as the best and the divinest part. For the Sovereign Artificer and Creator finding a strange disorder and erroneous confusion in the motions of the disordered and unruly soul, which was still at variance with herself, some things he divided and separated, others he brought together and reconciled to a mutual sympathy, making use of harmony and numbers. By virtue of which, the slightest and meanest of insensible substances, even trees and stones, the barks of trees, and sometimes even the intestines of beasts, by various mixtures and compositions, may become the most beautiful objects of the sight, or wholesome medicaments, or instruments to send forth musical sounds. And for this reason it was that Zeno of Citium encouraged and persuaded youth to frequent the theatres, there to observe the variety of melodious sounds that proceeded from horns or cornets, wooden hautboys, flutes and reeds, or any other musical instruments to which the contrivance of art had rightly applied the reason of number and proportion. Not that we will here maintain, with the Pythagoreans, that all things resemble number, for that requires a long discourse to prove it. But where mutual society and sympathy proceed out of discord and dissimilitude, that the cause of this is moderation and order, by participating in harmony and number, was a thing not ignored by the poets. And these give to what is friendly and kind the epithet "evenly fitted"; while, on the other side, men of harsh and malicious dispositions they called "unevenly tempered," as if enmity and discord were nothing but a sort of a disproportion. For this reason, he who writes Pindar's elegy makes this encomium,

To foreigners fitted, to citizens dear;<sup>1</sup>

the poet plainly supposing complacency of humor and the aptitude of a person to fit himself to all tempers to be an excellency aspiring to virtue itself. Which Pindar himself in another place testifies, saying of Cadmus, that

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρμενος ἦν ξέλνοισιν ἀνὴρ ὄδε, καὶ φίλος ἀσποῖς.



he listened to true music from Apollo himself. Nor must we believe that the theologians, who were the most ancient philosophers, ordered the pictures and statues of the gods to be made with musical instruments in their hands as if they thought the gods no better than pipers or harpers, but to signify that no work was so fitting to the gods as accord and harmony.

Now then, as it would be absurd and ridiculous for any man to search for sesquiterces, sesquialters, and duples in the neck, or belly, or sides of a lute or harp, — though every one of these must also be allowed their symmetry of length and thickness, — the harmony and proportion of concords being to be sought for in the sound; so it is most probable that the bodies of the stars, the distances of spheres, and the swiftness of the motions and revolutions, have their various proportions, as well one to another as to the whole, like instruments of music well arranged, though the measure and the quantity be unknown to us. However, we are to imagine that the principal effect and efficacy of these numbers and proportions, which the Supreme Architect made use of, is that same agreement, harmony, and consent of the soul with itself, by means of which she filled the heavens themselves, when she came to actuate and perform her office there, with so many infinite beauties, and by which she governs the earth by virtue of the several seasons, and other alterations wisely and artificially measured and varied as well for the generation as preservation of all terrestrial productions.

## A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE DÆMON OF SOCRATES.

I HEARD lately, Caphisias, a neat saying of a painter, comprised in a similitude upon those that came to view his pictures. For he said, the ignorant and unskilful were like those that saluted a whole company together, but the curious and knowing like those that complimented each single person; for the former take no exact, but only one general view of the performance; but those that with judgment examine part by part take notice of every stroke that is either well or ill done in the whole picture. The duller and lazy sort are abundantly satisfied with a short account and upshot of any business. But he that is of a generous and noble temper, that is fitted to be a spectator of virtue, as of a curious piece of art, is more delighted with the particulars. For, upon a general view, much of fortune is discovered; but when the particulars are examined, then appear the art and contrivance, the boldness in conquering intervening accidents, and the reason that was mixed with and tempered the heat and fury of the undertakers. Suppose us to be of this sort, and give us an account of the whole design, how from the very beginning it was carried on, what company you kept, and what particular discourse you had that day; — a thing so much desired, that I protest I would willingly go to Thebes to be informed, did not the Athenians already suspect me to lean too much to the Bœotian interest.

CAPHISIAS. Indeed, Archidamus, your kind eagerness after this story is so obliging, that, setting aside all business, I should have come on purpose to give you a relation. But since I am now come upon an embassy, and have nothing to do until I receive an answer to my memorial, to be uncivil and not to satisfy the request of an obliging friend would revive the old reproach that hath been cast upon the Bœotians for morose sullenness

and hating good discourse, a reproach which began to die in the time of Socrates. But as for the rest of the company, pray sir, are they at leisure to hear such a story? — for I must be very long, since you enjoin me to add the particular discourses that passed between us.

ARCH. You do not know the men, Caphisias, though they are worthy your acquaintance; men of good families, and no enemies to you. This is Lysithides, Thrasybulus's nephew; this Timotheus, the son of Conon; these Archinus's sons; and all the rest my very good acquaintance, so that you need not doubt a favorable and obliging audience.

CAPH. Very well; but where shall I begin the story? How much of these affairs are you acquainted with already?

ARCH. We know, Caphisias, how matters stood at Thebes before the exiles returned, viz. how Archias, Leontidas, and their associates, having persuaded Phœbidas the Spartan in the time of peace to surprise that castle, banished some of the citizens, others they awed, took the power into their own hands, and tyrannized against all equity and law. We understood Melon's and Pelopidas's designs, having (as you know) entertained them, and having conversed with them ever since they were banished. We knew likewise that the Spartans fined Phœbidas for taking the Cadmea, and in their expedition to Olynthus cashiered him; but sent a stronger garrison, under Lysanoridas and two more, to command the castle; and further, that Ismenias presently after his trial was basely murdered. For Gorgidas wrote constantly to the exiles, and sent them all the news; so that you have nothing to do but only to inform us in the particulars of your friends' return and the seizing of the tyrants.

CAPH. In those days, Archidamus, all that were concerned in the design, as often as our business required, used to meet at Simmias's house, who then lay lame of a blow upon his shin. This we covered with a pretence of meeting for improvement and philosophical discourse, and, to take off all suspicion, we many times invited Archias and Leontidas, who were not altogether averse to such conversation. Besides, Simmias, having been a long time abroad and familiar with different nations,

was lately returned to Thebes, full of all sorts of stories and strange relations. To him Archias, when free from business, would resort with the youth of Thebes, and sit and hear with a great deal of delight; being better pleased to see us mind philosophy and learning than their illegal actions. Now the same day in which it was arranged that about night the exiles should come privately to town, a messenger, whom none of us all but Charon knew, came from them by Pherenicus's order, and told us that twelve of the youngest of the exiles were now hunting on the mountain Cithæron, and designed to come at night, and that he was sent to deliver this and to know in whose house they should be received, that as soon as they entered they might go directly thither. This startling us, Charon put an end to all our doubts by offering to receive them in his house. With this answer the messenger returned.

But Theocritus the soothsayer, grasping me by the hand, and looking on Charon that went just before us, said: That Charon, Caphisias, is no philosopher, nor so general nor so acute a scholar as thy brother Epaminondas, and yet you see that, Nature leading him, under the direction of the law, to noble actions, he willingly ventures on the greatest danger for the benefit of his country; but Epaminondas, who considers he knows more of virtue than any of the Bœotians, is dull and inactive; and though opportunity presents, though there cannot be a fairer occasion, and though he is fitted to embrace it, yet he refuseth to join, and will not make one in this generous attempt. And I replied: Courageous Theocritus, we do what upon mature deliberation we have approved, but Epaminondas, being of a contrary opinion and thinking it better not to take this course, rationally complies with his judgment, whilst he refuseth to meddle in those matters which his reason upon our desire cannot approve and to which his nature is averse. Nor can I think it prudent to force a physician to use cupping glass and a lancet, that promiseth to cure the disease without them. What, said Theocritus, doth not he approve of our method? No, I replied, he would have no citizens put to death without a trial at law; but if we would endeavor to free our country without slaughter and bloodshed, none would more readily comply; but since

we slight his reasons and follow our own course, he desires to be excused, to be guiltless of the blood and slaughter of his citizens, and to be permitted to watch an opportunity when he may deliver his country according to equity and right. For this action may go too far, Phere- nicus, it is true, and Pelopidas may assault the bad men and the oppressors of the people; but Eumolpidas and Samidas, men of extraordinary heat and violence, prevailing in the night, will hardly sheathe their swords until they have filled the whole city with slaughter and cut in pieces many of the chief men.

Overhearing this discourse of mine to Theocritus, Anaxidorus (for he was just by) bade us be cautious, for Archias with Lysanoridas the Spartan were coming from the castle directly towards us. Upon this advice we left off; and Archias, calling Theocritus aside together with Lysanoridas, privately discoursed him a long while, so that we were very much afraid lest they had some suspicion or notice of our design, and examined Theocritus about it. In the mean time Phyllidas (Archidamus, you know him) who was then secretary to Archias the general, who knew of the exiles coming and was one of the associates, taking me by the hand, as he used to do, before the company, found fault with the late exercises and wrestling he had seen; but afterwards leading me aside, he inquired after the exiles, and asked whether they were resolved to be punctual to the day. And upon my assuring that they were, then he replied, I have very luckily provided a feast to-day to treat Archias, make him drunk, and then deliver him an easy prey to the invaders. Excellently contrived, Phyllidas, said I, and prithee endeavor to draw all or most of our enemies together. That, said he, is very hard, nay, rather impossible; for Archias, being in hopes of the company of some noble women there, will not yield that Leontidas should be present, so that it will be necessary to divide the associates into two companies, that we may surprise both the houses. For, Archias and Leontidas being taken off, I suppose the others will presently fly, or staying make no stir, being very well satisfied if they can be permitted to be safe and quiet. So, said I, we will order it; but about what, I wonder, are they discoursing with Theocritus? And Phyllidas replied, I cannot certainly

tell, but I have heard that some omens and oracles portend great disasters and calamities to Sparta; and perhaps they consult him about those matters. Theocritus had just left them, when Phidolaus the Haliartian meeting us said: Simmias would have you stay here a little while, for he is interceding with Leontidas for Amphi-theus, and begs that instead of dying, according to the sentence, he may be banished.

Well, said Theocritus, this happens very opportunely, for I had a mind to ask what was seen and what found in Alcmena's tomb lately opened amongst you, for perhaps, sir, you were present when Agesilaus sent to fetch the relics to Sparta. And Phidolaus replied: Indeed I was not present at the opening of the grave, for I was not delegated, being extremely concerned and very angry with my fellow-citizens for permitting it to be done. There was found no part of a body; but a small brazen bracelet, and two earthen pipkins full of earth, which now by length of time was grown very hard and petrified. Upon the monument there was a brazen plate full of strange, because very ancient, letters; for though, when the plate was washed, all the strokes were very easily perceived, yet nobody could make anything of them; for they were a particular, barbarous, and very like the Egyptian character. And therefore Agesilaus, as the story goes, sent a transcript of them to the king of Egypt, desiring him to show them to the priests, and if they understood them, to send him the meaning and interpretation. But perhaps in this matter Simmias can inform us, for at that time he studied their philosophy and frequently conversed with the priests upon that account. The Haliartii believe the great scarcity and overflowing of the pool that followed were not effects of chance, but a particular judgment upon them for permitting the grave to be opened. And Theocritus, after a little pause, said: Nay, there seem some judgments to hang over the Lacedæmonians themselves, as those omens about which Lysanoridas just now discoursed me portend. And now he is gone to Haliartus to fill up the grave again, and, as the oracle directs, to make some oblations to Alcmena and Aleus; but who this Aleus is, he cannot tell. And as soon as he returns, he must endeavor to find the sepulchre of Dirce, which not one of the Thebans themselves,

besides the captains of the horse, knows; for he that goes out of his office leads his successor to the place alone, and in the dark; there they offer some sacrifices, but without fire, and leaving no mark behind them, they separate from one another, and come home again in the dark. So that I believe, Phidolaus, it will be no easy matter for him to discover it. For most of those that have been duly elected to that office are now in exile; nay, all besides Gorgidas and Plato; and they will never ask those, for they are afraid of them. And our present officers are invested in the castle with the spear only and the seal, but know nothing of the tomb, and cannot direct him.

Whilst Theocritus was speaking, Leontidas and his friends went out; and we going in saluted Simmias, sitting upon his couch, and very much troubled because his petition was denied. He, looking up upon us, cried out: Good God! The savage barbarity of these men! And was it not an excellent remark of Thales, who, when his friends asked him, upon his return from his long travels, what strange news he brought home, replied, "I have seen a tyrant an old man." For even he that hath received no particular injury, yet disliking their stiff pride and haughty carriage, becomes an enemy to all lawless and unaccountable powers. But Heaven perhaps will take these things into consideration. But, Caphisias, do you know that stranger that came lately hither, and who he is? And I replied, I do not know whom you mean. Why, said he, Leontidas told me that there was a man at night seen to rise out of Lysis's tomb, with great state and a long train of attendants, and that he had lodged there all night upon beds made of leaves and boughs; for the next morning such were discovered there, with some relics of burnt sacrifices and some milk-oblations; and that in the morning he inquired of every one he met, whether he should find Polymnis's sons at home. I wonder, said I, who the stranger is, for by your description I guess him to be no common person.

Well, said Phidolaus, when he comes we will entertain him; but at the present, Simmias, if you know anything more of those letters about which we were talking, pray let us have it; for it is said that the Egyptian priests took into consideration the writing of a certain table which Agesilaus had from us when he opened Alcemena's

tomb. As for the table, replied Simmias, I know nothing of it; but Agetoridas the Spartan came to Memphis with letters from Agesilaus to Chonouphis the priest, whilst I, Plato, and Ellopio the Peparethian, studied together at his house. He came by order of the king, who enjoined Chonouphis, if he understood the writing, to send him the interpretation with all speed. And he in three days' study, having collected all the different sorts of characters that could be found in the old books, wrote back to the king and likewise told us, that the writing enjoined the Greeks to institute games in honor of the Muses; that the characters were such as were used in the time of Proteus, and that Hercules, the son of Amphitryo, then learned them; and that the god by this admonished the Greeks to live peaceably and at quiet, to contend in philosophy to the honor of the Muses, and, laying aside their arms, to determine what is right and just by reason and discourse. We then thought that Chonouphis spoke right; and that opinion was confirmed when, as we were sailing from Egypt, about Caria some Delians met us, who desired Plato, being well skilled in geometry, to solve an odd oracle lately delivered by Apollo. The oracle was this: "Then the Delians and all the other Greeks should enjoy some respite from their present evils, when they had doubled the altar at Delos." They, not comprehending the meaning of the words, after many ridiculous endeavors (for each of the sides being doubled, they had framed a body, instead of twice, eight times as big) made application to Plato to clear the difficulty. He, calling to mind what the Egyptian had told him, said that the god was merry upon the Greeks, who despised learning; that he severely reflected on their ignorance, and admonished them to apply themselves to the deepest parts of geometry; for this was not to be done by a dull short-sighted intellect, but one exactly skilled in the nature and properties of lines; it required skill to find the right proportion by which alone a body of a cubic figure can be doubled, all its dimensions being equally increased. He said that Eudoxus the Cnidian or Helico the Cyzicenean might do this for them; but that was not the thing desired by the god; for by this oracle he enjoined all the Greeks to leave off war and contention, and apply themselves to study, and, by learning



and arts moderating the passions, to live peaceably with one another, and profit the community.

Whilst Simmias was speaking, my father Polyminis came in, and sitting down by him said: Epaminondas desires you and the rest of the company, unless some urgent business requires your attendance, to stay for him here a little while, designing to bring you acquainted with this stranger, who is a very worthy man; and the design upon which he comes is very genteel and honorable. He is a Pythagorean of the Italian sect, and comes hither to make some offerings to old Lysis at his tomb, according to divers dreams and very notable appearances that he hath seen. He hath brought a good sum of money with him, and thinks himself bound to satisfy Epaminondas for keeping Lysis in his old age; and is very eager, though we are neither willing nor desire him, to relieve his poverty. And Simmias, glad at this news, replied: You tell me, sir, of a wonderful man and worthy professor of philosophy; but why doth he not come directly to us? I think, said my father, he lay all night at Lysis's tomb; and therefore Epaminondas hath now led him to the Ismenus to wash; and when that is done, they will be here. For before he came to our house, he lodged at the tomb, intending to take up the relics of the body and transport them into Italy, if some genius at night had not advised him to forbear.

As soon as my father had ended this discourse, Galaxidorus cried out: Good Gods! how hard a matter is it to find a man pure from vanity and superstition! For some are betrayed into those fooleries by their ignorance and weakness; others, that they may be thought extraordinary men and favorites of Heaven, refer all their actions to some divine admonition pretending dreams, visions, and the like surprising fooleries for everything they do. This method indeed is advantageous to those that intend to settle a commonwealth, or are forced to keep themselves up against a rude and ungovernable multitude; for by this bridle of superstition they might manage and reform the vulgar; but these pretences seem not only unbecoming philosophy, but quite opposite to all those fine promises it makes. For having promised to teach us by reason what is good and profitable, falling back again to the gods as the principle of all our actions, it seems to despise reason, and dis-

grace that demonstration which is its peculiar glory; and she relies on dreams and visions, in which the worst of men are oftentimes as happy as the best. And therefore your Socrates, Simmias, in my opinion followed the most philosophical and rational method of instructions, choosing that plain and easy way as the most genteel and friendly unto truth, and scattering for the Sophists of the age all those vain pretences which are as it were the smoke of philosophy. And Theocritus taking him up said: What, Galaxidorus, and hath Meletus persuaded you that Socrates contemned all divine things? — for that was part of his accusation. Divine things! by no means, replied Galaxidorus; but having inherited philosophy from Pythagoras and Empedocles, full of dreams, fables, superstitions, and perfect raving, he endeavored to bring wisdom and things together, and make truth consist with sober sense.

Be it so, rejoined Theocritus, but what shall we think of his Dæmon? Was it a mere story? Indeed, nothing that is told of Pythagoras to the praise of divination seems to me so great and divine. For, in my mind, as Homer makes Minerva to stand by Ulysses in all dangers, so the Dæmon joined to Socrates even from his cradle some vision to guide him in all the actions of his life; which going before him, shed a light upon hidden and obscure matters and such as could not be discovered by unassisted human understanding; of such things the Dæmon often discoursed with him, presiding over and by divine instinct directing his intentions. More and greater things perhaps you may learn from Simmias and other companions of Socrates; but once when I was present, as I went to Euthyphron the soothsayer's, it happened, Simmias, — for you remember it, — that Socrates walked up to the house of Andocides, all the way asking questions and jocosely perplexing Euthyphron. When standing still upon a sudden and persuading us to do the like, he mused a pretty while, and then turning about walked through Trunk-makers' Street, calling back his friends that walked before him, affirming that it was his Dæmon's will and admonition. Many turned back, amongst whom I, holding Euthyphron, was one; but some of the youths keeping on the straight way, on purpose (as it were) to confute Socrates's Dæmon, took along with them Charillus the

piper, who came in my company to Athens to see Cebes. Now as they were walking through Gravers' Row, near the court-house, a herd of dirty swine met them; and being too many for the street and running against one another, they overthrew some that could not get out of the way, and dirtied others; and Charillus came home with his legs and clothes very dirty; so that now and then in merriment they would think on Socrates's Dæmon, wondering that it never forsook the man, and that Heaven took such particular care of him.

Then Galaxidorus: And do you think, Theocritus, that Socrates's Dæmon had some peculiar and extraordinary power? And was it not that this man had by experience investigated some part of the common necessity which made him, in all obscure and inevident matters, add some contribution to the reason that was on one side? For as one grain doth not incline the balance by itself, yet added to one of two weights that are of equal poise, makes the whole incline to that part; thus an omen or the like sign may of itself be too light to draw a grave and settled resolution to any action, yet when two equal reasons conflict, if that is added to one, the doubt together with the equality is taken off, so that a motion and inclination to that side is presently produced. Then my father continuing the discourse said: You yourself, Galaxidorus, have heard a Megarian, who had it from Terpsion, say that Socrates's Dæmon was nothing else but the sneezing either of himself or others; for if another sneezed, either before, behind him, or on his right hand, then he pursued his design and went on to action; but if on the left hand, he desisted. One sort of sneezing confirmed him whilst deliberating and not fully resolved; another stopped him when already upon action. But indeed it seems strange that, if sneezing was his only sign, he should not acquaint his familiars with it, but pretend that it was a Dæmon that encouraged or forbade him. For that this should proceed from vanity or conceit is not agreeable to the veracity and simplicity of the man; for in those we knew him to be truly great, and far above the generality of mankind. Nor is it likely so grave and wise a man should be disturbed at a casual sound or sneezing, and upon that account leave off what he was about, and give over his premeditated resolutions. Besides all, Socrates's resolutions seem to be

altogether vigorous and steady, as begun upon right principles and mature judgment. Thus he voluntarily lived poor all his life, though he had friends that would have been very glad and very willing to relieve him; he still kept close to philosophy, notwithstanding all the discouragements he met with; and at last, when his friends endeavored and very ingeniously contrived his escape, he would not yield to their entreaties, but met death with mirth and cheerfulness, and appeared a man of a steady reason in the greatest extremity. And sure these are not the actions of a man whose designs, when once fixed, could be altered by an omen or a sneeze; but of one who, by some more considerable guidance and impulse, is directed to practice things good and excellent. Besides, I have heard that to some of his friends he foretold the overthrow of the Athenians in Sicily. And before that time, Perilampes, the son of Antiphon, being wounded and taken prisoner by us in that pursuit at Delium, as soon as he heard from the ambassadors who came from Athens that Socrates with Alcibiades and Laches fled by Rhegiste and returned safe, he blamed himself very much, and also some of his friends and captains of the companies — who together with him were overtaken in their flight about Parnes by our cavalry and slain there — for not obeying Socrates's Dæmon and retreating that way which he led: And this I believe Simmias hath heard as well as I. Yes, replied Simmias, many times, and from many persons; for upon this, Socrates's Dæmon was very much talked of at Athens.

Why then, pray, Simmias, said Phidolaus, shall we suffer Galaxidorus drollingly to degrade so considerable a prophetic spirit into an omen or a sneeze; which the vulgar and ignorant, it is true, merrily use about small matters; but when any danger appears, then we find that of Euripides verified, —

None near the edge of swords will mind such toys.

To this Galaxidorus rejoined: Sir, if Simmias hath heard Socrates himself speak anything about this matter, I am very ready to hear and accept it with you; but yet what you and Polymnis have delivered I could easily demonstrate to be weak and insignificant. For as in physic the pulse is itself but a small thing, yet is a sign of

no small things to the physicians; and as the murmuring of the waves or of a bird, or the driving of a thin cloud, is a sign to the pilot of a stormy heaven and troubled sea; thus to a prophetic soul, a sneeze or an omen, though unimportant considered in itself, yet may be the sign and token of considerable impending accidents. For every art and science takes care to collect many things from few, and great from small. And as if one that doth not know the power of letters, when he sees a few ill-shapen strokes, should not believe that a man skilled in letters could read in them the famous battles of the ancients, the rise of cities, the acts and calamities of kings, and should state that some superior power told him the particulars, he would by this ignorance of his raise a great deal of mirth and laughter in the company; so let us consider whether or no we ourselves, being altogether ignorant of every one's power of divination by which he guesseth at what is to come, are not foolishly concerned when it is asserted that a wise man by that discovers some things obscure and inevident in themselves, and besides, himself declares that it is not a sneeze or voice, but a Dæmon, that leads him on to action. This, Polymnis, particularly respects you, who cannot but wonder that Socrates, who by his homeliness and simplicity hath humanized philosophy, should not call this sign a sneeze or a voice, but very pretendingly a Dæmon; when, on the contrary, I should have wondered if a man so critical and exact in discourse, and so good at names as Socrates, should have said that it was a sneeze, and not a Dæmon, that gave him intimation; as much as if any one should say that he is wounded by a dart, and not with a dart by him that threw it; or as if any one should say that a weight was found out by the balance, and not with the balance by the one who holds it. For any effect is not the effect of the instrument, but of him whose the instrument is, and who useth it to that effect; and a sign is an instrument, which he that conjectures anything thereby useth to that effect. But, as I said before, if Simmias hath anything about this matter, let us quietly attend; for no doubt he must have a more perfect knowledge of the thing.

Content, said Theocritus; but let us first see who these are that are coming, for I think I see Epaminondas bringing in the stranger. Upon this motion, looking

towards the door, we saw Epaminondas with his friends Ismenidorus and Bacchylidas and Melissus the musician leading the way, and the stranger following, a man of no mean presence; his meekness and good-nature appeared in his looks, and his dress was grave and becoming. He being seated next Simmias, my brother next me, and the rest as they pleased, and all silent, Simmias speaking to my brother said: Well, Epaminondas, by what name and title must I salute this stranger? — for those are commonly our first compliments, and the beginning of our better acquaintance. And my brother replied: His name, Simmias, is Theanor; by birth he is a Crotonian, a philosopher by profession, no disgrace to Pythagoras's fame; for he hath taken a long voyage from Italy hither, to evidence by generous actions his eminent proficiency in that school.

The stranger subjoined: But you, Epaminondas, hinder the performance of the best action; for if it is commendable to oblige friends, it is not discommendable to be obliged; for a benefit requires a receiver as well as a giver; by both it is perfected, and becomes a good work. For he that refuseth to receive a favor, as a ball that is struck fairly to him, disgraceth it by letting it fall short of the designed mark; and what mark are we so much pleased to hit or vexed to miss, as our kind intentions of obliging a person that deserves a favor? It is true, when the mark is fixed, he that misseth can blame nobody but himself; but he that refuseth or flies a kindness is injurious to the favor in not letting it attain the desired end. I have told you already what was the occasion of my voyage; the same I would discover to all present, and make them judges in the case. For after the opposite faction had expelled the Pythagoreans, and the Cylonians had burned the remains of that society in their school at Metapontum, and destroyed all but Philolaus and Lysis, — who being young and nimble escaped the flame, — Philolaus flying to the Lucanians was there protected by his friends, who rose for his defence and overpowered the Cylonians; but where Lysis was, for a long time nobody could tell; at last Gorgias the Leontine, sailing from Greece to Italy, seriously told Arcesus that he met and discoursed Lysis at Thebes. Arcesus, being very desirous to see the man, as soon as he could get a passage, designed

to put to sea himself; but age and weakness coming on, he took care that Lysis should be brought to Italy alive, if possible; but if not, the relics of his body. The intervening wars, usurpations, and seditions hindered his friends from doing it whilst he lived; but since his death, Lysis's Dæmon hath made very frequent and very plain discoveries to us of his death; and many that were very well acquainted with the matter have told us how courteously you received and civilly entertained him, how in your poor family he was allowed a plentiful subsistence for his age, counted a father of your sons, and died in peace. I therefore, although a young man and but one single person, have been sent by many who are my elders, and who, having money, offer it gladly to those who need it, in return for the great favor and freindship bestowed upon Lysis. Lysis, it is true, is buried nobly, and your respect, which is more honorable than a monument, must be acknowledged and requited by his familiars and his friends.

When the stranger had said this, my father wept a considerable time, in memory of Lysis; but my brother, smiling upon me, as he used to do, said: What do we do Caphisias? Are we to surrender our poverty to wealth, silently? By no means, I replied, let us part with our old friend and the excellent breeder of our youth; but defend her cause, for you are to manage it. My dear father, said he, I have feared that wealth would take possession of our house, alone on account of Caphisias's body; for that wants fine attire, that he may appear gay and gaudy to his numerous company of lovers, and great supplies of food, that he may be strong to endure wrestling and other exercises of the ring. But since he doth not give up poverty, since he retains his hereditary want, like a color, since he, a youth, takes pride in being frugal, and is very well content with his present state, what need have we, and what shall we do with wealth? Shall we gild our arms? Shall we, like Nicias the Athenian, adorn our shield with gold, purple, and other gaudy variety of colors, and buy for you, sir, a Milesian cloak, and for my mother a purple gown? For I suppose we shall not consume any upon our belly, or feast more sumptuously than we did before, treating this wealth as a guest of quality and honor! Away, away, son, replied my father; let me never see such a change in our course of living. Well, said my

brother, we would not lie lazily at home, and watch over our unemployed riches; for then the bestower's kindness would be a trouble, and the possession infamous. What need then, said my father, have we of wealth? Upon this account, said Epaminondas, when Jason, the Thessalian general, lately sent me a great sum of money and desired me to accept it, I was thought rude and unmannerly for telling him that he was a knave for endeavoring, whilst he himself loved monarchy, to bribe one of democratical principles and a member of a free state. Your good will, sir (addressing to the stranger), which is generous and worthy a philosopher, I accept and passionately admire; but you offer physic to your friends who are in perfect health! If, upon a report that we were distressed and overpowered, you had brought men and arms to our assistance, but being arrived had found all in quietness and peace, I am certain you would not have thought it necessary to leave those supplies which we did not then stand in need of. Thus, since now you came to assist us against poverty as if we had been distressed by it, and find it very peaceable and our familiar inmate, there is no need to leave any money or arms to suppress that which gives us no trouble or disturbance. But tell your acquaintance that they use riches well, and have friends here that use poverty as well. What was spent in keeping and burying Lysis, Lysis himself hath sufficiently repaid, by many profitable instructions, and by teaching us not to think poverty a grievance.

What then, said Theanor, is it mean to think poverty a grievance? Is it not absurd to fly and be afraid of riches, if no reason, but an hypocritical pretence, narrowness of mind, or pride, prompts one to reject the offer? And what reason, I wonder, would refuse such advantageous and creditable enjoyments as Epaminondas now doth. But, sir, — for your answer to the Thessalian about this matter shows you very ready, — pray answer me, do you think it commendable in some cases to give money, but always unlawful to receive it? Or are the givers and receivers equally guilty of a fault? By no means, replied Epaminondas; but, as of anything else, so the giving and receiving of money is sometimes commendable and sometimes base. Well then, said Theanor, if a man gives willingly what he ought to give, is not that action com-



mendable in him? Yes. And when it is commendable in one to give, is it not as commendable in another to receive? Or can a man more honestly accept a gift from any one, than from him that honestly bestows? No. Well then, Epaminondas, suppose of two friends, one hath a mind to present, the other must accept. It is true, in a battle we should avoid that enemy who is skilled in hurling his spear; but in civilities we should neither fly nor thrust back that friend that makes a kind and genteel offer. And though poverty is not so grievous, yet on the other side, wealth is not so mean and despicable a thing. Very true, replied Epaminondas; but you must consider that sometimes, even when a gift is rightly bestowed, he is more honorable who refuses it. For we have many lusts and desires, and the objects of those desires are many. Some are called natural; these proceed from the very constitution of our body, and tend to natural pleasures; others are acquired, and rise from vain opinions and mistaken notions; yet these by the length of time, ill habits, and bad education are usually improved, get strength, and debase the soul more than the other natural and necessary passions. By custom and care any one, with the assistance of reason, may free himself from many of his natural desires. But, sir, all our arts, all our force of discipline, must be employed against the superfluous and acquired appetites; and they must be restrained or cut off by the guidance or edge of reason. For if the contrary applications of reason can make us forbear meat and drink, when hungry or thirsty, how much more easy is it to conquer covetousness or ambition, which will be destroyed by a bare restraint from their proper objects, and a non-attainment of their desired end? And pray, sir, are you not of the same opinion? Yes, replied the stranger. Then, sir, continued Epaminondas, do you not perceive a difference between the exercise itself and the work to which the exercise relates? For instance, in a wrestler, the work is the striving with his adversary for the crown, the exercise is the preparation of his body by diet, wrestling, or the like. So in virtue, you must confess the work to be one thing and the exercise another. Very well, replied the stranger. Then, continued Epaminondas, let us first examine whether to abstain from base unlawful pleasures is the exercise of continence, or the work and evi-

dence of that exercise? The work and evidence, replied the stranger. But is not the exercise such as you practise, when after wrestling, where you have raised your appetites like ravenous beasts, you stand a long while at a table covered with plenty and variety of meats, and then give it to your servants to feast on, whilst you offer mean and spare diet to your subdued appetites? For abstinence from lawful pleasures is exercise against unlawful. Very well, replied the stranger. So, continued Epaminondas, justice is exercise against covetousness and love of money; but so is not a mere cessation from stealing or robbing our neighbor. So he that doth not betray his country or friends for gold doth not exercise against covetousness, for the law perhaps deters, and fear restrains him; but he that refuseth just gain and such as the law allows, voluntarily exercises, and secures himself from being bribed or receiving any unlawful present. For when great, hurtful, and base pleasures are proposed, it is very hard for any one to contain himself, who hath not often despised those which he had power and opportunity to enjoy. Thus, when base bribes and considerable advantages are offered, it will be difficult to refuse, unless he hath long ago rooted out all thoughts of gain and love of money; for other desires will nourish and increase that appetite, and he will easily be drawn to any unjust action who can scarce forbear reaching out his hand to a proffered present. But he that will not lay himself open to the favors of friends and the gifts of kings, but refuseth even what Fortune proffers, and keeps off his appetite, that is eager after and (as it were) leaps forward to an appearing treasure, is never disturbed or tempted to unlawful actions, but hath great and brave thoughts, and hath command over himself, being conscious of none but generous designs. I and Caphisias, dear Simmias, being passionate admirers of such men, beg the stranger to suffer us to be taught and exercised by poverty to attain that height of virtue and perfection.

My brother having finished this discourse, Simmias, nodding twice or thrice, said: Epaminondas is a great man, but this Polymnis is the cause of his greatness, who gave his children the best education, and bred them philosophers. But, sir, you may end this dispute at leisure among yourselves. As for Lysis (if it is lawful to discover

it), pray, sir, do you design to take him out of his tomb and transport him into Italy, or leave him here amongst his friends and acquaintance, who shall be glad to lie by him in the grave? And Theanor with a smile answered: Lysis, good Simmias, no doubt is very well pleased with the place, for Epaminondas supplied him with all things necessary and fitting. But the Pythagoreans have some particular funeral ceremonies, which if any one wants, we conclude he did not make a proper and happy exit. Therefore, as soon as we learned from some dreams that Lysis was dead (for we have certain marks to know the apparitions of the living from the images of the dead), most began to think that Lysis, dying in a strange country, was not interred with the due ceremonies, and therefore ought to be removed to Italy that he might receive them there. I coming upon this design, and being by the people of the country directed to the tomb, in the evening poured out my oblations, and called upon the soul of Lysis to come out and direct me in this affair. The night drawing on, I saw nothing indeed, but thought I heard a voice saying: Move not those relics that ought not to be moved, for Lysis's body was duly and religiously interred; and his soul is sent to inform another body, and committed to the care of another Dæmon. And early this morning, asking Epaminondas about the manner of Lysis's burial, I found that Lysis had taught him as far as the incommunicable mysteries of our sect; and that the same Dæmon that waited on Lysis presided over him, if I can guess at the pilot from the sailing of the ship. The paths of life are large, but in few are men directed by the Dæmons. When Theanor had said this, he looked attentively on Epaminondas, as if he designed a fresh search into his nature and inclinations.

At the same instant the chirurgeon coming in unbound Simmias's leg and prepared to dress it; and Phyllidas entering with Hippostenides, extremely concerned, as his very countenance discovered, desired me, Charon, and Theocritus to withdraw into a private corner of the porch. And I asking, Phyllidas, hath any new thing happened? — Nothing new to me, he replied, for I knew and told you that Hippostenides was a coward, and therefore begged you not to communicate the matter to him or make him an associate. We seeming all surprised, Hip-

posthenides cried out: For Heaven's sake, Phyllidas, don't say so, don't think rashness to be bravery, and blinded by that mistake ruin both us and the commonwealth; but, if it must be so, let the exiles return again in peace. And Phyllidas in a passion replied, How many Hipposthenides, do you think are privy to this design? Thirty I know engaged. And why then, continued Phyllidas, would you singly oppose your judgment to them all, and ruin those measures they have all taken and agreed to? What had you to do to send a messenger to desire them to return and not approach to-day, when even chance encouraged and all things conspired to promote the design?

These words of Phyllidas troubled every one; and Charon, looking very angrily upon Hipposthenides, said: Thou coward! what hast thou done? No harm, replied Hipposthenides, as I will make appear if you will moderate your passion and hear what your gray-headed equal can allege. If, Phyllidas, we were minded to show our citizens a bravery that sought danger, and a heart that contemned life, there is day enough before us; why should we wait till the evening? Let us take our swords presently, and assault the tyrants. Let us kill, let us be killed, and be prodigal of our blood. If this may be easily performed or endured, and if it is no easy matter by the loss of two or three men to free Thebes from so great an armed power as possesses it, and to beat out the Spartan garrison, — for I suppose Phyllidas hath not provided wine enough at his entertainment to make all Archias's guard of fifteen hundred drunk; or if we despatch him, yet Arcesus and Herippidas will be sober, and upon the watch, — why are we so eager to bring our friends and relatives into certain destruction, especially since the enemy hath some notice of their return? For why else should the Thespians for these three days be commanded to be in arms and follow the orders of the Spartan general? And I hear that to-day, after examination before Archias when he returns, they design to put Amphitheus to death; and are not these strong proofs that our conspiracy is discovered? Is it not the best way to stay a little, until an atonement is made and the gods reconciled? For the diviners, having sacrificed an ox to Ceres, said that the burnt offering portended a great sedition and danger to

the commonwealth. And besides, Charon, there is another thing which particularly concerns you; for yesterday Hypatodorus, the son of Erianthes, a very honest man and my good acquaintance, but altogether ignorant of our design, coming out of the country in my company, accosted me thus: Charon is an acquaintance of yours, Hipposthenides, but no great crony of mine; yet, if you please, advise him to take heed of some imminent danger, for I had a very odd dream relating to some such matter. Last night methought I saw his house in travail; and he and his friends, extremely perplexed, fell to their prayers round about the house. The house groaned, and sent out some inarticulate sounds; at last a raging fire broke out of it, and consumed the greatest part of the city; and the castle Cadmea was covered all over with smoke, but not fired. This was the dream, Charon, that he told me. I was startled at the present, and that fear increased when I heard that the exiles intended to come to-day to your house, and I am very much afraid that we shall bring mighty mischiefs on ourselves, yet do our enemies no proportionable harm, but only give them a little disturbance; for I think the city signifies us, and the castle (as it is now in their power) them.

Then Theocritus putting in, and enjoining silence on Charon, who was eager to reply, said: As for my part, Hipposthenides, though all my sacrifices were of good omen to the exiles, yet I never found any greater inducement to go on than the dream you mentioned; for you say that a great and bright fire, rising out of a friend's house, caught the city, and that the habitation of the enemies was blackened with smoke, which never brings anything better than tears and disturbance; that inarticulate sounds broke out from us shows that none shall make any clear and full discovery; only a blind suspicion shall arise, and our design shall appear and have its desired effect at the same time. And it is very natural that the diviners should be unable to finish the sacrifices; for both their office and their victims belong not to the public, but to tyrants. Whilst Theocritus was speaking, I said to Hipposthenides, Whom did you send with this message? for if it was not long ago, we will follow him. Indeed, Caphisias, he replied, it is unlikely (for I must tell the truth) that you should overtake him, for he is upon the best horse in

Thebes. You all know the man, he is master of the horse to Melon, and Melon from the very beginning hath made him privy to the design. And I, observing him to be at the door, said: What, Hipposthenides, is it Clido, he that last year at Juno's feast won the single horse-race? Yes, the very same. Who then, continued I, is he that hath stood a pretty while at the court-gate and gazed upon us? At this Hipposthenides turning about cried out: Clido, by Hercules! I'll lay my life some unlucky accident hath happened. Clido, observing that we took notice of him, came softly from the gate towards us; and Hipposthenides giving him a nod and bidding him deliver his message to the company, for they were all sure friends and privy to the whole plot, he began: Sir, I know the men very well, and not finding you either at home or in the market-place, I guessed you were with them, and came directly hither to give you a full account of the present posture of affairs. You commanded me with all possible speed to meet the exiles upon the mountain, and accordingly I went home to take horse, and called for my bridle; my wife said it was mislaid, and stayed a long time in the hostry, tumbling about the things and pretending to look carefully after it; at last, when she had tired my patience, she confessed that her neighbor's wife had borrowed it last night; this raised my passion and I chid her, and she began to curse, and wished me a bad journey and as bad a return; all which curses, pray God, may fall upon her own head. At last my passion grew high, and I began to cudgel her, and presently the neighbors and women coming in, there was fine work; I am so bruised that it was as much as I could do to come hither to desire you to employ another man, for I protest I am amazed and in a very bad condition.

Upon this news we were strangely altered. Just before we were angry with the man that endeavored to put it off; and now the time approaching, the very minute just upon us, and it being impossible to postpone the matter, we found ourselves in great apprehension and perplexity. But I, speaking to Hipposthenides and taking him by the hand, bade him be of good courage, for the gods themselves seemed to invite us to action. Presently we parted. Phylidas went home to prepare his entertainment, and to make Archias drunk as soon as conveniently he could; Charon went to his house to receive the exiles; and I and Theoc-

ritus went back to Simmias again, that having now a good opportunity, we might discourse with Epaminondas.

We found them engaged in a notable dispute, which Galaxidorus and Phidolaus had touched upon before; the subject of the inquiry was this, — What kind of substance or power was the famed Dæmon of Socrates? Simmias's reply to Galaxidorus's discourse we did not hear; but he said that, having once asked Socrates about it and received no answer, he never repeated the same question; but he had often heard him declare those to be vain pretenders who said they had seen any divine apparition, while to those who affirmed that they heard a voice he would gladly hearken, and would eagerly inquire into the particulars. And this upon consideration gave us probable reasons to conjecture that this Dæmon of Socrates was not an apparition, but rather a sensible perception of a voice, or an apprehension of some words, which after an unaccountable manner affected him; as in a dream there is no real voice, yet we have fancies and apprehensions of words which make us imagine that we hear some speak. This perception in dreams is usual, because the body whilst we are asleep is quiet and undisturbed; but when we are awake, meaner thoughts creep in, and we can hardly bring our soul to observe better advertisements. For being in a hurry of tumultuous passions and distracting business, we cannot compose our mind or make it listen to the discoveries. But Socrates's understanding being pure, free from emotion, and mixing itself with the body no more than necessity required, was easy to be moved and apt to take an impression from everything that was applied to it; now that which was applied was not a voice, but more probably a declaration of a Dæmon, which without audible voice represented to his mind that which it signified. Voice is like a stroke given to the soul, which receives speech forcibly entering at the ears whilst we discourse; but the understanding of a more excellent nature affects a capable soul, by applying the very thing to be understood to it, so that there is no need of another stroke. And the soul obeys, as it stretches or slackens her affections, not forcibly, as if it wrought by contrary passions, but smoothly and gently, as if it moved flexible and loose reins. And sure nobody can wonder at this, that hath observed what great ships of burden are turned by a small

helm, or seen a potter's wheel move round by the gentle touch of one finger. These are lifeless things, it is true; but being of a frame fit for motion, by reason of their smoothness, they yield to the least impulse. The soul of man, being stretched with a thousand inclinations, as with cords, is the most tractable instrument that is, and if once rationally excited, easy to be moved to the object that is to be conceived; for here the passions and appetites begin and spread to the understanding mind, and that being once agitated, they are drawn back again, and so stretch and raise the whole man. Hence you may guess how great is the force of a conception; for the bones that are insensible, the nerves, the flesh that is full of humors, and the heavy mass composed of all these, lying quiet and at rest, as soon as the soul gives the impulse and raiseth a desire to move towards any object, are all roused and invigorated, and every member seems a wing to carry it forward to action. Nor is it impossible or even very difficult to conceive the mode of this motion and stirring, by which the soul having conceived anything, by means of appetites, stirreth the whole mass of the body. But inasmuch as language, apprehended without any sensible voice, easily excites; so, in my opinion, the mind of a superior nature and a more divine soul may lead an inferior soul, touching it from without, like as one more potent speech may rouse another, and as light causes its own reflection. We, it is true, as it were groping in the dark, find out one another's conceptions by the voice; but the conceptions of the Dæmons carry a light with them, and shine to those that are able to perceive them, so that there is no need of words such as men use to one another, seeing thereby only the tokens of the conceptions, and being unable to see the conceptions themselves unless there is present a peculiar and (as I said before) a divine light. This may be illustrated from the nature and effect of voice; for the air being formed into articulate sounds, and made all voice, transmits the conception to the mind of the hearer; so that it is no wonder if the air, that is very apt to take impressions, being fashioned according to the object conceived by a more excellent nature, signifies that conception to some divine and extraordinary men. For as a stroke upon a brazen shield, when the noise ariseth out of a hollow, is heard only by those who are in a convenient



position, and is not perceived by others; so the speeches of the Dæmon, though applied indifferently to all, yet sound only to those who are of a quiet temper and sedate mind, and such as we call holy and divine men. Most believe that Dæmons communicate some illuminations to men asleep, but think it strange and incredible that they should communicate the like to them whilst they are awake and have their senses and reason vigorous; as wise a fancy as it is to imagine that a musician can use his harp when the strings are slack, but cannot play when they are screwed up and in tune. For they do not consider that the effect is hindered by the unquietness and incapacity of their own minds; from which inconveniences our friend Socrates was free, as the oracle assured his father whilst he was a boy. For that commanded him to let young Socrates do what he would, not to force or draw him from his inclinations, but let the boy's humor have its free course; to beg Jupiter's and the Muses' blessings upon him, and take no farther care, intimating that he had a good guide to direct him, that was better than ten thousand tutors and instructors.

This, Phidolaus, was my notion of Socrates's Dæmon, whilst he lived and since his death; and I look upon all they mention about omens, sneezings, or the like, to be dreams and fooleries. But what I heard Timarchus discourse upon the same subject, lest some should think I delight in fables, perhaps it is best to conceal. By no means, cried Theocritus, let's have it; for though they do not perfectly agree with it, yet I know many fables that border upon truth; but pray first tell us who this Timarchus was, for I was never acquainted with the man. Very likely, Theocritus, said Simmais; for he died when he was very young, and desired Socrates to bury him by Lampocles, the son of Socrates, who was his dear friend, of the same age, and died not many days before him. He being eager to know (for he was a fine youth, and a beginner in philosophy) what Socrates's Dæmon was, acquainting none but Cebes and me with his design, went down into Trophonius's cave, and performed all the ceremonies that were requisite to gain an oracle. There he stayed two nights and one day, so that his friends despaired of his return and lamented him as lost; but the next morning he came out with a very cheerful countenance, and having adored

the god, and freed himself from the thronging inquisitive crowd, he told us many wonderful things that he had seen and heard; for this was his relation.

As soon as he entered, a thick darkness surrounded him; then, after he had prayed, he lay a long while upon the ground, but was not certain whether awake or in a dream, only he imagined that a smart stroke fell upon his head, and that through the parted sutures of his skull his soul fled out; which being now loose, and mixed with a purer and more lightsome air, was very jocund and well pleased; it seemed to begin to breathe, as if till then it had been almost choked, and grew bigger than before, like a sail swollen by the wind; then he heard a small noise whirling round his head, very sweet and ravishing, and looking up he saw no earth, but certain islands shining with a gentle fire, which interchanged colors according to the different variation of the light, innumerable and very large, unequal, but all round. These whirling, it is likely, agitated the æther, and made that sound; for the ravishing softness of it was very agreeable to their even motions. Between these islands there was a large sea or lake which shone very gloriously, being adorned with a gay variety of colors mixed with blue; some few of the islands swam in this sea, and were carried to the other side of the current; others, and those the most, were carried up and down, tossed, whirled, and almost overwhelmed.

This sea in some places seemed very deep, especially towards the south, in other parts very shallow; it ebbed and flowed, but the tides were neither high nor strong; in some parts its color was pure and sea-green, in others it looked muddy and as troubled as a pool. The current brings those islands that were carried over to the other side back again; but not to the same point, so that their motions are not exactly circular, but winding. About the middle of these islands, the ambient sea seemed to bend into a hollow, a little less, as it appeared to him, than eight parts of the whole. Into this sea were two entrances, by which it received two opposite fiery rivers, running in with so strong a current, that it spread a fiery white over a great part of the blue sea. This sight pleased him very much; but when he looked downward, there appeared a vast chasm, round, as if he had looked into a divided sphere, very deep and frightful, full of thick dark-

ness, which was every now and then troubled and disturbed. Thence a thousand howlings and bellowings of beasts, cries of children, groans of men and women, and all sorts of terrible noises reached his ears; but faintly, as being far off and rising through the vast hollow; and this terrified him exceedingly.

A little while after, an invisible thing spoke thus to him: Timarchus, what dost thou desire to understand? And he replied, Everything; for what is there that is not wonderful and surprising? We have little to do with those things above, they belong to other gods; but as for Proserpina's quarter, which is one of the four (as Styx divides them) that we govern, you may visit it if you please. But what is Styx? The way to hell, which reaches to the contrary quarter, and with its head cutting off the light; for, as you see, it rises from hell below, and as it passes on touches also the light, and marks the limit of the extremest part of the universe. There are four divisions of all things; the first is of life, the second of motion, the third of generation, and the fourth of corruption. The first is coupled to the second by a unit, in the substance invisible; the second to the third by understanding, in the Sun; and the third to the fourth by nature, in the Moon. Over every one of these ties a Fate, daughter of Necessity, presides; over the first, Atropos; over the second, Clotho; and Lachesis over the third, which is in the Moon, and about which is the whole whirl of generation. All the other islands have gods in them; but the Moon, belonging to earthly Dæmons, is raised but a little above Styx. Styx seizes on her once in a hundred and seventy-seven revolutions; and when it approaches, the souls are startled, and cry out for fear; for hell swallows up a great many, and the Moon receives some swimming up from below which have run through their whole course of generation, unless they are wicked and impure. For against such she throws flashes of lightning, makes horrible noises, and frights them away; so that, missing their desired happiness and bewailing their condition, they are carried down again (as you see) to undergo another generation. But, said Timarchus, I see nothing but stars leaping about the hollow, some carried into it, and some darting out of it again. These, said the voice, are Dæmons; for thus it is. Every soul hath some portion of

reason; a man cannot be a man without it; but as much of each soul as is commingled with flesh and appetite is changed, and through pain or pleasure becomes irrational. Every soul doth not mix herself after one sort; for some plunge themselves into the body, and so in this life their whole frame is corrupted by appetite and passion; others are mixed as to some part, but the purer part still remains without the body, — it is not drawn down into it, but it swims above, and touches the extremest part of the man's head; it is like a cord to hold up and direct the subsiding part of the soul, as long as it proves obedient and is not overcome by the appetites of the flesh. That part that is plunged into the body is called the soul, but the uncorrupted part is called the mind, and the vulgar think it is within them, as likewise they imagine the image reflected from a glass to be in that. But the more intelligent, who know it to be without, call it a Dæmon. Therefore those stars which you see extinguished imagine to be souls whose whole substances are plunged into bodies; and those that recover their light and rise from below, that shake off the ambient mist and darkness, as if it were clay and dirt, to be such as retire from their bodies after death; and those that are carried up on high are the Dæmons of wise men and philosophers. But pray pry narrowly, and endeavor to discover the tie by which every one is united to a soul. Upon this, Timarchus looked as steadfastly as he could, and saw some of the stars very much agitated, and some less, as the corks upon a net; and some whirled round like a spindle, having a very irregular and uneven motion, and not being able to run in a straight line. And thus the voice said: Those that have a straight and regular motion belong to souls which are very manageable, by reason of their genteel breeding and philosophical education, and which upon earth do not plunge themselves into the foul clay and become irrational. But those that move irregularly, sometimes upwards, sometimes downwards, as striving to break loose from a vexing chain, are yoked to and strive with very untractable conditions, which ignorance and want of learning make headstrong and ungovernable. Sometimes they get the better of the passions, and draw them to the right side; sometimes they are drawn away by them, and sink into sin and folly, and then again endeavor to get out. For the tie, as

it were a bridle on the irrational part of the soul, when it is pulled back, draws in repentance for past sins, and shame for loose and unlawful pleasures, which is a pain and stroke inflicted on the soul by a governing and prevailing power; till by this means it becomes gentle and manageable, and like a tamed beast, without blows or torment, it understands the minutest direction of the Dæmon. Such indeed are but very slowly and very hardly brought to a right temper; but of that sort which from the very beginning are governable and obedient to the direction of the Dæmon, are those prophetic souls, those intimates of the gods. Such was the soul of Hermodorus the Clazomenian, of which it is reported that for several nights and days it would leave his body, travel over many countries, and return after it had viewed things and discoursed with persons at a great distance; till at last, by the treachery of a woman, his body was delivered to his enemies, and they burnt the house while the inhabitant was abroad. It is certain, this is a mere fable. The soul never went out of the body, but it loosened the tie that held the Dæmon, and permitted it to wander; so that this, seeing and hearing the various external occurrences, brought in the news to it; yet those that burnt his body are even till this time severely tormented in the deepest pit of hell. But this, youth, you shall more clearly perceive three months hence; now depart. The voice continuing no longer, Timarchus (as he said) turned about to discover who it was that spoke; but a violent pain, as if his skull had been pressed together, seized his head, so that he lost all sense and understanding; but in a little while recovering, he found himself in the entrance of the cave, where he at first lay down.

This was Timarchus's story; and when at Athens, in the third month after he had heard the voice, he died. We, amazed at the event, told Socrates the whole tale. Socrates was angry with us for not discovering it whilst Timarchus was alive; for he would very gladly have had a more full discovery from his own mouth. I have done, Theocritus, with the story and discourse; but pray, shall we not entreat the stranger to discuss this point? For it is a very proper subject for excellent and divine men. What then, said Theanor, shall we not have the opinion of Epaminondas, who is of the same school, and as well learned as myself in these matters? But my father with a smile

said: Sir, that is his humor; he loves to be silent, he is very cautious how he proposeth anything, but will hear eternally, and is never weary of an instructive story; so that Spintharus the Tarentine, who lived with him a long time, would often say that he never met a man that knew more, or spake less. Therefore, pray sir, let us have your thoughts.

Then, said Theanor, in my opinion, that story of Timarchus should be accounted sacred and inviolable, and dedicated to God; and I wonder that any one should disbelieve his report, as Simmias has related it. Swans, horses, dogs, and dragons we sometimes call sacred; and yet we cannot believe that men are sacred and favorites of Heaven, though we acknowledge the love of man and not the love of birds to be an attribute of the Deity. Now as one that loves horses doth not take an equal care of the whole kind, but always choosing out some one excellent, rides, trains, feeds, and loves him above the rest; so amongst men, the superior powers, choosing, as it were, the best out of the whole herd, breed them more carefully and nicely; not directing them, it is true, by reins and bridles, but by reason imparted by certain notices and signs, which the vulgar and common sort do not understand. For neither do all dogs know the huntsman's, nor all horses the jockey's signs; but those that are bred to it are easily directed by a whistle or a hollow, and very readily obey. And Homer seems to have understood the difference I mention; for some of the prophets he calls augurs, some priests, some such as understood the voice of the very gods, were of like mind with them, and could foretell things; thus,

Helenus Priam's son the same decreed,  
On which consulting gods before agreed.

And in another place,

As I heard lately from th' immortal gods.<sup>1</sup>

For as those that are not near the persons of kings or commanders understand their minds by signals, proclamation, sound of trumpet, or the like, but their favorites receive it from their own mouth; so the Deity converses immediately

<sup>1</sup> "Iliad," vii. 44 and 53.

but with very few, and very seldom; but to most he gives signs, from which the art of divination is gathered. So that the gods direct the lives of very few, and of such only whom they intend to raise to the highest degree of perfection and happiness. Those souls (as Hesiod sings) that are not to be put into another body, but are freed from all union with flesh, turn guardian Dæmons and preside over others. For as wrestlers, when old age makes them unfit for exercise, have some love for it still left, delight to see others wrestle, and encourage them; so souls that have passed all the stages of life, and by their virtue are exalted into Dæmons, do not slight the endeavors of man, but being kind to those that strive for the same attainments, and in some sort aiding and abetting them, encourage and help them on, when they see them near their hope and ready to catch the desired prize. For the Dæmon doth not go along with every one; but as in a shipwreck, those that are far from land their friends standing on the shore only look upon and pity, but those that are near they encourage and wade in to save; so the Dæmon deals with mankind. Whilst we are immersed in worldly affairs, and are changing bodies, as fit vehicles for our conveyance, he lets us alone to try our strength, patiently to stem the tide and get into the haven by ourselves; but if a soul hath gone through the trials of a thousand generations, and now, when her course is almost finished, strives bravely, and with a great deal of labor endeavors to ascend, the Deity permits her proper Genius to help her, and even permits any other that is willing to assist. The Dæmon, thus permitted, presently sets about the work; and upon his approach, if the soul obeys and hearkens to his directions, she is saved; if not, the Dæmon leaves her, and she lies in a miserable condition.

This discourse was just ended, when Epaminondas looking upon me, said: Caphisias, it is time for you to be at the ring, your usual company will expect you; we, as soon as we break company, will take care of Theanor. And I replied: Sir, I'll go presently, but I think Theocritus here hath something to say to you and me and Galaxidorus. Let's hear it in God's name, said he; and rising up, he led us into a corner of the porch. When we had him in the midst of us, we all began to desire him to make one in the conspiracy. He replied that he knew the day appointed

for the exiles' return, and that he and Gorgidas had their friends ready upon occasion; but that he was not for killing any of the citizens without due process of law, except some serious necessity seemed to demand the execution. Besides, it was requisite that there should be some unconcerned in the design; for such the multitude would not be jealous of, but would think what they advised was for the good of the commonwealth, that their counsels proceeded from the love they had for their country, and not from any design of procuring their own safety. This motion we liked; he returned to Simmias and his company, and we went to the ring, where we met our friends, and as we wrestled together, communicated our thoughts to one another, and put things in order for action. There we saw Philip and Archias very spruce, anointed and perfumed, going away to the prepared feast; for Phyllidas, fearing they would execute Amphitheus before supper, as soon as he had brought Lysanoridas going, went to Archias, and putting him in hopes of the woman's company he desired, and assuring him she would be at the place appointed, soon trepanned him into stupid carelessness and sensuality with his fellow-wantons.

About the night, the wind rising, the sharpness of the weather increased, and that forced most to keep within doors; we meeting with Damocles, Pelopidas, and Theopompus received them, and others met other of the exiles; for as soon as they were come over Cithæron, they separated, and the stormy weather obliged them to walk with their faces covered, so that without any fear or danger they passed through the city. Some as they entered had a flash of lightning on their right hand, without a clap of thunder, and that portended safety and glory; intimating that their actions should be splendid and without danger.

When we were all together in the house (eight and forty in number), and Theocritus in a little room by himself offering sacrifice, there was heard on a sudden a loud knocking at the gate; and presently one came and told us that two of Archias's guard, who had some earnest business with Charon, knocked at the gate, demanding entrance, and were very angry that they were not admitted sooner. Charon surprised commanded the doors to be opened presently, and going to meet them with a garland on his head, as if he had been sacrificing or making merry,



asked their business, and one of them replied, Philip and Archias sent us to tell you that you must come before them presently. And Charon demanding why they sent for him in such haste, and if all was well; We know nothing more, the messenger returned, but what answer shall we carry back? That, replied Charon, putting off his garland and putting on his cloak, I follow you; for should I go along with you, my friends would be concerned, imagining that I am taken into custody. Do so, said they, for we must go and carry the governor's orders to the city guard. With this they departed, but Charon coming in and telling us the story, we were all very much surprised, imagining the design had been discovered; and most suspected Hippostenides, and thought that he, having endeavored to hinder their approach through Chido and failed, now the time for the dangerous attempt unavoidably approached, grew faint-hearted and made a discovery of the plot. And this seemed probable, for he did not appear at Charon's house with the rest, and so was looked upon by every one to be a rascal and a turn-coat; yet we all were of opinion that Charon ought to obey the governor's orders and go to them. Then he, commanding his son to be brought to him, — the prettiest youth, Archidamus, in all Thebes, skilled in most exercises, scarce fifteen years old, but very strong and lusty for his age, — thus said: Friends, this is my only and my beloved son, and him I put into your hands, conjuring you by all that's good, if you find me treacherous, to kill him and have no mercy upon him for my sake; but as for your parts, sirs, be provided against the worst that can come; do not yield your bodies tamely to be butchered by base fellows, but behave yourselves bravely, and preserve your souls invincible for the good and glory of your country. When Charon had ended, we admired the honesty and bravery of the man, but were angry at his suspicion, and bade him take away his son. Charon, said Pelopidas, we should have taken it more kindly, if you had removed your son into another house, for why should he suffer for being in our company? Nay, let us send him away now, that, if we fall, he may live, and grow up to punish the tyrants and be a brave revenger of our deaths. By no means, replied Charon, he shall stay here, and run the same danger with you all, for it is not well that he should come into the power of his enemies;

and you, my boy, be daring above thy age, and with these brave citizens venture upon necessary dangers for the defence of liberty and virtue; for we have good hopes still left, and perhaps some god will protect us in this just and generous undertaking.

These words of his, Archidamus, drew tears from many; but he not shedding so much as one, and delivering his son to Pelopidas, went out of the door, saluting and encouraging every one as he went. But you would have been exceedingly surprised at the serene and fearless temper of the boy, with a soul as great as that of Achilles's son; for he did not change color or seem concerned, but drew out and tried the goodness of Pelopidas's sword. In the mean time Diotonus, one of Cephisodorus's friends, came to us with his sword girt and breastplate on; and understanding that Archias had sent for Charon, he chid our delay, and urged us to go and set upon the house presently; for so we should be too quick for them, and take them unprovided. Or, if we did not like that proposal, he said, it was better to go out and attack them while they were separated and in confusion, than to coop ourselves up altogether in one room, and like a hive of bees be taken off by our enemies. Theocritus likewise pressed us to go on, affirming that the sacrifices were lucky, and promised safety and success.

Upon this, whilst we were arming and setting ourselves in order, Charon came in, looking very merrily and jocund, and with a smile said: Courage, sirs, there is no danger, but the design goes on very well; for Archias and Philip, as soon as they heard that according to their order I was come, being very drunk and weakened in body and understanding, with much ado came out to me; and Archias said, Charon, I hear that the exiles are returned, and lurk privately in town. At this I was very much surprised, but recovering myself asked, Who are they, sir, and where? We don't know, said Archias, and therefore sent for you, to inquire whether you had heard any clear discovery; and I, as it were surprised, considering a little with myself, imagined that what they heard was only uncertain report, and that none of the associates had made this discovery (for then they would have known the house), but that it was a groundless suspicion and rumor about town that came to their ears, and therefore said: I remember, whilst Androclidas was alive, that a great many idle lying

stories were spread abroad, to trouble and amuse us; but, sir, I have not heard one word of this, yet if you please, I will inquire what ground there is for it, and if I find anything considerable I shall give you notice. Yes, pray, said Phyllidas, examine this matter very narrowly; slight no particular, be very diligent and careful, foresight is very commendable and safe. When he had said this, he led back Archias into the room, where they are now drinking. But, sirs, let us not delay, but begging the god's assistance, put ourselves presently upon action. Upon this, we went to prayers, and encouraged one another.

It was now full supper-time, the wind was high, and snow and small rain fell, so that the streets and narrow lanes we passed were all empty. They that were to assault Leontidas and Hypates, whose houses joined, went out in their usual clothes, having no arms besides their swords; amongst those were Pelopidas, Democles, and Cephisodorus. Charon, Melon, and the rest that were to set upon Archias, put on breastplates, and shady fir or pine garlands upon their heads; some dressed themselves in women's clothes, so that they looked like a drunken company of mummers. But unlucky Fortune, Archidamus, resolving to make our enemies' folly and carelessness as conspicuous as our eagerness and courage, and having, as in a play, intermixed a great many underplots, now, at the very moment of its execution, surprised us with a most sudden and hazardous adventure. For whilst Charon, as soon as ever he parted from Archias and Philip, was come back and was setting us forward to execute the design, a letter from Archias, the chief-priest of Athens, was sent to Archias our governor, which contained a full discovery of the plot, in what house the exiles met, and who were the associates. Archias being now dead drunk, and quite beside himself with expectation of the desired women, took the letter; and the bearer saying, "Sir, it contains matter of great concern," "Matters of concern to-morrow," he replied, and clapped it under his cushion; and calling for the glass, he bade the servant fill a brimmer, and sent Phyllidas often to the door to see if the women were coming.

The hopes of this company made them sit long; and we coming opportunely quickly forced our way through

the servants to the hall, and stood a little at the door, to take notice of every one at table; our shady garlands and apparel disguising our intentions, all sat silent, in expectation of what would follow. But as soon as Melon, laying his hand upon his sword, was making through the midst of them, Cabirichus (who was the archon created by lot) catching him by the arm cried out to Phyllidas, Is not this Melon? Melon loosed his hold presently, and drawing out his sword, made at staggering Archias, and laid him dead on the floor; Charon wounded Philip in the neck, and whilst he endeavored to defend himself with the cups that were about him, Lysitheus threw him off his seat, and ran him through. We persuaded Cabirichus to be quiet, not to assist the tyrants, but to join with us to free his country, for whose good he was consecrated governor and devoted to the gods. But when being drunk he would not hearken to reason, but grew high, began to bustle, and turned (for our governors always carry a spear with them) the point of his spear upon us, I catching it in the midst and raising it higher than my head, desired him to let it go and consult his own safety, for else he would be killed. But Theopompus, standing on his right side and smiting him with his sword, said: Lie there, with those whose interest you espoused; thou shalt not wear the garland in freed Thebes, nor sacrifice to the gods any more, in whose name thou hast so often curst thy country, making prayers many times for the good fortune of her enemies. Cabirichus falling, Theocritus standing by snatched up the sacred spear, and kept it from being stained; and some few of the servants that dared to resist we presently despatched; the others that were quiet we shut up in the hall, being very unwilling that they should get abroad and make any discovery, till we knew whether the other company had succeeded in their attempt.

They managed their business thus: Pelopidas and those with him went softly and knocked at Leontidas's gate; and a servant coming to demand their business, they said, they came from Athens, and brought a letter from Callistratus to Leontidas. The servant went and acquainted his master and was ordered to open the door; as soon as it was unbarred, they all violently rushed in, and overturning the servant ran through the hall directly to Leontidas's chamber. He, presently suspecting what

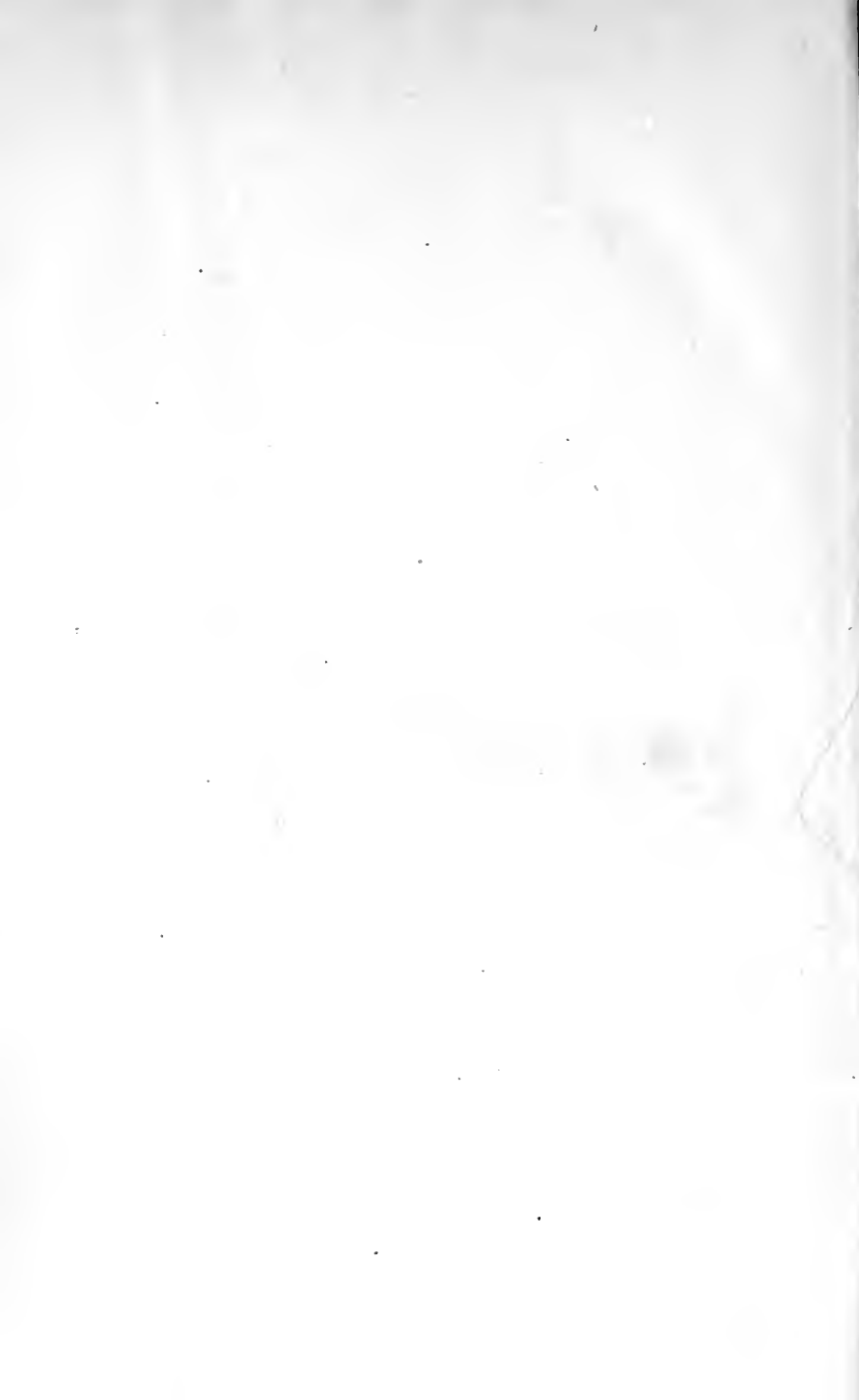
was the matter, drew his dagger and stood upon his guard; an unjust man, it is true, and a tyrant, but courageous and strong of his hands; but he forgot to put out the candle and get amongst the invaders in the dark, and so appearing in the light, as soon as they opened the door, he ran Cephisodorus through the belly. Next he engaged Pelopidas, and cried out to the servants to come and help; but those Samidas and his men secured, nor did they dare to come to handy blows with the strongest and most valiant of the citizens. There was a smart encounter between Pelopidas and Leontidas, for the passage was very narrow, and Cephisodorus falling and dying in the midst, nobody else could come to strike one blow. At last Pelopidas, receiving a slight wound in the head, with repeated thrusts overthrew Leontidas, and killed him upon Cephisodorus, who was yet breathing; for he saw his enemy fall, and shaking Pelopidas by the hand, and saluting all the rest, he died with a smile upon his face. This done, they went to the house of Hypates, and entering after the same manner, they pursued Hypates, flying over the roof into a neighbor's house, and caught and killed him.

From thence they marched directly to us, and we met in the piazza; and having saluted and told one another our success, we went all to the prison. And Phyllidas, calling out the keeper, said: Philip and Archias command you to bring Amphitheus presently before them. But he, considering the unseasonableness of the time, and that Phyllidas, as being yet hot and out of breath, spoke with more than ordinary concern, suspected the cheat, and replied to Phyllidas: Pray, sir, did ever the governors send for a prisoner at such a time before? Or ever by you? What warrant do you bring? As he was prating thus, Phyllidas ran him through, — a base fellow, upon whose carcass the next day many women spat and trampled. We, breaking open the prison door, first called out Amphitheus by name, and then others, as every one had a mind; they, knowing our voice, jocundly leaped out of their straw in which they lay, with their chains upon their legs. The others that were in the stocks held out their hands, and begged us not to leave them behind. These being set free, many of the neighbors came in to us, understanding and rejoicing for what was done. The women

too, as soon as they were acquainted with the flying report, unmindful of the Bœotian strictness, ran out to one another, and inquired of every one they met how things went. Those that found their fathers or their husbands followed them; for the tears and prayers of the modest women were a very great incitement to all they met.

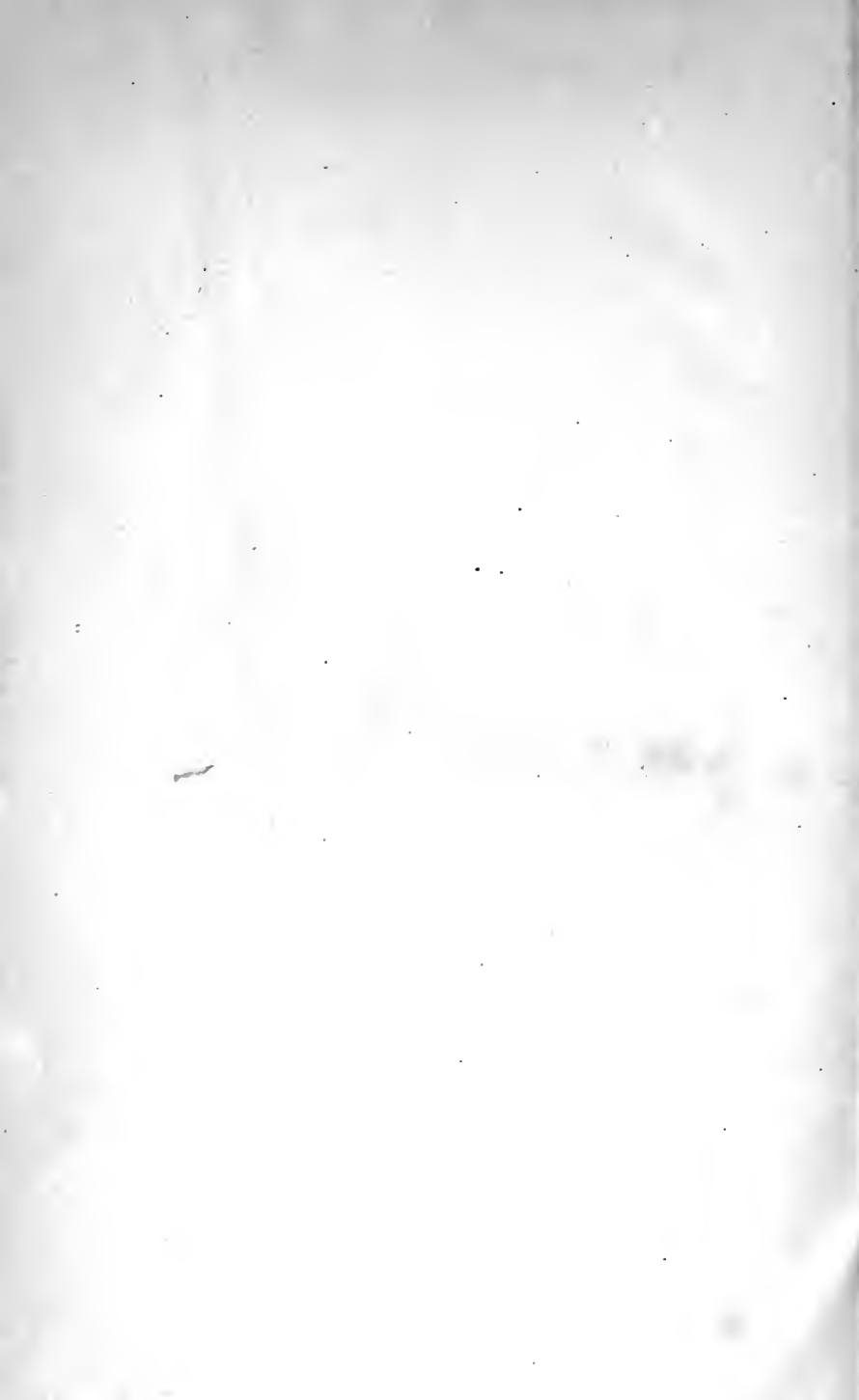
Our affairs being in this condition, understanding that Epaminondas, Gorgidas, and their friends were drawing into a body about Minerva's temple, I went to them. Many honest worthy citizens at first joined, and their number continually increased. When I had informed them in the particulars of what was done, and desired them to march into the market-place to assist their friends, they proclaimed liberty; and the multitude were furnished with arms out of the arcades, that were stuffed with spoil, and the neighboring armorers' shops. Then Hippostenides with his friends and servants appeared, having by chance joined the trumpeters that were coming to Thebes, against the feast of Hercules. Straight some gave the alarm in the market-place, others in other parts of the city, distracting their enemies on all sides, as if the whole city was in arms. Some, lighting smoky fire, concealed themselves in the cloud and fled to the castle, drawing to them the select band which used to keep guard about the castle all night. The garrison of the castle, when these rushed in among them scattered and in disorder, though they saw us all in confusion, and knew we had no standing compact body, yet would not venture to make a descent, though they were above five thousand strong. They were really afraid, but pretended they dared not move without Lysanoridas's orders, who, contrary to his usual custom, was absent from the castle that day. For which neglect, the Spartan senate (as I was told) fined Lysanoridas heavily; and having taken Hermippidas and Arcesus at Corinth, they put them both to death immediately. And surrendering the castle to us upon articles, they withdrew their garrison.



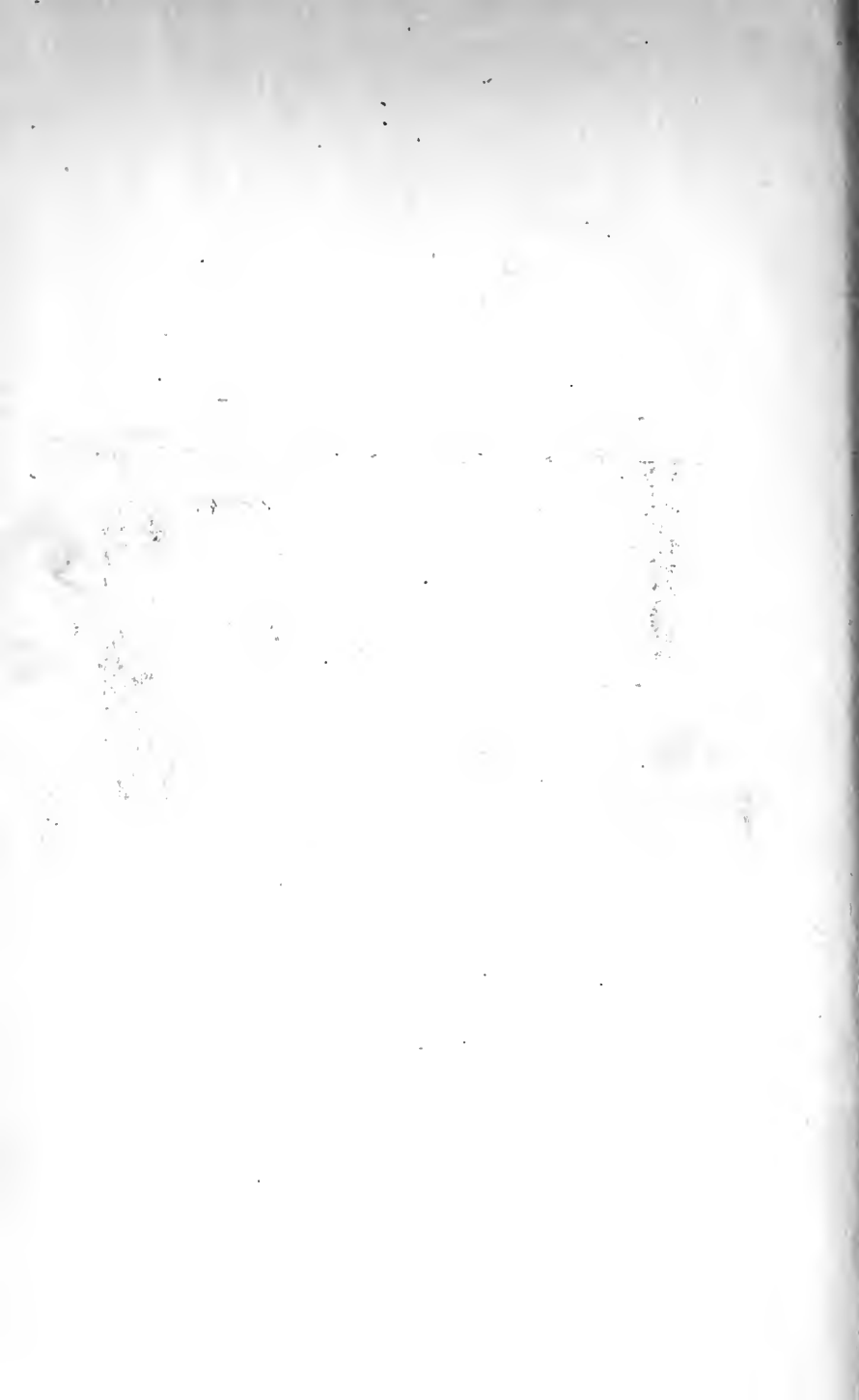












PA  
4374  
A1  
1909  
v.4

Plutarchus  
Complete works

Wallace  
Room

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

---

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY**

---

WALLACE ROOM

